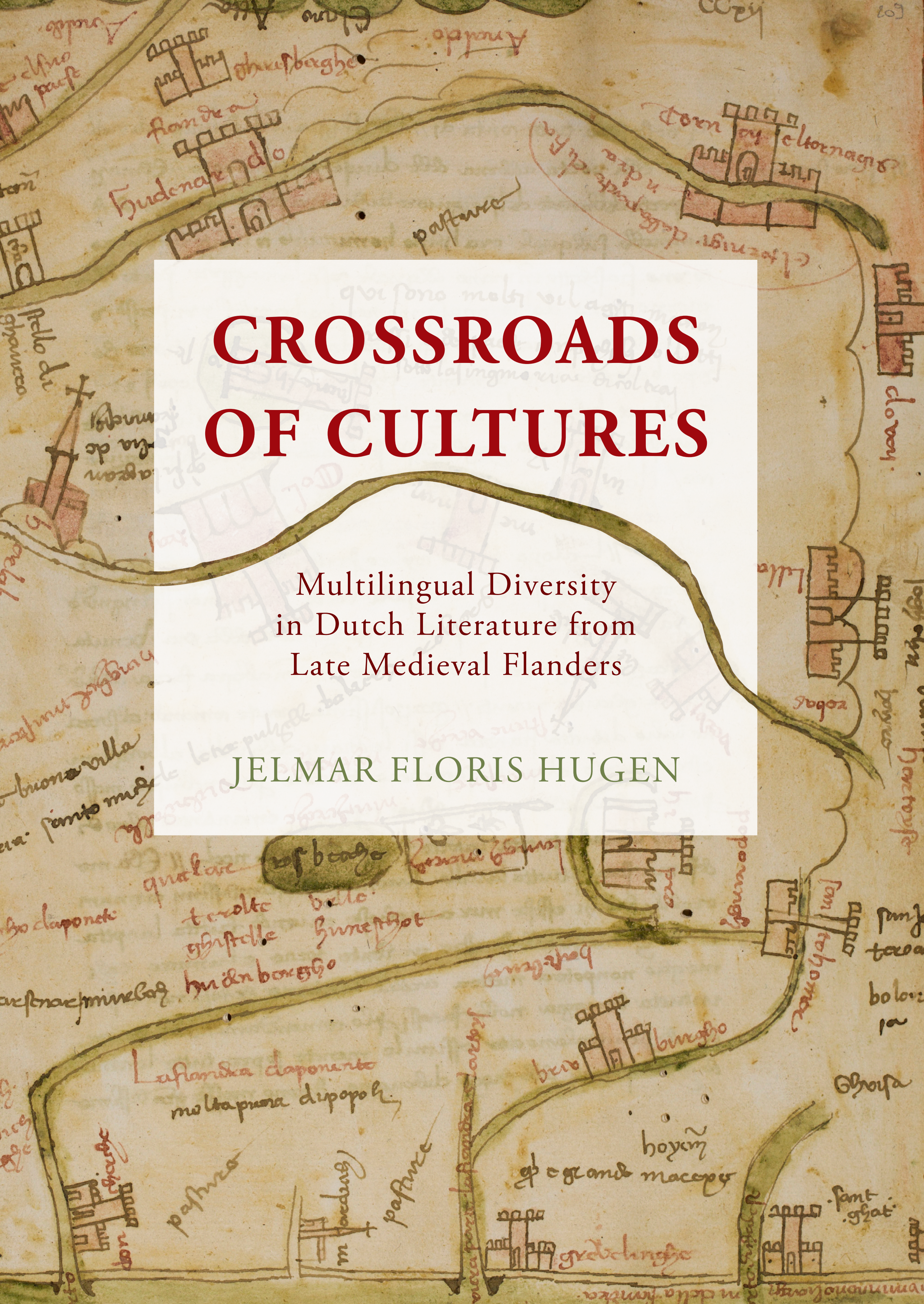

CROSSROADS OF CULTURES

Multilingual Diversity in Dutch Literature from Late Medieval Flanders

JELMAR FLORIS HUGEN

Crossroads of Cultures

Cover image
Oldest extant map of Flanders (1452), found in the *Cronache de Singniori di Fiandra e de Loro Advenimenti* (MS Bruges, OB, MS 685, fols 208v-209r).

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Crossroads of Cultures. Multilingual Diversity in Dutch Literature from Late Medieval Flanders

Een kruispunt van culturen.
Meertalige diversiteit in Nederlandstalige literatuur uit laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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Universiteit Utrecht
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des middags te 2.15 uur

door

Jelmar Floris Hugen

geboren op 3 maart 1992
te Capelle aan den IJssel

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The choice of a language, for medieval authors, is a fundamental political, ethical, and aesthetic statement.

Cerquiglini-Toulet 2010: 345

Any multilingual situation is inseparably linked to the social context in which it exists, that is, to factors such as the relative status of the languages involved, the power relations between the speakers of the different languages, the number and prestige of multilingual speakers, or the use of particular languages in specific domains.

Schendl 2012: 522

Meertaligheid was in Vlaanderen, zeker in de internationaal georiënteerde steden, eerder regel dan uitzondering.

Oosterman 2017: 30

Would you rather love the more, and suffer the more; or love the less, and suffer the less? That is, I think, finally, the only real question.

Julian Barnes, *The Only Story* (2018)

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Leiden, 24-8-2022

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PART I. INTRODUCTION

1

MEDIEVAL MULTILINGUALISM: CONTEXT, APPROACH AND CORPUS

1.1 THE MULTILINGUAL LITERARY CULTURE OF MEDIEVAL FLANDERS

During the late Middle Ages the County of Flanders was considered among the most productive, economically successful and culturally-refined areas in all of Europe. Thanks to their location near large waterways, among other factors, cities such as Ghent, Bruges and Ypres were able to grow into thriving commercial centres with trading routes to England and France. Likewise, they profited from trade with major cities in southern and central Europe, and in particular wealthy Italian cities such as Genoa, Venice, Naples and Florence.[1] Flanders was an international crossroads of cultures, where people from different regions and backgrounds interacted and where their various languages came into contact with one another. The *Livre des mestiers*, a fourteenth-century French-Dutch language manual from Bruges, paints a vivid picture of this multicultural and multilingual contact, perhaps most explicitly through a list of travellers from different regions who may decide to stay the night at the hostel of a certain Olivier:

Oliviers, li hosteliers,	Olivier, de ostelier,	Oliver, the innkeeper,
ha mout de boins hostes,	heeft vele goeder gasten,	has many excellent guests:
car il ha les Alemans,	wat hi heeft de Duudsche,	for he has the Germans
qu'on nomme Osterlincs,	die men heet Oosterlinghen,	(whom people call Easterners),
les Espaingnols et les Escoths;	die Spaengnaerden ende die Scotten;	the Spaniards and the Scots.
mais les Lombaers	maer de Lombaerden	But Lombards
ne puet il onques avoir,	ne mocht hi noit hebben,	he has never had,
ne les Flamencs, ne les Franchois	no de Flaminghe, no de Fransois,	nor the Flemish, nor the French,
les Brabanchons,	de Brabandres,	Brabantines,
les Zeelandois, les Holandois, les	de Zeelandres, de Hollandres,	Zeelanders, Hollanders,
Genevois, les Englois,	de Genevoisen, d'Inghelsche,	Genovese, the English,
les Hainiviers, les Frisons,	de Henewiers, die Vriesen,	Hainauters, Friesians,
les Normans, les Lucois,	de Noermannen, de Lucoisen,	Northerners, Lucans,
les Florentins ne les Danois.	de Florentinen no de Dainen.	Florentines nor Danes.[2]

[1] Important studies on the international allure of medieval Bruges are Friedland 1990, Vermeersch 1992, Vandewalle 2002 and Murray 2005. Cf. Stabel *et al.* 2000, Blockmans 2010 and Gelderblom 2013 for international trade in the medieval Low Countries as a whole. For more general histories of medieval Bruges, see, e.g., Geirnaert & Vandamme 1996, Ryckaert *et al.* 1999 and most recently Brown & Dumolyn 2018.

[2] Edition: Gessler 1931 (here: p. 39). Translations in this dissertation are my own unless specified otherwise. It is possible 'Normans/Noermannen' refers not to northerners, but to Normans. The *Livre* is a fascinating work that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Considering its geographical position at the borders of the French Kingdom, the German Holy Roman Empire and the *Kulturraum* of Lotharingia, the County of Flanders is believed to have been deeply multilingual on a societal level.[3] However, many of the specifics of this multilingualism or of the ways in which it related to or fed into individual multilingualism and multilingual literary products remain unclear. To date, no overarching study of literary multilingualism in the medieval Low Countries exists, leaving various fundamental questions unanswered, such as how many multilingual works containing Middle Dutch actually were ever made and have survived, whether these works were predominantly produced or consumed in specific milieus or settings and, most importantly, how multilingual elements within a single text or manuscript interacted with one another and influenced the work's functionality. To help answer these questions to some extent, in this dissertation I zoom in on a specific form of literary multilingualism that has received limited scholarly attention and as a result represents a gap in our current understanding of the multilingual literary culture of the Low Countries as a whole. This form of multilingualism is the multilingual source itself, the literary product in which elements of different languages coexist and interact in various ways. This diversity is the focus of my study.

The goal of this book is to illustrate and analyse the multilingual diversity in Middle Dutch texts and manuscripts written in Flanders between 1200 and 1500. More specifically, I aim to examine the various ways in which Latin and French elements within literature from Flanders interact with the Dutch language, and how these interactions inform us about the functionality of these multilingual works as well as the multilingual dynamics of Flemish literary culture at large. In order to accomplish this goal, the following chapters will present six case studies, each considered within the context of several different methodological approaches. Read separately, these case studies illustrate how authors and scribes were able to use multilingualism to add depth and meaning to their works. Further, whilst considered collectively, these sources tell the story of how multilingualism in medieval Flanders functioned as a cultural phenomenon, sociolinguistic feature and literary tool. Consequently, this multidisciplinary approach intends to set an example of how one can study literary multilingualism and what new insights can be gained by looking at multilingualism in different ways, regardless of which languages, areas or sources one is looking at.

In order for this analysis of multilingual sources to take place, several definitions concerning the research topic of literary multilingualism require some initial introduction and clarification, starting with the concept of multilingualism itself. In a recent theoretical study on the concept of multilingualism in German literature, Jochen Hafner outlined how different concepts and terms describe the coexistence of languages in different contexts.[4] Hafner introduces three terms that reflect these different possibilities. Firstly, there is the concept of 'Mehrsprachigkeit', which denotes all situations in which multiple languages interact with one another, and which Hafner concludes has no counterpart in either Dutch or English. 'Mehrsprachigkeit' can, however, be subdivided into two hyponymic terms, namely 'Multilinguismus', which refers specifically to the combined use of languages in multilingual societies and domains (societal multilingualism), and 'Plurilinguismus', which is used to describe the multilingual capabilities of individual speakers (individual multilingualism). In my own research, these three concepts (multilingual instances, individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism) will all feature alongside one another, with some

[3] See more recently as an example Oosterman 2017: 30.
[4] Hafner 2018: 109.

chapters focusing more on the multilingual aspects of literary works and others on the linguistic capabilities of multilingual scribes and the various readers in Flanders. Accordingly, in a more general sense my use of the concept 'multilingualism' can be understood to mean the coexistence of languages within a single space, which can be an institutional domain, a communicative event between speakers or, as will most often be the case, a work of literature.[5]

For the purposes of this study, these 'works of literature' are specifically texts written in manuscripts in the late Middle Ages (c. 1200-1500). Printed books are excluded due to the fundamental differences in the reception and production processes between these works and manuscripts, although examples of multilingual printed works will be occasionally referenced to add to the general discussion, or to offer some perspective or nuance. Furthermore, the multilingual sources under review in this study are all of a literary nature which, as is customary in the field of Dutch literary criticism, includes a variety of genres, excluding only administrative or documentary sources.[6] A further subdivision between these multilingual sources is also needed, as there is an important methodological distinction to be made between *multilingual texts* and *multilingual manuscripts*. In a multilingual text, two or more languages feature on a narrative level, for instance through dialogues between characters or through the descriptions of events by a narrator. In general, these multilingual instances are the direct result of the deliberate narratological choices of an author. Multilingual manuscripts, on the other hand, can be both manuscripts that contain different texts in different languages or manuscripts with paratextual elements (i.e., glosses, annotations and commentaries) in a language different from that of the primary text next to which they are presented or to which they refer.[7] In these cases, the event of a manuscript "becoming" multilingual is often attributable to the interventions of a scribe or the compositional decisions made by a book's compiler. Accordingly, the production contexts of multilingual texts and multilingual manuscripts feature important differences which in turn present different interesting questions.

Whereas multilingual sources may contain a number of different languages, the three used predominantly in late medieval Flanders are considered for this study, namely Dutch, French and Latin. To allow for a focused approach that benefits the scope of my research, I chose to place particular emphasis on Dutch works that contain French and/or Latin elements, as opposed to French or Latin works containing Dutch, which will be referenced only sporadically. In translational terms, this means my primary focus is on multilingual works in which Dutch is the 'matrix language' and French or Latin the 'embedded language'.[8] Most often, these Dutch texts are written in a Flemish dialect, though this is not always the case. Accordingly, when I use the term 'Flemish', I refer primarily to the County of Flanders rather than the dialect from this area. This county was part of the Kingdom of France, but also contained an eastern area that belonged the

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[5] Cf. for this broad use of the term Hsy 2013: 4. Importantly, this use does not comment on the proficiency of multilingual speakers nor does it assume a perfect presentation of all languages in multilingual works. As later examples in this study show, medieval scribes and authors were prone to making linguistic errors or to have only a limited mastery of a second language (much like ourselves in modern times), yet it is often through these imperfections that we gain the best understanding of the actual multilingual reality of the later Middle Ages.

[6] This naturally does not mean that academic studies on multilingualism in administrative and documentary sources from medieval Flanders are ignored, as §1.3 and later chapters illustrate.

[7] It is worth emphasizing that in this functional framework the mere presence of a multilingual text does not qualify a manuscript to be considered multilingual.

[8] See for these concepts Myers-Scotton 1993a: 3.

Holy German Empire, known as Imperial Flanders. From a modern perspective, medieval Flanders consisted of today's Belgian provinces of West and East Flanders, as well as the land of Bornem, now part of the province of Antwerp, and the southern regions of the Dutch province Zeeland (known as 'Zeelandic Flanders').[9] Additionally, until the early thirteenth century, parts of modern northern France were also included, such as the region of Artois, which separated from Flanders in 1191 and became an independent county in 1237. Therefore, in the context of my research, a 'Flemish work' means either a text or manuscript produced in Flanders or for inhabitants of Flanders.

Finally, the term 'diversity' is more complex and deceptive than an initial glance gives away. After all, texts and manuscripts are bound to be diverse in a nearly infinite number of ways, of which multilingualism is only one. Therefore, 'multilingual diversity' is understood here to apply to the range of forms and functions expressed by multilingual elements within literature. By way of contextualization, it may be helpful to note that my approach to literary diversity differs from that of Joost van Driel, whose dissertation on stylistic diversity in Middle Dutch verse romances initially inspired me to look at multilingual diversity.[10] My aim is the same as Van Driel's, namely to illustrate and analyze the rich diversity (here, in multilingualism) found in Middle Dutch literature. Van Driel, however, structures his research differently by analyzing a variety of separate stylistic aspects (e.g., meter, rhyme and repetition) across a wide range of texts from different genres. Due to restrictions within the corpus of multilingual texts and manuscripts from medieval Flanders, such a broad approach is less desirable for my own research, as some forms of multilingualism occur in a high frequency whilst others only appear once or twice. Moreover, whereas Van Driel was able to select every verse text for his study, the total corpus of multilingual works containing Dutch is significantly smaller. My approach therefore focuses less on all possible forms of multilingualism and instead more on the different ways in which specific texts make use of different languages. In doing so, this dissertation highlights the rich and diverse aspects of multilingualism in a selection of Dutch works rather than the complete range of possibilities in which multilingualism can occur across all Dutch texts and genres.

In the next sections of this introductory chapter, the theoretical framework with which I analyze multilingual works in the following chapters is outlined. The main elements of this framework are, firstly, the established uses of Dutch, French and Latin in medieval society and its literary domains (§1.2), secondly, our current understanding of the interaction between these languages as explained in recent scholarship on literary multilingualism (§1.3), and thirdly, the methodological approaches employed in this field of study, of which three in particular are applied in this dissertation (§1.4). Following this theoretical discussion, the six case studies that form my corpus are briefly introduced and related to these methodological approaches. The structure of the book as a whole, which is designed around these case studies, is also addressed in this final section (§1.5).

[9] Not to be confused with modern day Flanders, which is the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium that far exceeds the medieval County with the same name in size.
[10] Van Driel 2007.

1.2 THE THREE TONGUES OF FLANDERS

Latin, French and Dutch were the most important and frequently used languages of medieval Flanders, each performing a different role in a variety of social contexts and settings.[11] As several case studies in this dissertation attest, these languages and their users were highly mobile, resulting in different stances towards languages over time as well as different uses for them as the vernacular begins to intrude into areas and contexts originally reserved for Latin. As these diverse movements and interactions are at the centre of my research, it is important to discuss the *status quo* regarding the attitude towards these languages and their functions in the literary culture of the Low Countries first, albeit in a concise matter that looks at the bigger picture rather than the intricacies of language use in individual cases, areas, cities or communities.

Of the three written languages, Latin was both the most authoritative and widely used. Its authority resulted from both its link to Classical Antiquity as well as its role as the official language of the Church, two of the pillars on which medieval societies were built.[12] Considered the 'father language' (as opposed to the vernacular 'mother languages' which, unlike Latin, were learned as a native tongue), it functioned as the language of the intellectual elite, facilitating the exchange of knowledge between scholars who were geographically and otherwise linguistically separated from one another.[13] Texts written in Latin were used in various cultural fields ranging from education, literature and science to law, diplomacy and government. Accordingly, Latin can be found at nearly every level of society, both in Europe as a whole and in Flanders specifically. Importantly, Latin was the language in which medieval authors were traditionally trained to read and write, meaning that most Dutch authors also had some familiarity with Latin, even if they only wrote in the vernacular.

As the use of the vernacular in literary contexts grew in acceptance, the dominant position of Latin was gradually overtaken by French, though never fully replaced by it. Across Europe, French had developed into a transnational language employed by courts to facilitate communication among the aristocratic elite, and used by traders and merchants in urban milieus for administration and commerce.[14] Additionally, French functioned as a bridge to Latin knowledge and through translation became itself a common language of ethics, didactics and philosophy.[15] Much of the language's prestige was garnered from its implementation in these elite and essential international sectors of medieval life.

Due to Flanders' tight connections to France, French was especially present in the culture and literature of the region. The largest part of the county belonged to the Kingdom of France and was ruled by French-speaking nobles who were often counted among the most powerful vassals

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[11] Notable here is that neither 'Dutch' nor 'French' were linguistic unities during the Middle Ages, as each region had its own particular dialect and users of different dialects were highly mobile. Whilst the Dutch used in Flanders was generally Flemish and French in the southern Low Countries Picardian, this was by no means always the case nor consistent across all domains and social spheres. Cf. Schoenaers & Van de Haar 2021: 223-226.

[12] On the use of Latin from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond, see Janson 2006, Stroh 2007, Ostler 2007, Leonhardt 2013 and Bloemendal 2015.

[13] On these terms, see for instance Van Uytfanghe 2000, Grondeux 2008 and Szpiech 2012: 68-72.

[14] Lusignan 2012: 187-199, Schoenaers 2017: 15 and Oosterman 2017.

[15] Schoenaers & Van de Haar 2021: 233-235. Cf. Hugen 2022.

of the French monarch. This remained the case after 1384, when Flanders was absorbed into the domain of the Burgundian branch of the House of Valois. The Flemish counts and countesses were active patrons of various authors who wrote in French, the best known of whom was Chrétien de Troyes, whose unfinished *Conte du Graal* was written at the behest of Philip I (1157-1191).[16] Additionally, many of the Dutch works written in Flanders are translations or adaptations of French works, making the presence of French be felt even beyond those works actually written in French.

In recent years, scholarship has also increasingly highlighted the use of French outside the court in urban settings, where it was not only used for commercial communication but also literary recreation and religious devotion.[17] Interestingly, much of our understanding of this urban user context does not actually follow from texts themselves, but instead from surviving booklists that reflect the ownership of literature by urban citizens and institutions. For example, a booklist from 1394 mentions a mixture of Dutch, French and Latin books owned by Michael van der Stoct, the prior of Saint Bavo's Abbey in Ghent.[18] Also living in Ghent was the lawyer Philip Wilant, the contents of whose library was listed in an inventory in 1483. It comprised not only titles in Latin, French and Dutch, but also multilingual works.[19] Whilst many of these booklists still await further research, these examples illustrate that during the later Middle Ages books became more accessible to all members of medieval society and that, importantly, this society collected literature in a multitude of languages.[20]

For most of these inhabitants of Flanders, and especially those who operated on the lower rungs of the social ladder, their native tongue was Dutch. As a written literary language, Dutch began to be used towards the end of the twelfth century, specifically in the Meuse-Rhein region in the southeast Low Countries. From the thirteenth century onwards, however, Dutch would gain particular prominence as a medium for literature in the County of Flanders and the Duchy of Brabant where, in imitation of French and Latin literature, translations and eventually original works were being increasingly produced.[21] An important figure in the development of Dutch as a literary language is the Flemish author Jacob van Maerlant (c. 1230-1300), who during the thirteenth century wrote a wealth of texts in various genres, some of which will be discussed in this dissertation.[22] Importantly, Maerlant was instrumental in the transition of Dutch from not just a literary language but also a learned one, capable and suitable for being used in the production of

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[16] For other examples of French Arthurian works produced in Flanders, see Busby & Meuwese 2021. On patronage in medieval Flanders, see Stanger 1957, Walters 1994, Besamusca 1991 and 1998, Van Coolput-Storms 2000 and Collet 2000. Other known writers to have worked for the court of Flanders include Baudouin de Condé, Gautier de Belle-Perche, Adenet le Roi, Guillaume de Machaut and Eustache Deschamps. For a recent study on the use of French in thirteenth-century Flanders, see Demets 2021.
[17] See in particular the studies by Margriet Hoogvliet: Hoogvliet 2016, Hoogvliet 2018 and Dlabačová & Hoogvliet 2020.
[18] Gabriel 2009.
[19] Wilant mentions a copy of the *Wapene Martijn* by Jacob van Maerlant in both 'vlaemssche ende in walssche' (see Chapter 6) and of a *Cronica Flandrie* 'in latino et gallico' (See Derolez 1999: 124-125).
[20] On these and other booklists, see the editions of medieval booklists of the southern Low Countries in the series *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii* (Derolez *et al.* 1994-2021 and Falmagne & Van den Abeele 2016).
[21] The best introduction to Dutch literature and its uses during the Middle Ages are the three recent literary histories by Frits van Oostrom (2006 & 2013) and Herman Pleij (2007). Useful international introductions are Kooper 1994 and Bastert, Tervooren & Willaert 2011.
[22] On the literary activities of Maerlant, see Oostrom 1996.

didactic and theological works.[23] As a result, in the later Middle Ages of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the period in which most of the works I discuss were either composed or transmitted, Dutch was a multifaceted language used in different contexts alongside or instead of Latin and French.

This coexistence of languages in Flanders turned the county into a lively multilingual region with a wide range of literary works written in (combinations of) different languages. In the NWO-funded project *The Multilingual Dynamics of the Literary Culture of Medieval Flanders (ca 1200 – ca 1500)*, in which my own research took place, a group of international scholars attempted to inventory and describe Dutch, French and Latin works from medieval Flanders, identifying thousands of manuscripts and hundreds of texts. Through this dataset, it was possible to gain a better sense of the literary dynamics of Flanders as a whole as well as the distribution of languages across the literary and geographical field. Whilst the results from this research will be presented elsewhere by the project's members, some brief observations may help connect the general description of Latin, French and Dutch language use in the Middle Ages to the specific use of these languages in Flanders.[24]

In general, the authoritative relationship between the three languages is reflected in the number of surviving works in each language: a large majority of Flemish manuscripts contain Latin texts, followed by French and then Dutch. Furthermore, it was common for Dutch texts to be transmitted alongside Latin texts, as well as for French works to feature alongside Latin ones, but much rarer to see French and Dutch together (without Latin as a third, or bridge language in the mix).[25] This distribution is also reflected on a textual level, where the inclusion of Latin elements in Dutch texts appears to be much more frequent than that of French elements.

With respect to content, we see the comparative use of Latin and the vernaculars throughout European written culture reflected on a microlevel in the works from Flanders. The overwhelming majority of Latin texts found in Flemish manuscripts are of a theological, devotional or scholarly nature, whereas a majority of French manuscripts contain chronicles and literary works. Considering most multilingual manuscripts contain Latin, this same dominance of devotional texts is observed in most multilingual manuscripts. The Dutch manuscripts, finally, show a more even spread between chronicles, devotional texts, utilitarian works and romances.

Knowing which texts were written in Flanders or by Flemish authors is unfortunately difficult, for a number of reasons. Firstly, a large number of texts have been transmitted anonymously, which not only complicates localizing them but also likely distorts our image of the number of writers in Flanders working in each language. For instance, only a handful of writers of Dutch works are known, such the aforementioned Jacob van Maerlant (who also wrote outside of Flanders), the surgeon Jan Yperman (c. 1260-1332) and the rhetorician Anthonis de Roovere (1430-1482). In contrast many more French authors are known by name, such as romance poets like Chrétien de Troyes and Wauchier de Denain, trouvères like Jacques de Baisieux, Adenet le Roi and Baudouin de Condé, and chronicle writers and scholars including Jean de Montreuil, Jean Miélot, David Aubert and Gilbert de Lannoy. Most of these authors were active in the border regions of

[23] This development is further elaborated on in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[24] For an introduction to this project, see Besamusca 2019 and https://multilingualdynamics.sites.uu.nl/. A publication presenting the findings of the collection of Flemish manuscripts is currently in preparation by Jenneka Janzen. The following enumeration is based on the data of Flemish texts collected by David Murray.
[25] This specific oddity is discussed in Besamusca & Janzen (forthcoming).

the French empire and Flanders, in cities such as Lille, Tournai and Saint-Omer. Notable also are Georges Chastellain, a rhetorician from eastern Flanders who wrote predominantly in French and Jean le Long d'Yper, a Benedictine monk from Ypres who was known for his translations of Latin (religious) texts into French.

A second issue in identifying Flemish texts is that given the universal nature and wide use of Latin during the Middle Ages, locating Latin texts in a specific region is difficult and largely dependent on biographical information about the text's writers and users, or about its geographical transmission. Most works we are able to attribute to Flanders are of a religious nature and produced by clergymen associated with the abbeys and priories in or near Bruges and Ghent. For example, Olivier de Langhe and Jean Bernier de Fayt were at one point prior and abbot, respectively, of Saint Bavo's Abbey in Ghent, where they produced religious tracts, chronicles and *vitae*. Likewise from Ghent was Arnoldus Bostius (also known as Arnoldus van Vaernewyck), a Carmelite theologian and author of several Latin works, most of which are concerned with the history of his order and its patroness, the Virgin Mary. In Bruges, Herman van den Steen, a Carthusian monk who acted as a confessor to the sisters of Saint Anna's Church, is known to have written three Latin treatises.

This brief overview of texts, manuscripts and authors from Flanders offers an impression of the literary culture in which the multilingual case studies addressed in my dissertation functioned. To this landscape of literary products and actors, we are able to add further contour by looking at the ways in which Flemish authors positioned their own works in relation to those written in other languages. Given my emphasis on Dutch works, I only focus briefly on what modern studies have identified about the attitudes towards language expressed in Dutch works.

Even when all three languages were used concomitantly in Flanders, there were evidently preferences for certain languages in certain contexts. Certainly Latin remained the most authoritative language throughout the Middle Ages, partly attributable to the verisimilitude attributed to works in this language.[26] Latin was synonymous with 'true', 'important' and therefore 'prestigious'. Consequently, Paul Wackers explains, two of the main reasons why people decided to write in the vernacular was to either increase direct access to Latin texts (primarily through glosses and commentary) or to make Latin literature and culture available through translations for those who did not read Latin.[27]

Traditionally, a literary text would achieve *auctoritas* through its intrinsic value or its authenticity. In both cases this meant texts with the most authority were written in Latin, since the intrinsic value of a text depended on how well it related to the Christian truth, and its authenticity on the learned qualities of the work via the intellectual status of its writer.[28] Furthermore, Frank Brandsma, citing research by Bart Besamusca and Gerard Sonnemans, points out that for Dutch translators Latin not only held more prestige than Dutch, but also French:

> In general, Middle Dutch poets do not advertise very loudly the fact that they are translating a French or Latin source. In 1999, Bart Besamusca and Gerard Sonnemans collected passages about translation found in Middle Dutch sources up to 1550. They discovered only rare traces of explicit theory of, or reflection on, translation, but their search did yield many interesting remarks in prologues and epilogues, especially with regard to translating the Bible into the vernacular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In these remarks,

[26] On this topic in relation to medieval translation, see Wackers 2016.
[27] Wackers 1995: 48.
[28] Cf. Hinton 2019.

> the Latin sources receive far more attention than the French ones, and are considered more trustworthy, more scientific, and, indeed, better, by virtue of their moral and religious content.[29]

When these translators worked from a French source, or from both a Latin and a French source, their relationship with Dutch is somewhat more complicated. Examining the prologues and narratorial commentaries of these translations, Remco Sleiderink noted a general shift in the language attitudes of Dutch authors towards texts produced in French from 'Francophile' during the thirteenth century to 'Francophobe' during the fourteenth.[30] This Francophile attitude can be deduced from a mixture of textual elements, such as comments about the popularity or quality of their French source, the explicit desire to mimic the French source as closely as possible and the references to French sources when no actual French source was used. Within this general view, there is one author who shines a more nuanced light on the quality of French as an authoritative source for Dutch literature, namely Jacob van Maerlant.[31] Despite producing multiple translations of French sources in his early years, Maerlant expresses on several occasions his disdain for French sources, which he deems to be untrustworthy. For example, his prologue to the *Historie van den Grale* notes that the French stories on this matter – the prose versions of *Joseph d'Arimathie* and *Merlin* by Robert de Boron – were 'valsch' (untrue, bad):

Ic wille dat gy des zeker sijt,	I want you to be certain,
Dat ick die historie vele valsch	That I found many errors
Gevonden hebbe in dat Walsch. (ll. 20-22)	In the French version of this story.[32]

Sleiderink concludes that 'Maerlant despises French fiction because of its commingling of historical facts and amusing but unreal adventures. He does not aim to diminish the status of French as such, but he is certainly trying to discredit French fiction (and Dutch adaptations of it)' (p. 142). This line of reasoning is later continued by Brandsma, who notes that Maerlant's stance towards French and Latin is primarily a practical one. More than anything, Maerlant displays a clear preference for Latin sources, but in the cases where Maerlant had to rely solely on French sources, he did so with the same respect and reverence that can be found in the prologues of other writers.[33]

What the example of Maerlant illustrates is that the authoritative status of a language like French (or Dutch) is not inherently tied to the language itself but rather to the context in which the language is used. Whilst referring to a French source in a fictional work can help increase its status as a literary text, relying on a French text for didactical or religious purposes might conversely devalue the reliability of the work. Furthermore, the studies by Sleiderink and Brandsma also suggest that medieval Dutch authors were aware of the differences between medieval languages,

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29 Brandsma 2018: 242-243. The overview mentioned in Besamusca & Sonnemans (1999) can be found on p. 14-17. Serge Lusignan (1986) has argued that the same stance can generally be seen with regard to French translators of Latin. Cf. Hugen 2022: 189.
30 Sleiderink 2010a.
31 On Maerlant and his work, see Van Oostrom 1996, Biesheuvel 2010 and 2011.
32 Cited from Sleiderink 2010a: 141. Sleiderink also lists later examples containing similar phrases such as the *Rijmkroniek van Woeringen* (ll. 59-60, 6049-6050) and *Doctrinael* (ll. 575-576).
33 Brandsma 2018: 256-261. Recently, Schoenaers & Van de Haar 2021: 235-238 have also argued that more factors may have played into the appreciation of French literature in the Low Countries, such as the popularity of the French models of Dutch translations.

the contexts in which they were used and the value that could be attributed to them based on these contexts.[34]

Combining these language attitudes towards Latin and French with our general outline of all three literatures in Flanders leads to a colourful multilingual literary landscape. Within it we find a reflection of both the general hierarchical relationship between Latin and the vernaculars, and the ability of authors to challenge this *status quo* and introduce different languages into new literary domains. It is this two-pronged literary background that I employ in my analysis of the use of Latin and/or French in Dutch texts and manuscripts.

1.3 The study of multilingualism in the medieval Low Countries

What the previous section has shown is that the literary history of the medieval Low Countries is inherently multilingual. Accordingly, it is impossible for one to tell the story of medieval Dutch without also paying attention to French and Latin. Knowledge of this dynamic has been present since the very earliest contributions to the scholarly field of medieval Dutch literature. The first professor of Dutch language and literature, W.J.A. Jonckbloet, devoted an entire chapter of his *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde* (1888) to the influence of foreign literature on Middle Dutch literature, and in particular to the multilingual context of Flemish literature. Nearly 50 years later, Jozef van Mierlo followed his example by including a chapter on Latin and French literature in his literary history of the Low Countries (1939). The most recent literary history, written by Frits van Oostrom, also contains an entire chapter on the interaction between Dutch, French and Latin.[35] Attention to multilingual dynamics has thus always been present in this field of research, yet it was only towards the end of the twentieth century that literary multilingualism as an independent feature became a topic of academic inquiry.

An important starting point for this inquiry was a 1996 collection of essays published under the guidance of Paul Wackers on the interaction between Middle Dutch literature and *Latinitas*, 'the totality of thoughts and texts in Latin present during the Middle Ages'.[36] Articles in this collection drew attention to the influences of Latin on certain Dutch texts, manuscripts or authors, whilst the introduction written by Wackers about the general importance of Latin to the medieval Dutch literary tradition is still one of the most informed texts on the subject.

A second volume of articles appeared a few years later, in 2000, this time extending the reach from Dutch and Latin to also include French, whilst narrowing the chronological scope of the studies to the thirteenth century. Contributions from this collection offered a more mixed approach to multilingualism, with some articles looking solely at single scribes or texts and others zooming out to describe the diverse use of a single language in a specific genre.[37] Unlike the 1996 collection, this volume also illustrated close ties to the study of multilingualism in administrative

[34] For more examples of reflections on language distinction and the concept of foreignness in medieval literature, see Glück 2002: 51-82 (especially pp. 70-75).
[35] Jonckbloet 1888: 116-125, Van Mierlo 1939: 259-276 and Van Oostrom 2006: 216-233. The work on Flemish literary history by C.A. Serrure in 1872 can be considered a forerunner of our project's approach in that it zooms in on a region rather than a language in the study of literary history.
[36] Wackers *et al.* 1996. The definition of *Latinitas* is given on p. 11 of the introduction (Wackers 1996).
[37] Beyers 2000.

sources, as out of the nine contributions, five focus on documentary sources. What these and later studies on multilingualism in administrative works show is that like in the literary sphere the use of Dutch became more accepted throughout time as clerks began to gradually shift away from Latin to French and eventually Dutch.[38] Furthermore, from a methodological perspective documentary texts proved to be valuable sources to analyze instances of codeswitching and reflections of contemporary verbal interaction.[39] Finally, since scribes were prone to work on both literary works and administrative documents, insights on the scribal behaviour of these figures in a multilingual context are also of great use, as some later chapters in this dissertation will attest to.

The tendency to write about literary multilingualism in collected volumes like those of Wackers and Beyers remains a characteristic of the field to this day, as evidenced by the recent volume on multilingualism in the Burgundian Netherlands edited by Adrian Armstrong and Elsa Strietman (2017) and a study on the connections between the French and Dutch literary traditions of medieval Flanders by Johan Oosterman (2017), which was published in a collection of essays on the literary connections between France and the Low Countries. Three special editions of the international journal *Queeste* published in 2008, 2015 and 2021 are also noteworthy: each looked at different aspects of multilingual relationships between Dutch, French and Latin.[40]

Alongside these scholarly contributions from within the Low Countries, there has also been increased attention on literary multilingualism internationally. Frontrunners here are the abundant studies on multilingualism in medieval England where, like in Flanders, three languages coexisted throughout history.[41] Importantly, these studies draw attention to the presence of French outside of France, which in turn also brought the County of Flanders into focus. As a result, various prominent studies on French outside France have also included contributions looking at the multilingual dynamics of medieval Flanders.[42]

Considering these latest contributions in relation to the earliest studies on multilingualism, the topic of multilingualism has become a literary feature that is both studied more frequently as well as more directly. Characteristic of these studies is their transnational approach (both with regard to the material under review and the media through which scholars present their results) as well as their emphasis on individual case studies, be it of a single work, scribe or author. Since, however, these individual case studies have often been presented separately from one another (e.g., by different authors, in different academic media, in different scholarly contexts), there has been only limited emphasis on the connections between these literary works or actors, or, indeed, on the multilingual culture of the Low Countries as a whole.

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[38] See Cosemans 1934, Armstrong 1965, Kadens 1999 & 2000, De Hemptinne 2000, and specifically for Flanders Prevenier & De Hemptinne 2005 and Boone 2009. See also Croenen 1999 for multilingual charters in Brabant. Cf. Clanchy 1979 as one of the first studies to consider multilingualism in administrative sources in England.

[39] See for instance Ingham & Marcus 2016 and Ingham 2017 on the mixing of Latin and the vernaculars in documentary sources.

[40] Desplenter & Wackers 2008; Mareel & Schoenaers 2015; Van de Haar & Schoenaers 2021. Another recent example is the special issue *Grenzen in de Middeleeuwen* (Borders in the Middle Ages) of the journal *Madoc* (2020), which contains several contributions focusing on medieval literature in a multilingual context (e.g., Demets & Hugen 2020).

[41] The number of studies devoted to multilingualism in medieval England and the British Isles generally is becoming increasingly vast. Some important examples include Trotter 2000, Wogan-Browne *et al.* 2009, Tyler 2011, Amsler 2012, Jefferson & Putter 2013 and Hsy 2013.

[42] See, for example, Kleinhenz & Busby 2010, in which Sleiderink 2010 is found; Morato & Schoenaers 2018, in which Brandsma 2018 is published; and Gilbert, Gaunt & Burgwinkle 2020, which contains a chapter devoted to Flanders.

Also evident from these studies is that there is no single theoretical framework through which to approach multilingualism in medieval literature. In order to grasp the diverse implementation and functionality of literary multilingualism, scholars combine insights from different approaches and decide which theoretical frameworks are best suited to help answer questions that specific works present. This is also the case for my own research here.

1.4 THREE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO MEDIEVAL MULTILINGUALISM

Taking inspiration from these previous studies, my analysis of multilingual texts and manuscripts makes use of a combination of methodological approaches alongside traditional philological ways of studying and reading medieval literature. These approaches each shine light on a different dimension of multilingual literature: the social (emphasizing the way language shapes and reflects social interactions); the material (emphasizing the importance of the production process and physical components of medieval literature on the presentation of multilingualism); and the translational (emphasizing the cultural factors that inform and influence the reception and transmission of multilingual literature in translation). A possible fourth approach centring around the role of institutions such as printing houses, chambers of rhetoric and universities in the production of multilingual literature was considered but in the end excluded due to its limited use for the multilingual texts and manuscripts examined in this dissertation, many of which cannot be confidently connected to a single or specific institution (see §1.5). In recent years a number of excellent studies using this approach have been published, shedding light on the multilingual dimension of communication in and between certain institutions as well as the role played by institutions on the use of languages within specific social or literary domains.[43] Naturally, these valuable insights have been incorporated into my own discussions whenever the institutional context of a multilingual work was to be considered.

In this section, the theoretical framework of each of the three approaches used in this dissertation is introduced, whereby I have limited my discussion to those aspects I deem useful for my analysis of literary multilingualism.

Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society, concerned with the use of language and the social structures in which users of language operate.[44] Sociolinguists view language use as something intrinsically linked to society and therefore also to the various patterns and cultural activities within societies. However, rather than to simply reflect on these societal patterns, language also actively upholds and furthers them. Therefore, Susan Gal argues, 'ways of talking are not just a reflection of social organization, but also form a practice that is one of social

[43] Examples of studies including the role of institutions in their analysis of medieval multilingualism include Croenen 1999, Koopmans 2001, Dlabačová 2008, Kibbee 2010, Crombie 2017, Van Bruaene 2017 and Demets 2021. See also Van de Haar 2019 for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[44] On sociolinguistics, see the introductory works of Hudson 1996 and Spolsky 1998, and more recently Mesthrie 2009 and Meyerhoff 2018. Cf. Meyerhoff & Schleef 2010 for key articles from the field.

organisations' central parts. As such, they are implicated in power relations within societies'.[45] Many of the studies produced by sociolinguists aim to visualize and explain these power relations. To achieve this goal, several concepts have been introduced that also prove valuable to the analysis of language attitudes and relations in medieval literature.

The first, and arguably most fundamental, of these concepts is that of 'codeswitching', which in the words of Penelope Gardner-Chloros is 'the use of words and structures from more than one language or linguistic variety by the same speaker within the same speech situation, conversation or utterance'.[46]

As pointed out by various sociolinguists, including Gardner-Chloros, this definition focuses on oral modes of communication rather than written modes, which makes some of the more detailed applications of the theory less suitable for the analysis of written codeswitching found in medieval multilingual literature.[47] For example, one important difference between oral and written codeswitching lies in the degree of consciousness and intentionality behind the alternation between languages. Whereas in verbal interactions codeswitches can occur quite naturally, in particular during a conversation between bilingual speakers, linguistic shifts in written sources – especially literary ones – are deliberate and intentional.[48] Consider, for example, this instance of written codeswitching in the fourteenth-century satirical nonsense poem *Dit es de Frenesie* ('This is the Madness'):

Selden coemt mi boec in die hant,	Rarely does a book end up in my hand,
Maer ic lere ontginnen pasteiden;	Instead I learn how to carve pies.
Bem ic dan ter quader weiden,	Have I then ended up at a wrong place,
Es een quaet dorp dan parijs?	Is Paris then the wrong town?
Ic wedde *sinc contre sijs*,	I bet *cinq contre six*,
Nochtan eysch ic toe twee aes.	Yet still I claim two aces.
Die seide dat ic ware .i. dwaes,	Those who said I was a fool,
Hine ware mi niet willecome. (ll. 26-33)	Are not welcome here.[49]

The text details the ramblings of a Flemish student as he walks through the streets of Paris, when at one point he decides to gamble. For a brief moment, the student switches from Dutch to French mid-sentence (called intra-sentential codeswitching). In the context of this romance, this switch is neither natural nor necessary; rather, by briefly changing the student's language, the author draws attention to the language of his own text (the poetic function of language) and in doing so adds a new layer of meaning.[50] One could, for instance, say the codeswitch makes the text appear more lifelike, as it presents the student as someone who has lived in Paris for so long that he can switch

[45] Gal 1989: 347. See also Spolsky 1998: 3 and Schendl 2012: 522.
[46] Gardner-Chloros 2009: 5. Other definitions, each with their own emphases, are presented in Poplack 1980: 224, Gumperz 1982: 59, Myers-Scotton 1993b: 1 and Muysken 2011: 302. On codeswitching, in addition to Gardner-Chloros 2009, see also Bullock & Toribio 2009 and the collection of articles in Wei 2000.
[47] On this issue, see for instance Sebba 2012 and Gardner-Chloros & Weston 2015. More detailed descriptions of codeswitching can be found, for instance, in Blom & Gumperz 1972 and Poplack 1980.
[48] See Adams 2003: 299: 'Oral code-switching can happen both consciously and unconsciously, but written code-switching is always the result of a conscious decision made by the author'.
[49] Cited from Parsons & Jongenelen 2009. The translation of 'aes' as 'ace' here refers to the side of a dice with a single dot on it (*WNT*: 'Aes[II]'), and should not be confused with the modern connotation of 'ace' as the highest or lowest card in a standard playing card deck.
[50] On the poetic function of language, see Jakobson 1960.

to French without any effort. Alternatively, the linguistic change could add to the intentionally confused nature of the text, leading the reader or listener to not only struggle to understand the content of the poem but now also even the language in which it is written.

Codeswitches like the one in *Dit es de Frenesie* add new dimensions to Dutch texts, and in a broader sense also provide us with textual evidence of language interaction. Looking more closely at these language interactions, sociolinguist Charles Ferguson introduced in 1959 an important concept to describe societies and linguistic situations in which two distinct but related linguistic varieties are used within different cultural or social settings. This concept is 'diglossia':

> *Diglossia* is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.[51]

The relationship between the two linguistic dialects or variants is commonly described as that of a 'High' variant (H) and a 'Low' variant (L). The differences between these two are what characterizes a state of diglossia. Functionally, H and L are appropriate in different situations: H is often used in highbrow contexts such as religious or learned settings, whilst L is reserved for everyday communication and low brow language expressions. As a result, the H language variant is generally considered superior (socially, culturally and aesthetically) to the L one. This, in turn, is reflected in the literary heritage of the variants, with works of literature written in H being held in higher esteem than those written in L. Most importantly, mastery of H is accomplished by means of a formal education, whereas L is adopted in childhood naturally as one's mother tongue. And because of this last difference, diglossia can also be a means of excluding people from certain social or intellectual discourses within society. In 1976, Joshua Fishman argued that within certain societies the kind of functional specialization identified by Ferguson in subdivisions of a single language is also visible in the interactive relationship between separate languages (known as the 'Fishman extension').[52] Through this extension, the concept of diglossia is also highly useful in understanding the relationships between Dutch, French and Latin in a single region such as medieval Flanders.

Vital to the diglossic relationship between different languages is the amount of prestige associated with each language.[53] Prestige is the esteem accorded to a specific language or language variant within a speech community relative to the other languages or language variants in use within that community. Whichever language is considered most prestigious is likely to be used in domains associated with the higher social classes and, in turn, likely to be considered the H language within a state of diglossia. Through sociocultural factors, certain languages gain prestige at the expense of others, leading to new domains in which the language is employed. The term "domain" is used here in the sociolinguistic sense as introduced by Fishman in 1972, that is, referring to the social and temporal-spatial context in which linguistic interaction takes place, comparable to modern

[51] Ferguson 1959: 336. A revised version of this article is Ferguson 1991. Other theoretical works on Ferguson's notion of diglossia are Berger 1990, Schiffman 1997 and Hudson 2002.
[52] Fishman 1976.
[53] Cf. Sairio & Palander-Collin 2012.

notions of literary and cultural institutions.[54] Domains can be physical entities such as churches, universities, schools and guild halls as well as social categories like the clergy, urban elite or aristocracy, and cultural disciplines like the literary domain, the political domain, the religious domain, and so on.[55]

Concepts like codeswitching, diglossia, prestige and domains all serve as useful tools to compare individual instances of multilingualism in literature to the broader sociolinguistic context of medieval multilingualism. In this study, they also help highlight the social dimensions of multilingual literature.

Material philology

While modern book production can be characterized as a mechanical process with standard production methods, medieval manuscript production is a manual craft determined largely by the individual means, needs and skills of a text producer.[56] As a result, each text and each manuscript is truly unique and highly susceptible to change – either deliberately through the actions of scribes, compilers, binders and readers, or accidentally through decay or destruction over time.[57] Because of this mutability, the material aspects of texts and their vehicles, manuscripts, their production processes and the physical hints concerning their transmission and actual use are all worthy of consideration in the analysis of medieval literature. This idea that texts exist in a particular physical form where the design and structure constitute integral parts of its meaning is called 'textual materialism' and forms the basis of a methodological approach to literature known as 'material philology'.

In its most basic form, material philology emphasizes the analysis of literature in relation to its material context. This context varies from the physical qualities of a manuscript to scribal and user marks and the compositional context of the book as a whole. Since the term was first coined in the last decade of the twentieth century by Stephen Nichols, numerous scholars have adopted the term and turned their eyes to both the material embedment of texts and the functional aspects of miscellanies.[58] Additionally, these studies have brought increased attention to the figures behind the production of manuscripts, moving away from authors and patrons to scribes and book compilers.[59] This interest in the physical production of books in turn also brought new types of literary sources, such as commercial booklists and personal book ownership records, into mainstream discussions.

[54] On the influence of medieval institutions on literary developments in the Low Countries, see the contributions of Remco Sleiderink, Thom Mertens and Arjan van Dixhoorn in Jansen & Laan 2015.

[55] See also Ailes & Putter 2014 (especially pp. 57-60) for examples of domains in which French was used in medieval England.

[56] The manual nature of the craft is, quite literally, signalled by the term given to its product, i.e., *manu* 'by hand' + *scriptus* 'written'.

[57] On the circulation of texts and manuscripts, see also Bourgain 2015 and for the medieval Low Countries in particular Gabriël & Oosterman 2016.

[58] Nichols first introduced the term in 1990 as 'New Philology', before changing it to 'Material Philology' in his introduction to the special issue 'Philologie als Textwissenschaft' of the German academic journal *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (1997).

[59] Important early studies include Cerquiglini 1989, Gehrke 1993, Nichols & Wenzel 1996 and Busby 2002. Of a more recent date are Collet & Foehr-Janssens 2010, Johnston & Van Dussen 2015, Connolly & Radulescu 2015 and Pratt *et al.* 2017a.

Through the activities of scribes and book compilers and the information presented in booklists it is possible to gain a much clearer picture of the multilingual reality of the later Middle Ages. Booklists like those of Michael van der Stoct and Philip Wilant, for example, provide us with valuable proof of bilingual readership in Flanders, whereas the scribes of multilingual manuscripts may prove the same from a production standpoint (though as will become clear, just because a scribe wrote in multiple languages does not equate fluency in these languages).

On the other hand, the methodological tools used to study the material structures of miscellanies can also be successfully employed in the analysis of multilingual multitext manuscripts. One such tool is a concept developed by Peter Gumbert to describe the compositional layout of heterogenous or composite manuscripts (i.e., manuscripts that were produced in different stages or compiled out of different already-existing manuscripts) in a way that highlights the production of the manuscript rather than its reception. This concept, the 'codicological unit', is a discrete number of quires, produced in a single operation or effort (unit of production) *unless it is an enriched, enlarged or extended unit*, containing at least one complete text or a set of texts *unless it is an unfinished, defective or dependent unit*.[60] These codicological units may be differentiated by visual boundaries, such as a different types of paper or parchment, a change of scribe, the start of a new quire or different production dates. Based on the presence or absence of these boundaries, a unit can be either *articulated* or *unarticulated*. When, for example, the boundaries of a text coincide with the boundaries of a quire, we can speak of a *caesura* which separates the unit into different *blocks*. In these instances, it was possible for scribes to move blocks around as well as to separate them at a later date. If a manuscript is unarticulated, it is still possible for the text to display internal boundaries, for example through the distinction between different texts (in which case the unit is *homogeneous* as opposed to *uniform*) or in cases where a single text is written by different scribes (in which case the manuscript is *heterogenetic*, as opposed to *monogenetic* manuscripts that are written by a single scribe). In his codicological terminology, Gumbert provides a more in-depth explanation of these concepts as well as what happens to codicological units as the manuscript containing them increases or decreases in size over time. For the material analysis of multilingual manuscripts, however, what is most important is that the basic concept of codicological units allows us to dissect multilingual manuscripts and examine in more detail how texts in different languages were incorporated in multilingual books.

As stated, Gumbert's concept of the codicological unit is designed to grant insights into the production of manuscripts, rather than the reception of them. This distinction is important, since codicological units may point to separation or clusters of texts from different languages, it does not automatically follow that users of the final product also read the finished work with this construction principle in mind. Consequently, to account for the reception side of multilingual manuscripts, another useful aspect of material philology is the 'dynamics of the codex'.[61] This concept is used to address the meaningful interaction between different texts in a single manuscript from the reader's point of view. Rather than consider the relationship between different texts through the lens of intertextuality or translation, researchers in this field focus on how the meaning of texts can change depending on their material context.[62] As such, this concept forms an excellent

[60] The following discussion is based on Gumbert 2004. See also Kwakkel 2002.
[61] See most recently Pratt *et al.* 2017.
[62] Examples highlighting the importance of the material context on the functionality of texts are Besamusca 2011 and 2012, and Pratt 2017.

framework for the analysis of the textual compositions of multilingual manuscripts and their different uses.

Comparing how texts written in multiple languages are combined in different manuscripts also sheds light on possible cultural or sociolinguistic factors that influence their reception. The importance of this implementation of the 'dynamics of the codex' approach to multilingual manuscripts has been recently illustrated in several studies on multilingual sources from medieval England. An noteworthy example is the work of Ad Putter on the presence of Middle English romances and lyrics in multilingual manuscripts. Putter found that English and French romances rarely featured in the same manuscript, whereas English and French lyrical texts did. This observation led Putter to surmise that perhaps these texts, despite our modern urges to consider both part of courtly or elite culture, actually functioned in additional sociocultural domains. Whilst romances were used by distinctive social and linguistic groups, lyrical works thrived in a more transcultural, European context that was less affected by linguistic boundaries.[63] Consecutive studies by Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan on multilingual manuscripts from Wales and Thea Summerfield on a trilingual miscellany where prose and verse were mixed have further shown diversity in the compositional techniques and principles of multilingual manuscripts.[64] Questions similar to those asked by Putter, Lloyd-Morgan and Summerfield also arise in the chapters of my dissertation that focus on the material dimensions of multilingual texts and manuscripts.

Translation studies

Translation studies is the discipline which investigates phenomena associated with textual translation.[65] Its roots go back to Classical Antiquity, but the term itself was first coined in 1972 by James Holmes in a paper presented during the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics and later published in different written forms, the most prominent being the 1988 article 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies'. Holmes' study is a seminal paper of the discipline and is generally accepted as the founding statement for the field.[66] According to Holmes, the two main objectives of the field are:

> (1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted.[67]

[63] Griffith & Putter 2014 and Putter 2015 (especially pp. 97-99). On the boundlessness of medieval lyric, see also Murray 2019. This topic is further explored in my Chapter 8.
[64] Lloyd-Morgan 2015 and Summerfield 2017. Cf. Dolezalová 2015: 176. In this same vein, the *Carmina Burana* manuscript (Munich, BSB, Cod. Clm 4660) groups together German and Latin texts when they share the same stanza form, implying that they were intended to be sung in the same melody (Pratt *et al.* 2017b: 23 n.20).
[65] Munday 2010: 419.
[66] Gentzler 2001: 93. For an outline of the discipline's modern history, see Weissbort & Eysteinsson 2006 and Malmkjaer 2013.
[67] Holmes 1988: 71.

In order to achieve these objectives, scholars of translation have incorporated insights and methodological frameworks from various adjacent disciplines, resulting in translation studies being a broad discipline with its own subcategories.[68]

One of the most important influences on the study of translation was the so-called 'cultural turn', which was also taking place around the time of Holmes's paper in other scholarly fields of the humanities and social sciences.[69] Central to this cultural turn is the sense of skepticism towards the traditional linguistic approach to translation and its notion of near-literal equivalence. Where traditionally the theoretical worth of an act of translation was measured against how faithfully it transported the content from language A (the *source*) into language B (the *target*), scholars such as Susan Bassnett and Lawrence Venuti argue that in reality this exact form of transmission is close to non-existent. Rather, what most translations aim for is the rewriting of content for a different audience. Translations should thus not just be viewed in relation to the culture and author of the original text, but also with the *target culture* and *target audience* in mind.[70]

On a methodological level, this new emphasis led to a shift from a prescriptive translation theory to a descriptive one. Scholars such as Gideon Toury and José Lambert place less emphasis on the source text and authority of the author, preferring instead to focus on the cultural and literary context that shaped the translated text in its target culture.[71] In practice, this means that comparison between the source text and translation does not limit itself to line-by-line analysis, but also includes a macro-view of the translational principles employed throughout the work (such as rationalization, idealization or estrangement of the source material) and a more important role for the sociocultural and literary milieu in which the translation is believed to have functioned. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, in Flanders this literary milieu was highly multilingual, from which it follows that a translational approach to multilingual literature may both highlight changes made by translators to reshape texts in a (different) multilingual setting and also inform us about the preferences and demands that existed in certain literary and cultural domains.

This new emphasis on both the relationship between the original text and translation and between the source and target cultures also affects the way we view the translator. The primary task of a translator is the transmission of linguistic elements from one language into another. However, since no language operates in a vacuum, the translator's task not only includes the transfer of words, but also the cultural context in which these words appear. The translator has become a mediator in the process of cultural transfer, whose voice may actively influence the content of multilingual translations, as some works I discuss in this dissertation indicate.[72]

One study on medieval translation that illustrates the effectiveness of cultural transfer as a methodological framework is Sif Rikhardsdottir's *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (2012). Rikhardsdottir explores the cultural

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[68] The development of the field has since been outlined in various works. See, for example, Kittel *et al.* 2004, Snell-Hornby 2006, Kuhiwczak & Littau 2007, Munday 2008, Malmkjaer & Windle 2011, Bassnett 2013 and Millán-Varela & Bartrina 2013. Cf. the four-volume series *Handbook of Translation Studies*, edited by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (2010-2013).
[69] Snell-Hornby 1990 and Venuti 2006. On the cultural turn in translation studies and its effects on modern studies, see Singh 2007.
[70] Bassnett & Lefevere 1990: 8. Cf. Marinetti 2011: 26-27.
[71] Lambert & Van Gorp 1985 and Toury 1995. Cf. Hermans 1999 and Assis Rosa 2010. Recent examples of studies on medieval translation using this descriptive approach can be found in Beer 2019. For the study of translation in the Low Countries specifically, see Reynders 2014 and 2018, and Schoenaers 2021.
[72] Bassnett 2011: 95-96 and Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 188. On cultural transfer, see Espagne 1999.

transformations that occur when texts move from one cultural context to another, which, as she puts herself, greatly furthers our understanding of the medieval reception of translations:

> By reading vernacular translations in connection with and through the intellectual history that sustained them, they gain value as cultural and theoretical evidence of medieval reading practices. Translations not only provide evidence of the cultural conditions of their creators, but are the prime site of cultural encounter. They therefore reveal active engagement with the conceptualisation of linguistic and cultural identity, played out in the reconstruction of foreign or 'differing' literary material.[73]

This emphasis on the cultural and literary context of the movement of texts and transmission of knowledge is also at the centre of the analysis of multilingualism in translation in this study. As we will see, both the choice of how to visualize translation as a multilingual element of a manuscript and how to translate multilingual elements themselves can be understood through the lens of cultural transfer. This offers a stimulating new way to consider the translational dimensions of multilingual literature.

1.5 Corpus and dissertation structure

This book centres around six case studies in which specific multilingual texts and manuscripts are discussed in detail using the three methodological approaches introduced in the previous section as the main viewing lenses. Structurally, these case studies form the core of my study, presented in three separate parts (Part II-IV, one for each approach) that are preceded by this introductory chapter (Part I) and followed by a general conclusion (Part V) and apparatus (Part VI). Full details of each case study are presented in these core chapters. Here, I introduce each work briefly and reflect on why they deserve particular attention from a multilingual perspective. The process of finding multilingual Dutch sources is described in Appendix I, which also contains a list of identified multilingual manuscripts from medieval Flanders which contain Dutch and French and/or Latin.

In line with my main research question, the six case studies were selected both for their individual multilingual qualities and to demonstrate the variety within the corpus as a whole in a number of other literary-historical ways (including but not limited to each text's length, their genre, their date and place of origin and the social milieus in which they were produced and read).[74] From a multilingual perspective, efforts were made to include both Dutch-Latin and Dutch-French works as well as texts and manuscripts that contain all three languages. In the case of Dutch-Latin texts, only a small proportion of the total number of literary works could be included. Conversely, the relatively small number of Dutch-French works meant that nearly all of them are discussed

[73] Rikhardsdottir 2012: 2. Other examples of studies on cultural transfer in medieval translation include Hosington 1989, Burke & Hsia 2007, Hollengreen 2008, Renevey & Whitehead 2009, Campbell & Mills 2012, Armstrong 2015 and Speakman Sutch 2017.

[74] Particular care was taken to avoid circular reasoning (e.g. "the corpus is selected for its diverse uses of multilingualism and analysis has shown there to be multilingual diversity in the corpus"). The selected case studies are united in the fact that they are multilingual, but diverse in many other literary-historical aspects; it is from this basis that I pose the question of whether this diversity in literary-historical contexts also translates into multilingual diversity, and if so, what it informs us about the interaction between Dutch, French and Latin in the multilingual culture of late medieval Flanders.

either as individual case studies or as illustrative examples throughout this study.[75] When I had to choose between a number of interesting multilingual texts and manuscripts, I gave preference either to works that have received only limited scholarly attention thus far (and therefore may offer the most new insights) or that added a new perspective on literature from Flanders in general (for example, by representing a unique genre or geographical location).

My first case study (Chapter 2) comprises two songs from the Gruuthuse manuscript, a collection of prayers, songs and poems from c. 1400 produced in Bruges. The manuscript stands out for its use of Dutch as a literary language and the wealth of Dutch songs it contains that are not found elsewhere. Among all these songs, two prove to be exceptionally fascinating within the frames of multilingualism and sociolinguistics. One of these songs contains various references to singing in French, while the other actually contains a French refrain. Furthermore, these two songs are the only two in the manuscript featuring geographical references, both to regions near Bruges. This combination of different languages, a defined sociocultural setting and the international literary culture of medieval Bruges make it possible to analyze these texts from a historical sociolinguistic perspective.

The combination of Dutch and French in the Gruuthuse codex shines light on the diglossic relationship between vernacular languages in medieval Flanders. The second multilingual text is also studied for its illustration of diglossia, this time concerning the relationship between Dutch and Latin (Chapter 3). The *Leeringhe der salichede* is a religious text produced near Bruges in the fourteenth century. Considering the moral-didactic aims of the work, its unique implementation of Latin sheds new light on the diglossic relationship between the vernacular and Latin and adds further context to the development of Dutch as a learned language during the fourteenth century. Since this text is both lengthy and understudied by researchers – even those of medieval Dutch literature – a summary of the text is presented in Appendix II.

The third case study is not a single multilingual manuscript, but a collection of literature produced by two scribes who both worked in the Flemish border city Geraardsbergen (Chapter 4). The first of these scribes is the well-known international scribe and bookseller Guillebert de Mets, who following his lengthy stay in Paris worked for various members of the Burgundian elite from Geraardsbergen. The name of the second scribe is unknown to us, and his surviving (or identified) oeuvre consists of a single composite manuscript of which the second part, the so-called Geraardsbergen codex, is particularly noteworthy. It is a repertoire manuscript with many short texts that were intended to be reproduced as separate booklets or inscriptions. A number of these texts are written in French or Latin, or a mixture of these languages with Dutch, making the manuscript as a whole an interesting lens through which to view the multilingual interests of readers in Geraardsbergen. By comparing the work of this anonymous scribe with that of Guillebert de Mets we are able to witness a snapshot of the multilingual dynamics of the literary production at the periphery of Flanders.

The Geraardsbergen codex contains a mixture of texts from different literary genres. The same holds true for the fourth case study, a fifteenth-century medical composite manuscript known as Hattem C5 (Chapter 5). Besides medical texts – which vary from recipes and herb descriptions

[75] The aforementioned *Dit es de Frenesie* is an example of the latter. Dutch-French works from outside of Flanders are discussed in Hugen 2022. Two excluded Dutch-French Flemish texts are the Arthurian romances *Lanceloet* and *Arturs doet*, which both contain the same French placename 'Le tere foreine'. This multilingual element is discussed fully by Brandsma 2019: 253-254 and thus did not warrant further attention here.

to surgical instructions and plague treatises – the codex also encompasses alchemical, astrological, didactic and cosmetic texts. What makes this primarily Dutch codex significant from a multilingual perspective is that several of the texts are written in French and one in Latin, making Hattem C5 a very rare example of a trilingual medical manuscript from the Low Countries. Additionally, these texts are found in different codicological units of the manuscript, which has a complicated structure outlined separately in Appendix III. This mixture of texts from different genres in different languages found in different sections of the codex make it an ideal test case to examine using the dynamics of the codex approach, as this approach emphasizes precisely how these different factors play into the functionality and presentation of the medical book as a whole. Furthermore, the Hattem C5 manuscript adds a new and distinctive facet to the corpus as a multilingual work of vernacular scientific literature, an important yet relatively little studied category of medieval Dutch literature.

The fifth case study comprises a number of multilingual texts and manuscripts, including the *Livre des mestiers* that opened this chapter, all of which are bilingual editions in which a single text is presented in two languages (Chapter 6). What unites these different works is that they each aim to teach the reader a new language by presenting the same content in different languages alongside each other. This parallel presentation means the text could be used by both Dutch and French readers to learn the other language. Looking at these works, a large proportion of which are written in Flanders or inspired by early Flemish examples like the *Livre*, we can see differences in both the presentation of multilingualism and the types of content used for instruction. This diversity suggests that not all bilingual editions were read in the same way, and that in some cases language acquisition may not have been the work's primary or only aim. This introduces the question central to this case study: how does the multilingual presentation of juxtaposed translations reflect or facilitate the use of different bilingual editions?

The final text discussed is arguably the most well-known Dutch story from medieval Flanders, the beast epic *Van den vos Reynaerde* (Chapter 7). Vernacular bilingual texts containing Dutch and French are seldom found, as identified above, but those like *Reynaert* that also contain Latin as a third language are even more rare. This text's trilingual aspect has only recently received scholarly attention and is in itself reason enough to analyze it in a study on multilingual literature from Flanders. An additional point of interest, however, is the *Nachleben* of the text. Shortly after *Reynaert* was completed, a Latin translation was made of the text, also in Flanders, known as *Reynardus vulpes*. A century later, another author would turn to *Reynaert*, adding new episodes and an alternative ending. This continuation is called *Reinaerts historie* and it too is believed to originate in Flanders. These three works all give a different twist to the literary aspect of multilingualism. Using insights from translation studies, and in particular the concept of cultural transfer, I argue that changes in multilingualism correlate with the changing sociocultural interests of new audiences.

Combined, these six case studies illustrate the breadth and diversity of medieval Dutch literature from Flanders. The corpus mixes multilingual texts and manuscripts from a wide array of literary genres and spans the entire landscape of Flanders throughout the later Middle Ages. What may initially be understood as six individual discussions are in actuality different voices in the same discussion on the multilingual diversity of the literary culture in late medieval Flanders. Some unifying factors and connections between these voices are evident within each chapter, whilst a more concerted effort emphasizes overarching characteristics across all case studies. The ways in which the different methodological approaches I use supplement one another is explored in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

PART II. SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

2

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF FRENCH IN TWO GRUUTHUSE MANUSCRIPT SONGS

2.1 THE GRUUTHUSE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS FRENCH LYRICAL INFLUENCES

The Dutch literary legacy of the Middle Ages has famously been compared to a once great fleet whose very existence we can now only attempt to describe based on a handful of surviving ships and many floating pieces of debris.[76] It is a rare occasion that we stumble on magnificent ships which, whilst often still damaged and incomplete, showcase the best that medieval Dutch literature had to offer. The Gruuthuse manuscript might well be considered one of these exceptional cases, as inside it we encounter a large number of Dutch texts of a high literary quality not found elsewhere.[77] As the majority of these texts are songs, including some that have since garnered extraordinary praise, such as the *Kerelslied* and the *Egidius* song, the manuscript is commonly known as the Gruuthuse song codex.

This codex was produced around 1400 in West Flanders, most likely Bruges, and named for its first known owner, Lodewijk van Gruuthuse (c. 1427-1492, also known as Louis de Bruges). The book consists of three types of texts, which in the most recent edition are numbered as prayers (I), songs (II) and poems (III).[78] The lyrical part in the middle is the most substantial, containing over 140 songs with notation, and can formally be divided into ballads, rondeaux and chansons (a collective name for a variety of songs in which the composition does not conform to any of the known *formes fixes*).[79]

All of these songs (as well as the poems and prayers) are written in Dutch, which in the context of Bruges around 1400 is intriguing, as during this period in history the musical culture of Flanders seems to have been largely centred around the French lyrical tradition.[80] Works by poets like Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300-1377) and Eustache Deschamps (1346-1406/1407) were well known to and appreciated by the social elite of Flanders, as evidenced, for example, by Machaut himself presenting a copy of his *Voir dit* to Louis de Male, Count of Flanders (1330-1385) in 1375.[81] Among this social elite we may also include the two figures traditionally associated with the production of the Gruuthuse codex, namely Jan Moritoen, a wealthy craftsman referenced in an

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[76] This well-known comparison is made by Wim Gerritsen (1963, I: 147).

[77] See on this Hogenelst & Rierink 1992: 27-28 and Willaert 1997. Cf. Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 34.

[78] Edition: Brinkman & De Loos 2015. References to the Gruuthuse manuscript are to this edition. For a discussion of the historical composition of the manuscript, which does not fully correspond with the modern presentation, see the extensive introduction of the manuscript in this edition, as well as Van den Abeele 2008, Brinkman 2010 and 2011, and Porck *et al.* 2015. Lastly, for an English introduction to this manuscript, see Willaert 2016: 552-558 and Strijbosch 2018.

[79] On the musical notation, see Vellekoop 1992 and De Loos 2008 and 2010.

[80] On music in Bruges, see Strohm 1985 and Brown 2011. Cf. Reynaert 1989.

[81] Coleman 2000 and Taylor 2009: 155. For more examples such as these, see Kügle 2010: 87 n.15 and Earp 1995: 88-89, 94, 96, 102, 104-105 (the study Kügle 2010 is primarily referring to).

acrostichon in the poem *Fontein-allegorie* (III.13) who was active as an alderman and council member in Bruges (1413-1414), and Jan van Hulst, a creative jack of all trades whose cultural activities brought him in contact with the highest nobility such as Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and Margaret III, Countess of Flanders.[82] Van Hulst is also listed as the author of one of the Gruuthuse poems (III.11) and is one of the likeliest candidates for being the creative mastermind and compiler behind the entire codex.[83]

A question that arises is why the Gruuthuse poets chose to compose and compile Dutch songs rather than French ones, knowing the primary audience of the songs may very well have been found in the same elite Francophile circles in which Jan Moritoen and Jan van Hulst moved.[84] To approach this question, this chapter focuses not on the totality of Dutch works in the codex, but instead on the various French influences and elements that are present in the otherwise Dutch content of the Gruuthuse manuscript. As previous research has shown, French influences are especially evident on a stylistic and compositional level, for instance in its employment of *formes fixes* that are frequently used in French songs but rarely found in Dutch song collections.[85] Furthermore, there is one song in the codex that contains a reference to a French song in its refrain. Text II.92: *Ach, Hertze, die in liden staet* (Oh Heart that suffers) is a chanson reflecting on the anguish of unrequited love and the grip that Venus holds on lovers. Its refrain consists of a single French line, noted in an abbreviated form: 'Pour quoy je di, et cetera.' (ll. 7, 14, 21: Therefore I say, etc.). The use of French in this refrain supposes an audience that was bilingual: in order for the lyrics to function as intended, the song relies on the fact that, like the performer working with the abbreviated notation, the audience would be familiar with the French song on which the refrain was based.[86]

In addition to song II.92, two other texts contain either French elements or references to the use of French in a lyrical setting: II.16: *Ic hadde een lief vercoren* (I had chosen a lover) and II.17: *De capelaen van Hoedelem* (The chaplain of Oedelem). These songs share various attributes that suggest they were composed and possibly intended to be read in unison, as is done in this chapter. In what follows I argue that the use of French in these songs alongside the social implications foregrounded by the songs' narratives may inform us about the linguistic choices of the Gruuthuse poets in the composition of the Gruuthuse song codex as a whole. Further, I argue, they add to our knowledge about the relationship between Dutch and French in Bruges around 1400. Each song is analyzed in detail in separate sections (§2.2 and §2.3), followed by a discussion on the social context of the songs (§2.4). In conclusion, I return to the question posed above, namely the motivation behind the poets' choice to compile this particular collection in Dutch for what was probably a French-speaking audience (§2.5).

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82 On Jan Moritoen see Geerts 1909, Heeroma 1966 and Brinkman 2002. On The life and activities of Jan van Hulst, see Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 171-218 and Reynaert 1993a. Cf. Mareel 2005: 93 and 2010.

83 On the suggestion that Van Hulst may be the compiler of the Gruuthuse codex, see in particular Willaert 2008, 2015: 105 and 2021: 437-441, as well as Oosterman 1992, Van Oostrom 2015 and Brinkman 2015.

84 On the primary reception of the Gruuthuse texts, see Koldeweij & Oosterman 2013: 261-262. The issue of the primary reception of the songs is addressed in more detail in this chapter.

85 On these French influences see Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 143 n.385 and 144 n.386, Reynaert 1984: 37, 39 and 41, and De Loos 2010: 114. Cf. Reynaert 1987. On the lack of French *formes fixes* in other Dutch song collections, see Willaert 1997 and Brinkman 2011: 60.

86 No direct French source has been identified for this song, although the line itself is found in several songs in the tradition of Machaut and Deschamps (see Brinkman & De Loos 2015, II: 106-107).

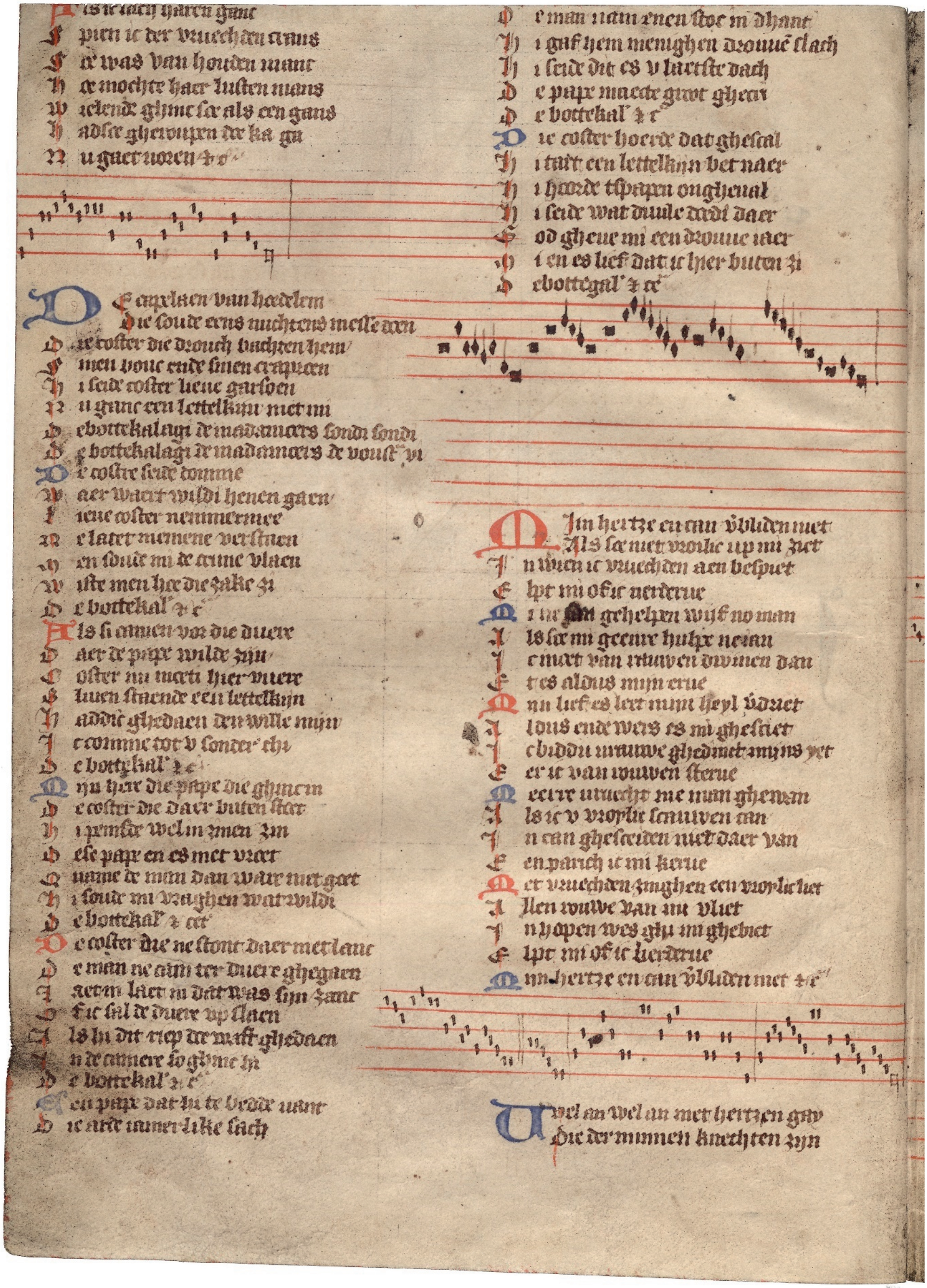

Figure 1. Song II.17: *De capelaen van Hoedelem* in the Gruuthuse manuscript. The top left of the folio also shows the closing lines of song II.16: *Ic hadde een lief vercoren* (The Hague, KB, MS 79 K 10, fol. 13va). Source: KB The Hague.

2.2 *De capelaen van Hoedelem* (II.17)

One morning, the chaplain of Oedelem was planning to perform Mass. The sacristan followed him, carrying his book and his cloak, but was unsure where the chaplain was actually going. When he asked the chaplain, he quickly urged the sacristan not to tell anyone for people would surely punish him if they knew. The chaplain then entered a house and asked the sacristan to wait outside to keep watch. Before too long, however, the owner of the house arrived, throwing the door open only to find the chaplain lying in his bed (assumingly with the man's wife). Angered, the man proceeded to beat the chaplain with a stick, whilst the sacristan seemed relieved their places were not reversed.[87]

This brief description of events summarizes the adventures of the chaplain of Oedelem as told in the Gruuthuse manuscript (*Fig. 1*), barring two recurring lines that make up the refrain. What these lines actually intend to tell us remains a matter of debate. The sentences show no clear syntactical or grammatical structure and, when read out loud phonetically, appear to represent a muddled form of French:

> De bottekalagi, de madamoers sondi, sondi
> De bottekalagi, de madamoers, de voustra vi

Both the study of Joris Reynaert and that of Herman Brinkman and Ike de Loos have suggested the lines might be a reference to a now lost French song.[88] Songs II.92 and II.17 are written by the same scribe (scribe A), so this scribe may have known some French.[89] Accordingly, this now lost song would have necessarily had a muddled presentation – which without any knowledge of or external evidence of this song is difficult to determine – or was deliberately muddled by the scribe, for which no particular reason can be assumed. Alternatively, a third option considered here is that the writer of *De capelaen van Hoedelem* deliberately altered the presentation of the French song or invented the muddled refrain himself with a particular narrative effect in mind. Before turning to this possibility and what this effect might have been, it is useful to first surmise the exact meaning of the muddled sentences.

Looking at the earliest edition of the text, that of Charles Carton (1849), unfortunately offers no help in this regard, since Carton only presented the first couplet of the entire text and did not include any notes or remarks concerning the French refrain.[90] The later edition by Klaas Heeroma (1966) does present a reading of the sentence, partially based on a study by Nico van de Boogaard, who was at the time affiliated with the University of Amsterdam as a tutor of French.[91] Van de Boogaard interpreted 'madamoers' (*mal d'amours*, loveache), 'kalagi' (relating to the verb *alegier*, to alleviate) and 'botte' (coinciding with either *bonté*, kindness, or *beauté*, beauty) in his analysis of the refrain. This then allowed Heeroma to reconstruct the sentences as follows (p. 266):

[87] For the full text, see Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 324-326.
[88] Reynaert 1993: 163; Brinkman & De Loos 2015, II: 48.
[89] On the activities of scribe A, see Brinkman 2010: 30.
[90] Carton 1849: 74. Additionally, Carton's edition of the French lines also contains a slight deviation from that of later editors of the text; he interprets the closing words to be 'voustvi' instead of 'voustra vi'. Consulting images of the manuscript on this matter suggests Carton overlooked the abbreviation marks and instead merged the two concluding words. See also Mak 1960, according to whom Carton made over a thousand transcribing errors in his edition.
[91] Heeroma 1966: 266.

De beaute k'alegit de mal d'amours son dis, son dis.
De beaute k'alegit de mal d'amours, de voustre vis.

A rough translation of these lines would be:

About the beauty that alleviates my love ache, I sing a song.
About the beauty that alleviates my love ache, I live to screw.

Interesting here is the interpretation of 'voustre' as a variation of the verb 'foutre', resulting in a rather suggestive translation for the second line. Unfortunately, Heeroma does not offer any commentary to substantiate this interpretation, which at a first glance seems less straightforward than the reading of 'voustre' as a form of the pronoun 'vôtre' (you). This more understandable, albeit also less exciting, reading is presented in the most recent edition of the Gruuthuse song by Brinkman and De Loos. Aside from their interpretation of 'voustra', Brinkman and De Loos largely follow Heeroma's understanding of the sentence, though preferring a more neutral reading of 'sondi' as 'sont dis' (it is said).[92] Their interpretation of the sentence reads as follows:

De bottekalagi, de madamoers sondi, sondi.
De bottekalagi, de madamoers, de voustra vi.

About the beauty that alleviates my loveache, it is said.
About the beauty that alleviates my loveache, according to you.

What this reconstruction illustrates – whether one prefers the interpretation of Heeroma or Brinkman and De Loos – is a thematic contrast between the religious coating of the song (a chaplain performing Mass) and the sexual and amorous reality of the plot (a chaplain meeting up with a woman who is already seeing someone else to have intercourse). This contrast is not unique to song II.17, but rather a common recurring *topos* in certain works of medieval literature in which religious figures are presented in comically erotic contexts, including in other songs from the Gruuthuse codex.[93] Song II.86: *Ic sach een scuerdure open staen* (I saw an open barndoor) tells of two people making love inside a barn. The two are 'suster Lute', a beguine, and 'broeder Lollaert', a traveling mendicant (i.e., a lollard). Their erotic activities are also described ironically in relation to devotional practices, for instance when Lute is described as praying with her legs aimed at the heavens or said to read from the psalm book of 'cokerduunschen' (l. 13), referring both to a fictitious geographical location, Kokerduinen, as well as alluding to the male genitalia.[94]

In song II.86 the contrast between religious piety and sexual exuberance is repeatedly presented through comical word play and deliberate ambiguity. This ambiguity is also present in song II.17, for instance in sentences such as 'Haddic ghedaen den wille mijn' (l. 21: After I have

[92] Brinkman & De Loos 2015, II: 48.
[93] Herchert 1996: 132 and Koldeweij & Oosterman 2013: 265. See Stalpaert 1969 for examples of erotic songs concerning the religious in medieval and early modern Dutch literature.
[94] Edition: Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 446-449. In this erotic reading, 'cokerduunschen' is read as 'narrow (duunschen) tube (coker)'.

had my way) and perhaps 'Ic comme tot u, sonder chi' (l. 22: I will quickly come to you).[95] Furthermore, it is possible that the mere mention of 'performing Mass' or even of a chaplain would have alerted readers and listeners that the song contains a double entendre, that is, another more erotic meaning. To explain this last suggestion, a brief excursion to another Flemish text may be enlightening. In the beast epic *Van den vos Reynaerde* (the topic of Chapter 7), various animals gather at court to bring forth accusations against Reynaert the fox, one of whom is the beaver Pancer. His accusation, however, has become more commonly associated with the victim of the crime, who Pancer describes as an eye-witness. Pancer claims one day he saw Reynaert with Cuwaert the hare as he 'soudene maken capelaen' (l. 143: tried to make him a chaplain).[96] As the beaver explains:

Doe dedine sitten gaen	Then he made him sit
Vaste tusschen sine beene.	Tightly between his legs.
Doe begonsten si overeene	Together they began to practice
Spellen ende lesen beede	Spelling and reading
Ende lude te zinghene crede. (ll. 144-148)	And to sing the creed loudly.

This passage has been convincingly interpreted to depict a sexual act rather than a religious lesson. This reading is based on textual evidence and comparable descriptions in other medieval texts and supported by an illustration found in a Flemish Latin Book of Hours depicting characters from the Reynard tradition, including a scared hare with a 'bloodied bottom' (*Fig. 2*).[97] Describing the importance of the notion of a 'capelaen' in this erotic context, in her discussion on the Cuwaert passage Astrid Houthuys cites Remco Sleiderink, who explains that when one is made a chaplain, his hair is tonsured and a shiny crown revealed as a result. This act, in turn, resembles revealing the head of the penis whilst masturbating.[98] Interestingly, tonsuring is also mentioned by the chaplain of song II.17 when he expresses his fear that if people were to discover his true actions whilst "performing the Mass" they would surely 'strip down his crown' (l. 13). These references to chaplains in relation to various sexual acts make it plausible that starting a story off with 'a chaplain wanted to perform the Mass in the morning' (ll. 1-2) would have likely been enough of a clue to the audience about the type of song they were about to hear.[99]

[95] Herchert 1996: 13. It should be noted, however, that Herchert's first example is interpreted incorrectly. Herchert claims the chaplain sets out to peform Mass at night, which is unusual and thus invites an alternative, metaphorical reading. Likely Herchert mistranslated 'nuchtens' (l. 2), which does not mean 'at night' but 'in the morning' (*MNW*, 2: 633). The case of 'ic comme tot u, sonder chi' does not allow for an erotic reading within the context of the sentence, but as Fred Lodder (1997: 83) has shown, this phrasing was commonly used in an erotic sense in Dutch texts, German Märchen and French fabliaux.

[96] Edition and translation: Bouwman & Besamusca 2009.

[97] The most recent discussion of this matter is Houthuys 2005 (whose reading of 'Cuwaert' as 'Kontwaarts' (directed towards a bottom) is not wholly convincing). On the illustration of the hare with the bloodied bottom, see Meuwese 2006.

[98] This interpretation is described in Houthuys 2005: 179 and based on personal communication between Sleiderink and Houthuys. Already in 1909, Buitenrust Hettema (1909: 10) offered a similar interpretation, but supposedly based this on a conversation he overheard between two female confectionary workers during a train ride.

[99] Perhaps this situation is comparable to Dutch statements like 'Komt een man bij de bakkker' (A man walks into a bakery) or in English 'A man walks into a bar', both of which are clear signals that a joke is being told.

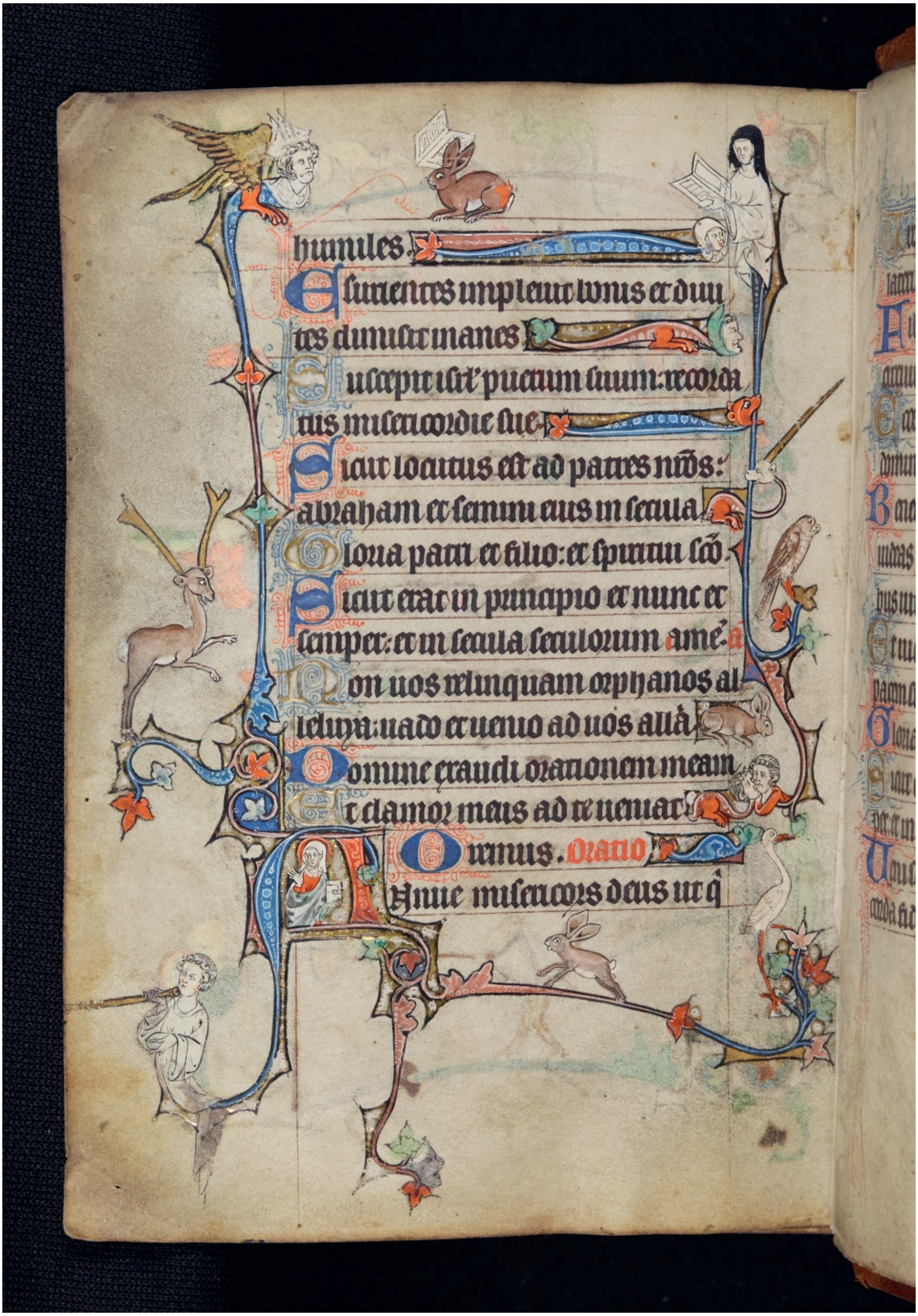

Figure 2. Hare with bloodied bottom at the top of the folio, linked to the Cuwaert episode in *Van den vos Reynaerde* (Cambridge, TC, MS B.11.22, fol. 214v). Source: Trinity College Wren Library.

The use of French in the refrain plays into this contrast between the innocent descriptions of the chaplain's religious activities and the amorous context of his actual actions. Considering the refrain comes immediately after the chaplain's invitation to the sacristan to follow him and thematically aligns with his amorous adventure, it is perhaps most likely on a narrative level that the character meant to be singing this French refrain is the chaplain.[100] Talking of beauty and loveache, the register displayed by the chaplain is that of courtly love, the origin of which is found in the French literary tradition. Ever since the lyrical compositions of French troubadours in the style of the *fin'amors* and the adulterous endeavours of Lancelot and Tristan, the French language has been associated with love, and more specifically the physical manifestations and unbridled desires of love.[101] Part of this connection to love likely comes from the aesthetic praise given to French as a 'sweet' (French: *doulz*) language, as found for instance in the prologue to the 1396 *Manière de langage*, a manual designed to teach French through sample dialogues:

> Ci comence la maniere de language que t'enseignera bien a droit parler et escrire doulz françois selon l'usage et la coustume de France. […] qu'ils pourront avoir sens naturel d'aprendre a parler, bien soner, et a droit escrire doulz françois, qu'est la plus bel et la plus gracious language et [le] plus noble parler aprés latin d'escole qui soit ou monde, et de tous gens mieulx prisee et amee que nul autre.
>
> Here begins the language manual that will teach you to speak correctly and to write elegant French according to the practice and conventions of France. […] so that they can have an innate grasp of learning how to speak, accurately pronounce and correctly write elegant French, which is the most beautiful and most gracious language and the most noble speech after educated Latin in the world, better praised and loved by all peoples than any other.[102]

Changing to this sweet language right as the chaplain begins to sing of beauty and love is most likely no coincidence and instead meant to invite listeners to compare the clergyman with romantic lovers like Lancelot and Tristan. By adopting the French amorous register in his speech, the chaplain depicts himself as a lover setting out on an amorous adventure. As the events of the text show us, however, the chaplain will be unsuccessful in his love quest: he is neither as clever as Tristan nor as empowered by love as Lancelot, and is consequently caught by the husband of his lover and severely beaten (l. 42). Importantly, this contrast is foregrounded by the muddled presentation of French. Where the chaplain fails to act like a courtly lover, so too does he fail to speak correctly as one in sweet French. As a result, by introducing French and its amorous connotations as a literary multilingual device, song II.17 manages to present the chaplain as a fool in both words and deeds.

Whilst not all of these discussed cases of interpretative ambiguity are expected to be detected by all members of the text's audience, it is likely that on the whole and within the context of the Gruuthuse manuscript they illustrate the desire and intention of the author to implant multiple layers of meaning into his text. Of these layers, the most prominent and visible ones are

[100] It is possible that in the actual performance of the song members of the audience would sing along with these lines. Cf. De Loos 2010: 128.
[101] See, for instance, various contributions in Kooper & Busby 1990, Kay, Cave & Bowie 2003: 34-41 and Shinnick 2008. Cf. Kügle 2015: 121.
[102] Citation and translation are from Wogan-Browne, Fenster & Russel 2016: 59-60. Cf. Schoenaers & Van de Haar 2021: 225, who reference a late sixteenth-century poem by Philippe Bosquier, a Franciscan monk from Hainaut, in which French speakers are characterized by their 'doulxsonnante vois' (sweet-sounding voice).

those of the sexual innuendo and the satire of French courtly culture. One possible connection between these two topics is found in the French refrain: the chaplain tried to imitate the French language of the *fin'amors* and the courtly adventures of romance heroes, but fails to do so and consequently makes a mockery of himself. Further support for this connection can be found in the song directly preceding song II.17, in which all these elements also feature prominently.

2.3 *IC HADDE EEN LIEF VERCOREN* (II.16)

As noted in this chapter's introduction, songs II.16 and II.17 share various similarities, leading scholars to suggest that perhaps the two songs were meant to be read as a set. From a material standpoint this is certainly possible, though not necessary: both songs are part of the original core of the manuscript, which is believed to have consisted of the first 62 songs, all written by scribe A in a relatively brief period of time.[103] From a compositional standpoint, the first scholar to suggest that songs II.16 and II.17 were intended as a dyad was Klaas Heeroma, who in the introduction to his edition of the Gruuthuse manuscript argued that the song collection was divided into twelve sections that each ended with a set of two uncourtly songs.[104] On the whole, this theory did not garner much support, as many of the "uncourtly" songs were neither uncourtly nor necessarily isolated from the rest of the corpus.[105] Songs II.16 and II.17 may, however, be the exception to the rule.

Structurally, songs II.16 and II.17 are largely similar. Both are ballades with strophes of six lines and refrains of two sentences in which the amorous trist between a protagonist and his lover is portrayed in an erotically comical manner. In song II.16, this protagonist is the young first-person narrator/singer of the song, who convinces his love to join him in the forested outskirts of town to be intimate. The core of the song consists of descriptions given by the singer of his beloved, to whom he says goodbye at the end of the song.[106] It is especially in these descriptions that we find an emphasis on double meanings, erotic word play and French courtly culture similar to song II.17.

In *De capelaen van Hoedelem* what is introduced as a clergyman performing a religious ceremony is quickly revealed to be a guise for an adulterous encounter. In *Ic hadden een lief vercoren* the deceptive contrast lies in the persona of the singer's lover. The singer describes her in the most courtly manners imaginable, but in reality she is not a beautiful maiden or perfect bride, but instead a crippled and deformed elderly prostitute.[107] Rather than a prototypical Snow White with milky

[103] Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 77, 105.
[104] Heeroma 1966: 196. This theory is also known as 'the calendar theory'. The supposed dyads are II.16-17, II.26-27, II.37-38, II.48-49, II.57-58, II. 71-72, II. 85-86, II. 105-106, II. 121-122 and II. 144-145.
[105] For criticism regarding the 'calendar' aspect of Heeroma's theory, see Gerritsen 1969, Reynaert 1992: 160-161 and Kügle 2015: 121. Heeroma would comment on Gerritsen's critique in an article of his own (Heeroma 1969), in which he stated that by 'uncourtly' he did not mean 'devoid of courtly elements' but instead texts which distanced themselves from courtly ideals through a focus on realism (p. 283).
[106] Edition: Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 320-323.
[107] The female character is never explicitly called a prostitute in the text, but this can be assumed based on the fact she is described as missing an ear (l. 3), a type of corporal punishment inflicted upon beggars, thieves and prostitutes – of which only the last option fits the narrative context. On this medieval practice in the Netherlands, see Berents 1976: 40-41 and Van Dellen 1987: 92.

hands and soft lips, her hands are dark as coal (ll. 33-34) and her lips blue and yellow (ll. 51-52).[108] Despite all this, the singer calls her his 'soete minnekijn' (l. 9: sweet darling) and 'scone vrouwe' (l. 25: beautiful lady), who offers him her 'trouwe' (l. 27: loyalty) and fills him with joy when she kisses him (ll. 53-54). And whilst the singer concludes his song by saying he does not fear losing his beloved to any other man because of her loyalty to him, in reality the audience members surely understand why in actuality it is indeed unlikely any other man will confess his love for her.

The encounter itself is highly sexual in its content and, like in song II.17, described playfully in clouded terms. When singing indulgently about their activities in the forest, the singer proclaims his girlfriend taught him how to 'shoot for birds', in reality meaning she taught him how to have sex.[109] Whilst within her presence, the youngster asks God to make sure he will remain 'vaste' (l. 30), aptly translated by Brinkman as 'stiff' rather than 'steadfast'. And perhaps most obviously, we may consider the refrain:

Nu gaet voren, voren, voren,	Now move forward, forward, forward.
Nu gaet voren, ic volghe u na.	Now move forward, I will follow behind you.[110]

What these examples illustrate is that this ostensibly courtly song about two lovers in actuality tells of an elderly whore teaching a young, unexperienced man how to make love.

In order to create this playful contrast, song II.16 also makes use of French elements and courtly etiquette. Song II.17, in addition to its French refrain, also contains various French loan words or words that have been deliberately "Frenchified".[111] The sacristan is not a 'cnape' (boy), but a 'garsoen' (l. 5, French: *garçon*) and when the chaplain promises to truly and quickly return from his sexual escapades, he does so 'sonder chi' (l. 22: French: *sans si*). In song II.16 we see a similar practice. The singer's lover offers him her '*meine*' (l. 33, French: *main*) and later sings to him with a sweet 'vois' (l. 44, French: *voix*). In addition to lacing song II.16 with sexual references and ironic depictions of courtly love and etiquette, the text also connects both of these themes to the French language. As we saw in song II.17, the chaplain is unable to correctly pronounce the French words he utters in the refrain. In similar fashion the prostitute in song II.16 is said to sing in French unsuccessfully:

Soe boot mi haer anscijn	She moved her face close to mine
Ende zoe sanc in Fransois.	And she sang in French.
Recht als een ongherich zwijn	Just like a hungry swine
So ghinc haer zoete vois.	Was her sweet voice.
Mi dincke ic minne gheerne iet mois.	I think I greatly love something beautiful.
Ic halp haer zinghen 're, mi, fa.' (ll. 41-46)	I helped her sing 're mi fa'.

[108] Kügle (2015: 117-118) suggests that the odd colours of her lips relate both to physical illness (yellow pointing to hepatitis, blue to blunt trauma) as well as to the colours of the French royal symbol, the *fleur-de-lys*. This would once more connect the themes of sexuality, parody of the courtly tradition and French culture. Blue lips may also point to respiratory diseases which would have been rampant among the poor. I thank Jenneka Janzen for this consideration.
[109] Cf. Mak 1960: 8.
[110] Were we to accept Heeroma's reading of the refrain in song II.17, then both songs would contain a refrain in which the act of making love is ambiguously described.
[111] On this practice, see Schoenaers 2017 and Emerson 2017.

No other lyrical text in the Gruuthuse collection mentions the French language specifically, making it once more curious to find this reference right next to one of only two songs that actually contain French. Furthermore, the use of French in the song brings forth erotic connotations that resemble the amorous context of French in song II.17. In the final verses of the couplet that directly precedes the lines cited above, the singer explains how he and his lover went 'ter minnen scole' (l. 37: to the school of love) yet could not speak anything beyond 'bu' or 'ba'.[112] Read against these lines, the notion of singing in French entails not so much the mastery of French speech but rather the execution of "French sounds", that is the sound produced during intercourse.[113]

The reference to 're mi fa' is also notable in this context, for it adds a religious note to the sexual inuendo. 'Re mi fa' are some of the first syllables of each line of *Ut queant laxis*, a hymn to John the Baptist that was used across medieval Europe to teach music based on the method of Guido of Arezzo.[114] As such, by referencing these lines in a didactic context, the author of the text is using a sacred work to mask the sounds of the woman's orgasm.

These erotic connotations are also emphasized by the metaphorical comparison made between the prostitute and certain animals. The first of these is a pig or swine, referenced here as 'zwijn' (l. 43). The pig was one of the lowest ranking animals in the medieval bestiary and often associated with lust and uncontrolled desire.[115] Towards the end of the song the prostitute is compared to an animal once more, again in the context of singing in unintelligent ways:

Wielende ghinc soe als een gans,	Wobbling side to side she went like a goose,
Had soe gheroupen doe: 'Ka ga' (ll. 69-70)	When she yelled: 'Ka ga'.

These final words, 'Ka ga', have no meaning in Dutch and the traditional explanation for them is that they are meant to resemble the gawking of a goose.[116] Like the pig, the goose was also symbolically associated with sex due to the extraordinary length of its mating season.[117] Combined, these connections further the idea that the singer's lover is far from a courtly maiden, and that her attempts to appear as such through singing in French only make her less convincing.

Like the chaplain in song II.17, whenever the prostitute tries to sing in French as a courtly lover, in reality she sounds unintelligent, and acts uncourteously in a vulgar, socially unacceptable or condemnable sexual manner. Both texts poke fun at people speaking incorrectly and in situationally misplaced French. This mockery is not aimed at French as a language *per se*, but rather

112 On these lines, see Kügle 2015: 116-117. Kügle also claims the progression of 're mi fa' resembles the growing erotic excitement of the prostitute, leading to her entering a beastly state. This interpretation, and particularly its continuation that this 're mi fa' later turns into 'doe ka ga' (l. 70), is, however, unconvincing.

113 The relationship between producing music and making love is also found in other Gruuthuse songs, such as II.38 and II.121, and is a common theme in other medieval European songs. See for this connection in general De Mirimonde 1966, Leach 2006 and Blackburn 2015, and for the Gruuthuse manuscript specifically Reynaert 1992: 164 and Herchert 1996: 212.

114 On this hymn, see Harbinson 1971, and for its use in musical education, see Pesce 2010 and Busse Berger 2018. Lastly, on the musical pedagogy of Guido of Arezzo, see Reisenweaver 2012. I thank Jenneka Janzen for bringing this text to my attention.

115 Regalado 2007: 241.

116 Cf. Brinkman & De Loos 2015, I: 323. An alternative, albeit slightly problematic translation would be 'jackdaw, go!', referring to the earlier mention of 'ka' in l. 22. Within the erotic metaphor, the prostitute would be the jackdaw, meaning the closing remarks of the song would herald the exit of the prostitute and thus the end of the song. A third option is that the short phrase was meant represent a muddled case of French like in song II.17, considering the other time the prostitute sang she was also compared to a farm animal and that time she sang in French.

117 Cf. Kügle 2015: 118 n.16.

at how and in which context certain people will use it. The songs collected in the Gruuthuse codex consistently borrow French loan words, lyrical forms and themes from French courtly literature – even the theme of the unattractive prostitute is found in French works, including those by Machaut.[118] The commentary on French in songs II.16 and II.17 should therefore not be seen as a dismissal of French but rather as a disapproval of using French incorrectly or unnecessarily.

This observation is, I think, the key to understanding the functionality of French in these two songs and their relationship with the overwhelming use of Dutch in the Gruuthuse codex. The Gruuthuse manuscript as a whole praises and highlights the aesthetic qualities of Dutch as a literary language and does so partly by emulating or adopting elements from the French courtly lyrical tradition. The role of songs II.16 and II.17 is slightly different, as rather than incorporating French elements, they problematize the dependency upon French and French culture by people who attempt to use the language to make themselves appear more refined than they actually are. This problem of dependence is thematized in songs II.16 and II.17 but present on a larger scale in the decision to write or compile Dutch, rather than French, lyrical songs in the Gruuthuse codex. This decision is fueled by the same notion that such dependency on French is not necessary when Dutch is able to do the same job equally well, if not better.

The Gruuthuse song codex presents us, then, with a debate on the diglossic relationship between Dutch and French as literary languages in a miniature form (namely within a single manuscript). In doing so, it offers a small glimpse into the sociocultural, multilingual context in which the manuscript as a whole was produced and used. Fortunately, both songs II.16 and II.17 present us with a rare opportunity to zoom in more closely on this sociocultural context. In addition to the various structural, compositional and thematic similarities that I have outlined in this section, songs II.16 and II.17 are also the only works in the entire Gruuthuse song codex that refer to real geographical locations in relation to their characters and plots. The adventures of the lovers in II.16 take place 'bachten Daverloo' (l. 18: behind Daverlo), whilst the chaplain from II.17 is from 'Hoedelem' (Oedelem). Both Daverlo and Oedelem are villages near Bruges (approximately 10 kilometers outside of the city, along the way to Ghent), surrounding the Beverhoutsveld.[119] These references are not just another hint that both texts form a dyad, but they present the reader with a valuable sociocultural framework in which to place the linguistic utterances of the songs' characters. As a final step in my analysis of the use of French in the Gruuthuse songs, the following section considers this specific sociocultural context in more detail.

2.4 Bruges, Daverlo and Oedelem

In 2013, Frank Willaert argued songs II.16 and II.17 circulated in an elite urban context and were intended to offer a mocking portrayal of rural characters for the enjoyment of the social elite. Two years later, Herman Pleij and Karl Kügle added that this portrayal of characters served to present a negative image of unbridled and ill-controlled sexual desires against which the urban elites could

[118] See for examples Långfors 1945: 22-27.
[119] On these rural areas of medieval Flanders, see Verhulst 1995.

position themselves to gain status and social capital.[120] The targets of songs II.16 and II.17, as well as the other uncourtly songs discussed by these scholars, were thus 'those who do not belong to the prosperous urban milieu', ranging from farmers and clergymen to less prestigious urban citizens. A closer look at these figures in both the Gruuthuse songs and historical Flanders supports this interpretation, yet also reveals that there was much movement between these different milieus than previously identified, and that this social mobility may be particularly informative in analyzing the multilingual dimensions of the audience of the two songs.

We may start by pointing out that a number of uncourtly songs in the codex may contain rural or ecclesiastical characters but geographically take place in urban contexts. Song II.27: *Het soude een scamel mersenier coopmansceipe leren* (A poor peddler wanted to learn how to be a merchant), for example, offers a humourous, once again erotically charged dialogue between a merchant and a woman, understood to take place at a market.[121] In songs that are set in rural areas, urban settings are never far off. Song II.86: *Ic sach een scuerduere open staen*, mentioned above, centres around the amorous meeting between two religious figures that takes place on a farm – the most clear representation of a rural setting in the entire collection of songs. Similar to song II.16, the two religious figures only meet at the rural outskirts to have sex unnoticed, before returning to their normal lives within the city. Importantly, the only rural character appearing in the song, the farmer, is not mocked but in fact presented as the moral and literal winner of the narrative: once he confronts the two lovers, they flee immediately, leaving behind delicious food and wine for the farmer to enjoy by himself (l. 37-48).[122]

This movement between city and rural spaces likely also plays a part in *De capelaen van Hoedelem*. Ursula Peters was among the first to argue that the clear-cut divisions between court, church and city is historically inaccurate – a sentiment that has since been echoed by many scholars.[123] Instead, there existed a high degree of social mobility between all domains. This was also true for the chaplain of Oedelem and for the movement between urban and rural sectors. The only rural element in song II.17 is the location of Oedelem, yet recent studies on the historical chaplain of Oedelem by Hendrik Callewier (2014a/b) show that in actuality this chaplain was very much part of urban rather than rural life. The title of chaplain of Oedelem was given to ordained men early in their vocation, generally those coming from the urban milieu of Bruges. This clergyman would, moreover, only need to perform the Mass biweekly in Oedelem. Considering the large contrast between the metropole Bruges and the primitive countryside of Oedelem, it is assumed that the chaplain would spend most of his time in Bruges. Additionally, historical sources suggest fictitious characters like those of the chaplain of Oedelem or sister Lute and brother Lollaert had plenty of real-life counterparts. As Callewier puts it, inhabitants of medieval Bruges would be quite familiar with members of the clergy behaving disorderly:

[120] Willaert 2013: 157-158, Kügle 2015: 113 and Pleij 2015: 51. Cf. Herchert 1996: 120, Pleij 1997: 373-403 and Geirnaert 2013: 82. On the notion of social capital, see Bourdieu 1986 and Moore 2012.

[121] Other examples include songs II.27, II.49, II.85, II.144 and II.145.

[122] Cf. Kügle 2015: 120 n.19.

[123] Peters 1983. For an example, see Trachsler 2006, which illustrates the popularity of 'uncourtly' urban genres like *fabliaux* amongst the aristocratic elite residing at courts. Conversely, Biemans (1997: 287 and 293) shows that the Dutch *Spieghel historiael* by Jacob van Maerlant was initially composed for a courtly audience, but that many of its manuscripts after 1302 were produced within urban contexts.

> Uiteindelijk waren de seksuele uitspattingen van de geestelijkheid in Brugge een publiek geheim. […] Uit onderzoek naar de seculiere clerus van het Bourgondische Brugge bleek dat het niet respecteren van het celibaat eerder regel dan uitzondering was. Voor een inwoner van het laatmiddeleeuwse Brugge waren seksueel deviante geestelijken een alledaagse zaak.[124]
>
> In the end, the sexual excesses of the clergy in Bruges were an open secret. […] Research on the secular clergy of Burgundian Bruges has shown that disregarding the oath of celibacy was more so the rule than the exception. For inhabitants of late medieval Bruges, sexually deviant clergymen were an everyday occurrence.

Taking these remarks into account, it seems that song II.17 much resembles songs II.16 and II.86 in that the characters themselves are not rural, but only occupy rural areas for sexual encounters to escape the judging eyes of those living near them in the city. Adding names to these areas in the cases of Daverlo and Oedelem only heightens this connection to historical reality and likely functioned as a comical nod to those members of the audience familiar with these regions (most likely people who themselves lived in or near Bruges).[125] Importantly, it may also lead us to assume that the multilingual setting presented in both songs is also rooted in the historical reality of medieval Bruges.

Willaert, Pleij and Kügle are correct to emphasize the discriminating intentions of the uncourtly songs: both the recurring references to ill-behaved clergy members and to rural areas in which these immoral acts take place are deliberately placed to create a greater social distance between the urban elite and the urban lower classes. Whereas the urban elite excelled in upholding courtly etiquette within the city's breaches, those lower on the social ladder unsuccessfully attempted to imitate them in locations ill-fitted for such behaviour. In songs II.16 and II.17 this imitation is embodied by the use of French and reference to French literary traditions.[126] However, what is most striking about the French in both songs is that through its faulty nature and muddled presentation we are led to believe the comic element lies not with people speaking French in general, but instead with those people who are unable to do so and yet try to anyways with poor results. This means, then, that within the urban context defined above, we are looking specifically at lower-class Flemish people from a urban milieu trying to speak French, since neither those raised to be bilingual French and Dutch speakers, nor those raised speaking French as a mother tongue would speak muddled French.

We find support for this interpretation in two thirteenth-century French texts from northern France. Here Flemish characters residing in France are ridiculed for their poor French language skills. In *Renart le nouvel*, a satirical sequel to the *Roman de Renart*, a Flemish character attempts to speak French, but fails to do so correctly as he occasionally slips in Dutch words.[127] According to Serge Lusignan, this passage was intended to mock the growing number of Flemish inhabitants who travelled to northern France to learn French.[128] Other than learning through a private tutor or language manuals this was the only way to learn French, and during the thirteenth

[124] Callewier 2014a: 264, 266. Cf. Van Gijsen 1989: 95-148 and Pleij 2007: 289-294, 410-413.
[125] A similar mode of reception has been argued by Sleiderink 2010b for the so-called 'Mechelse fragmenten', in which, among other texts, a short passage is found that thematically largely resembles the contents of songs II.16, II.17 and II.86, and like songs II.16 and II.17 also refers to locations surrounding Mechelen (Brabant).
[126] Cf. Kügle 2013: 116.
[127] *Renart le nouvel*, ll. 2840-2843, 3324-3328 (ed. Roussel 1961: 121 and 138-139). On satire and parody in this romance, see Haines 2010.
[128] Lusignan 2012: 206.

and fourteenth centuries many Dutch-speaking (young) people made use of this opportunity.[129] Another, more direct reference to this occurring is found in the short parodic text *La Prise de Neuville*, composed in Arras at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[130] The text specifically pokes fun at Flemish immigrants and, despite being a short text of only 173 verses, displays a large variety of ways in which the Flemish characters manage to butcher or comically twist the French language. For instance, the French verb 'seront' (will be) has been incorrectly presented as 'stront' (l. 9, Dutch: shit, excrement). We also find examples of muddled French that strongly resemble the kind of muddling found in song II.17: compare, for example, l. 26, where 'germain' is phonetically replaced by 'larmant', which closely aligns with the case of 'madamoers' in the Gruuthuse text.

Whilst we should not exaggerate the number of these multilingual examples, we may consider these texts as reflections of the multilingual dynamics that were present in the northern regions of the French Kingdom where Dutch and French speakers were continually and frequently in contact with one another. It is likely against this historical reality that the literary play and social criticism of French in the Gruuthuse songs is positioned and gains further meaning. On a literary level, the thematic connections between the incorrect use of French, the social etiquettes associated with courtly culture and eroticism function as a commentary on the merits of the French lyrical tradition viewed in juxtaposition with the Dutch works of art produced in the Gruuthuse codex (§2.3). On a social level, these narrative elements create the framework in which the humourous and unrefined attempts of lower-status individuals to imitate the (multilingual) courtly and urban elite of medieval Bruges are presented as a form of social criticism. In doing so, these short texts with only limited multilingual aspects nevertheless prove to be intriguing examples of the diverse use of multilingualism in Dutch literature.

2.5 Conclusion

In the comments made by medieval Dutch translators of French we find an admiration of French literature alongside a critical stance towards its authority and verisimilitude. Accordingly, this criticism is aimed less at the language itself and more at the contexts in which it is used. In the Gruuthuse manuscript, we see this same dynamic in play, yet with an additional twist, since it is not the learned discourse in which the use of French is debated, but rather the lyrical domain. The Gruuthuse poets clearly showed no disdain towards French literary culture: they borrowed from it, were inspired by it and probably interacted with its works and authors on occasion. From this admiration, however, also comes inspiration and perhaps even competition. Where Maerlant heckled the reliance on French sources when better (Latin) alternatives were at hand, so too does the Gruuthuse song collection as a whole show that there is no need to resort to the French language when the Dutch language works just as well, if not better. The hypothesis presented in this chapter is thus that the French elements used in songs II.16 and II.17 can best be understood as part of a larger pursuit by the authors (or compilers) of the Gruuthuse song codex to position itself next to the popular French lyrical tradition of its time, illustrating that the Dutch language

[129] See Lusignan 2012: 205-209.
[130] Edition: Berger 1981: 239-249. On the parodic use of language, see Goyens & Van Hoecke 1988 and 1990, and Goyens 2008.

could function on a level equal to a highly aesthetic literary language. Whereas the abundance of excellent Dutch songs works to affirm this statement, *Ic hadde een lief vercoren* and *De capelaen van Hoedelem* work in a different direction, illustrating how unnecessary use of French leads one to look foolish and pretentious. Because of this function, they form a small yet important part of the song collection.

In this chapter I focused on the French elements in the Gruuthuse codex, but it deserves mention that the manuscript as a whole reflects the multilingual dynamics of medieval Flanders in a broader sense. In addition to the described French elements, Latin influences are also apparent throughout the codex, perhaps most prominently in the prayer texts where Latin prayers have been intertwined with Dutch commentaries (e.g., I.1, I.5). Furthermore, a majority of the songs show some type of High German linguistic influences. According to the studies of Nelly Geerts, Brigitte Schludermann and Corrie de Haan, these influences were not part of the original compositions, but instead added to the surface level of the songs to establish a connection with the German *Minnesang* tradition that enjoyed popularity at the courts of Bavaria around 1400.[131]

Unfortunately, few manuscripts resemble the Gruuthuse codex in this regard and as a result we can only wonder if there were more books like it. Nevertheless, its existence highlights the aesthetic capacity of Dutch as a lyrical language around 1400, as well as a way in which multilingualism could be used both as a literary tool for comedic effect and as a vehicle for social criticism.[132] The ambition of the Gruuthuse poets emphasizes that within the multilingual culture of medieval Flanders literary states of diglossia could be questioned and challenged. The highly prestigious status of French within the lyrical tradition may have led to a reduced production of Dutch songs overall (in so far as we can tell from manuscript transmission and extant examples), yet simultaneously spurred authors on to display the aesthetic qualities of the Dutch Low language and test its merits against the French High language. The poet responsible for the text discussed in the next chapter worked in a similar vein.

[131] Geerts 1909: 30-31, Schludermann 1996 and De Haan 1999: 23-57, 151-162.
[132] Praise for the Gruuthuse poets is found in many studies, some of which are mentioned in this chapter. For example, Frits van Oostrom (2013) calls the author of the texts 'the best Dutch poet of the entire Middle Ages' (p. 543).

3

Debating Latin authority in Jan Praet's *Leeringhe der Salichede*

3.1 Moral theology in 14th-century Flanders

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, and especially during the first half of the fourteenth century, significant growth is seen in the Low Countries in the production of vernacular texts with the primary purpose of transmitting knowledge. These texts display a large range of interests, focusing on medicine, applied sciences, profane ethics and moral theology.[133] Their presence in the literary cultures of regions such as Flanders, Brabant and Holland led to a noticeable shift between the thirteenth century and the later Middle Ages. While the study of faith and knowledge was originally reserved for clergymen and intellectuals and exclusively performed in Latin, the rise of urban commerce and an overall increase in literacy invited members from other milieus (in particular middle-class professionals like clerks, teachers, jurists and diplomats) to dabble in learned literature in the vernacular.[134] This change is captured in what Geert Warnar and other scholars of medieval moral theology and profane ethics refer to as 'a professionalization of medieval literature', a notion that encapsulates both the pragmatic implementation of Latin knowledge as well as the (urban) professional setting in which most of the authors of these vernacular learned texts were operating.[135]

Although this change meant the vernacular was moving into literary and cultural domains traditionally occupied by Latin, this certainly did not lead to a strong decline in the use of Latin. As Paul Wackers has shown, even as vernacular texts and manuscripts were increasingly produced, Latin experienced equal growth and still remained the dominant literary language on a broader scale.[136] The influence of Latin was also clearly visible in these new vernacular texts, most of which were translations or adaptations of Latin bestsellers and were frequently transmitted in manuscripts alongside Latin texts.[137] Rather than aiming to remove Latin from the picture, these Dutch texts sought to integrate the vernacular into the learned discourse alongside it.[138]

133 These types of literature were often intermingled and difficult to separate. Whilst perhaps the biggest difference between profane ethics and moral theology lies in the sources cited (classical authors versus biblical authors), plentiful exceptions exist and, more importantly, were often found alongside each other in manuscripts. See Warnar 1993: 37.
134 Cf. Warnar 2004: 121, 2007: 235-237 and 2011: 258-262. See also Briggs 2006 and Blockmans 2010: 196. Reynaert argues that the development of Dutch as a learned language was less influenced by new urban opportunities and demands and more so the result of a broader shift in reader mentalities and interests during the fourteenth century (1994: 17 and 1995: 103). A discussion of these ideas in German is presented in Reynaert 2011.
135 Warnar 2011a: 257. Cf. Reynaert 1994: 14, Gillespie 2007: 402 and Bigus 2017: 21.
136 Wackers 1995: 60.
137 See Mertens 1993: 14, Reynaert 1994: 27 and 33, and Warnar 1995: 42-43.
138 Warnar 2004: 117 and 2007: 223.

Among the texts written in this new vernacular tradition, specifically those concerned with moral theology, one work in particular stands out in a significant way. It is a highly complex text written by the Flemish author Jan Praet, known by two modern titles: the *Speghel der wijsheit* (Mirror of Wisdom) or *Leeringhe der salichede* (Teaching of Salvation).[139] As I argue here, this text is both a clear product of the vernacular development described above and at the same time a substantial differentiation from other texts of its era. It is distinguished both by its use of Latin and its sociolinguistic implications, two aspects that are placed at the centre of this chapter.

In the *Leeringhe*, Jan Praet himself features as a character, and partakes in a dialogue with his allegorical teacher 'Sapiencia' (Wisdom).[140] Since large parts of the text are missing, we are unable to reconstruct either what started this dialogue or how it finished, though what is clear from the roughly 5000 verses that survive is that both Praet and Sapiencia are heavily invested and keen to inform each other (and the readers of the text) about the topic of salvation. Throughout the dialogue, Praet and Sapiencia take turns sharing their thoughts on the difficulties of living a pious life free from worldly desires and the negative influences of the deadly sins. Furthermore, both characters also introduce other allegorical speakers to plead or illustrate their case on their behalf. This results in a complex narratological structure of multiple narrative levels and character interactions (see *Table 1*). In the following sections, various details of the narrative are discussed, whilst a full summary of the "complete" text can be found in Appendix II.

Before turning to the *Leeringhe* and its use of Latin (§3.3), which forms the core of the chapter, and its sociolinguistic context (§3.4), I first introduce another fourteenth-century multilingual Flemish text, namely the *Nieuwe doctrinael* by Jan de Weert of Ypres (§3.2).[141] Like the *Leeringhe* it is a long verse text with a clear personal flavour – De Weert is known in literary histories for being a harsh critic, writing with venom rather than ink.[142] The *Nieuwe doctrinael*'s religious content, structure and use of Latin conforms to most of the vernacular moral theological works we know today. It therefore functions as an informative example of a "traditional" Dutch-Latin multilingual moral theological text and can be used as a background against which the alterity of the *Leeringhe* can be positioned. Taking insights from all three sections, the specifics of this alterity is described and contextualized in §3.5.

139 The first title is based on the thematic characteristics of the text as a 'mirror of sins', illustrated by various mentions of mirrors (ll. 2283, 4122, 4814, 4904), and the second on a phrase within the text (l. 4095). Whereas some scholars have argued that both titles correctly reflect the text's content (e.g., Van Oostrom 2013: 529), others have argued more weight should be given to the second (e.g., Holleman-Stevens 1964: 232, Degryse 1981: xxv, De Clercq 1981: 5). Considering the phrase 'speghel der wijsheit' is nowhere found in the text, unlike 'leeringhe der salichede', and that the structure of the work is not that of a traditional "mirror" text, my preference is the latter. In the remainder of this dissertation the text is therefore referred to as *Leeringhe der salichede* or *Leeringhe* for short.

140 This character may be inspired by 'Sapience', an allegorical figure from the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* by Guillaume de Deguileville, which as a work has intertextual connections to the *Leeringhe* (see p. 61). Alternatively, a connection to Boethius' *De consolation philosophiae* may have been intended, whose main character 'Sophia' in medieval translations such as that of Alfred the Great was renamed to 'Sapiencia' (cf. Walsh 1999: xlvi). See also Reynaert 1983: 44-46.

141 The text is also known in scholarship as the *Spieghel van sonden*, a title given by the text itself (l. 68, ed. Jacobs 1915: 201). In order to distinguish it from the prose and verse *Spieghel der sonden*, I have instead selected De Weert's second title: *Doctrinael* (l. 69). To differentiate this work, then, from the *Dietsche doctrinael*, the title *Nieuwe doctrinael* was decided upon. However, as the *Dietsche doctrinael* plays no role in this dissertation, De Weert's text is henceforth referenced simply as *Doctrinael*.

142 See, e.g., Knuvelder 1975: 245 and Van Oostrom 2013: 134-135. Cf. De Stoppelaar 1974: 12.

Table 1. **Narrative structure of Jan Praet's *Leeringhe***[143]

First level Dialogue between Jan Praet and Sapiencia	*Lost 24 fols* Prologue in which Sapiencia is introduced and the topic of the poem is explained.			*ll. 1697-2909* Jan continues his dialogue with Sapiencia, which features a critique of the clergy.		*ll. 3914-3955* Sapiencia reminds Jan that his discussion of Mary's letters was not yet finished and asks him to continue his poem.		*ll. 4076-4141* Sapiencia introduces God himself, who wants to share a sermon with Jan.		*ll. 4561-4924* The dialogue between Jan and Sapiencia continues, before ending abruptly.
Second level Jan Praet's poem	*Lost 24 fols* Start of Mary's flower simile, ending with the discussion of the rose.	*ll. 1-654* Continuation of the flower poem into a 'Maria'-letter poem, ending whilst discussing the letter 'I' and leading into the 'seafarer's allegory'.					*ll. 3956-4075* Jan finishes the 'Maria'-letter poem.			
Third level Narrative discussions between characters			*ll. 655-1696* Verstannesse, Zin and Ghedinkenesse discuss the dangers of the soul.		*ll. 2910-3913* 'Parlament' between Omoed and Hoverde				*ll. 4142-4560* God presents his sermon.	

[143] This table is based on Reynaert 1983: 25-26, with an altered presentation and adjusted section breaks.

3.2 JAN DE WEERT AND THE *NIEUWE DOCTRINAEL*

Each moral theological work in Dutch is unique in its presentation, emphasis and style. Nevertheless, in terms of their content, structure and degree of multilingualism, these texts bear close similarities to one another. After the foundational works of Jacob van Maerlant in the late thirteenth century, in particular his *Rijmbijbel* (a verse translation of the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor), we see texts that are mostly written in prose or in a simple verse rhyming structure (i.e., paired end-rhyme), with most of their aesthetic charm coming from the inclusion of *exempla* and metaphorical depictions.[144] Their content, which generally focuses on the heavenly virtues, deadly sins, Ten Commandments and questions concerning morality and the afterlife, is ordered in a sophisticated manner following the scholastic *summa* tradition.[145] From a multilingual perspective, they often include Latin citations from biblical texts and the Church Fathers, which are generally presented with an accompanying translation or extensive commentary in Dutch. The *Doctrinael* by Jan de Weert can be considered exemplary with regard to these features of structure, content and multilingualism.

Based on comments made in a second poem from Jan de Weert, a didactic dialogue known as *Een Dispitacie van Rogiere ende van Janne* or *Wapene Rogier*, we know Jan was a surgeon from Ypres interested in both profane ethical and moral religious texts.[146] Both the *Wapene Rogier* and *Doctrinael* reflect a close connection to the Latin learned tradition. In the *Wapene Rogier* this is particularly seen in the type of dialogue employed, a *quaestio disputata* known from Latin scholastic theological disputes.[147] The connection in the *Doctrinael* is found on a multitude of levels, including all three of the aspects under discussion here.

De Weert claims on multiple occasions that his text is a direct translation from a Latin treatise, though no direct source has been identified (e.g., ll. 33, 56, 1560, 1595, 1677 and 2722). This is mostly because its content is extremely common among Latin religious works, although as noted above, some of its topics are also addressed in other vernacular texts. It deals with the seven deadly sins and virtues, the Ten Commandments, confession and penance.[148] In its description of these topics, De Weert's text resembles many of these other Dutch works, such as the *Cancellierboeck* and the *Tafel vanden kersten Ghelove* by Dirc van Delf, whilst the combination of the deadly sins and the Ten Commandments is also found in Latin works such as *De confessione* of Robert de Sorbon

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144 A list of moral theological works is presented in Bange 2007: 199-240. See also the various contributions to Mertens *et al.* 1993, each dealing with different Dutch religious works.

145 See Bigus 2017. According to Bigus (2017: 1 n.3) this term *summa* is synonymous with the Dutch term *Spiegel* (Mirror), which is found in the title of various moral theological works (e.g., *Spiegel der sonden*, *Spiegel der menscheliker behoudenisse*, *Spieghel der eeuwigher salicheit*). In the context of the *Leeringhe*, however, there is no such synonymy, making the alternative title of the work, *Speghel der wijsheit*, once more less preferable (see note 139).

146 For biographical data on Jan de Weert, see Brinkman 1991: 102-103 and Van Oostrom 2013: 132. De Weert is first introduced in the *Doctrinael* in l. 18; in the *Wapene Rogier* his name is found in l. 16. References to the *Doctrinael* are to Jacobs 1915, whilst for the *Wapene Rogier* the version of the Comburg manuscript is used (edition: Brinkman & Schenkel 1997, II: 962-1006).

147 Axters 1943: 51. Kinable (2008: 80) also notes that De Weert's use of terms such as 'berecht' and 'berechten' is directly taken from scholastic disputes.

148 On these topics in various medieval Dutch works, see Warnar 1993 (confession and penance), Pansters 2007 (virtues), Bange 2007 (sins) and Bigus 2017 (Ten Commandments).

and the *Confessionale* of Bonaventure.[149] The association with Latin works is also apparent through direct references to Latin authors and biblical texts. In three instances Saint Augustine is mentioned (ll. 104, 122 and 1971), as are numerous biblical books, such as the Gospel of John (l. 372), Jeremiah's Book of Lamentations (l. 2127), David from the Book of Samuel (ll. 2145 and 2160), the Acts of Saint Paul (ll. 1897 and 2227) and the Gospel of Matthew (l. 2611).

The compilation of these different sources suggests the work was used as a "confession mirror", intended to prepare the (lay) reader for the sacrament of confession and subsequent penance. Based on its structure, this use seems quite likely: its strict and systematic presentation resembles that of a manual designed to instruct the reader with terms and concepts necessary to profess one's sins and shortcomings during confession.[150] Following a prologue in which the structure of the overall text is explained (ll. 1-148), the poem is divided into three parts: the first deals with the seven deadly sins (ll. 149-1543); the second with the Ten Commandments (ll. 1544-2039); and the third with confession, remorse and penance (ll. 2040-2715). Each part is meticulously divided further into separate subunits – a structure which itself is continuously pointed out by the narrator and commonly found in Latin confessionaries.[151]

Preceding his discussion of the deadly sins, De Weert lists five reasons to behave virtuously, even whilst living in sin. An overview of the seven deadly sins is then given, followed by individual discussions of each sin in order. Each sin is then further divided into different subcategories (between five and eight in total), which themselves are further partitioned. For example, the sin of *luxuria* is divided into six subcategories, the fourth of which, 'peccatum contra naturam' (sins against nature), is further split into homosexuality, bestiality, despair and heresy (ll. 1167-1191). This brief outline illustrates De Weert's emphasis on structure and his strict implementation of traditional religious literary models.

Also inspired by Latin theological works of literature is De Weerts dependence on illustrative examples and analogies. This is most obvious in De Weert's discussion of sins, which can be either directed towards God, towards other Christians or towards oneself. Additionally, these sins can be either mortal sins or venial sins. To demonstrate which types of sins belong to which category, an array of examples is given: the first category is accompanied by three examples, the second by seven and the third by two. This practice is present throughout the entire text and exemplary of moral theological texts, which by inclusion of either allegorical and symbolic representations or *exempla* help flesh out the strict content to which they pertain.

The functionality behind this systematic portrayal is connected to the performance of confession. Following the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, confession became an important part of Christian orthodoxy, and all members of the Christian faith were required to confess their sins to a priest at least once per year. To facilitate this, vernacular texts were produced for laymen that imparted the essential Latin knowledge required for confession, namely what sins are (i.e., mortal or venial sins) and how to avoid them in everyday life (i.e., by obeying the Ten Commandments).

149 On these and more examples, see the extensive discussion of religious themes in the *Doctrinael* in relation to other Latin and Dutch works by Jacobs 1915: 43-175. Warnar (1995: 79) argues the depiction of sins in the *Doctrinael* is the most traditional and well known example in Dutch.

150 Cf. Jacobs 1915: 13-14 and Brinkman 1991: 103-104.

151 The following overview is taken from Van Anrooij 2002: 75-76, which explains how the structure of the *Doctrinael* centers around 'poenten', a traditional means of ordering found in various vernacular didactic texts, following the example set by their Latin predecessors.

De Weert was aware of his readers' lack of Latin knowledge, and therefore limited the use of Latin exclusively to terms and sentences he deemed necessary to know and remember. In the case of the deadly sins, the Dutch terms are listed first (ll. 159-161), after which the subcategories are given in Latin and then later repeated, each in combination with a Dutch translation and explanation. See, for example, the presentation of Greed (ll. 298-307):

Ic salt verclaren int overliden,	I will explain in succession,
Hoe vele graden hier uut comen,	How many degrees come from this,
Ende die int latijn noemen.	And name them in Latin.
Ambicio heet die ierste graet,	*Ambicio* is the first degree called,
Symonia hier na staet.	*Symonia* then follows.
Die derde hiet *usura*,	The third is called *usura*,
Die vierde *latrocinia*,	The fourth *latrocinia*,
Die vijfte hiet *perjuria*,	The fifth is called *perjuria*,
Die VI hiet *rapina*,	The sixth is named *rapina*,
Die VII *injusta judicia*.	The seventh *injusta judicia*.

De Weert also cites the Ten Commandments in Latin, directly presenting them with a translation without any intermediary sentences or authorial comments (ll. 1752-1754):

Dat derde ghebod dat es:	The third Commandment is:
"Sabata santifices":	'*Sabata santifices*':
"Du salt die heileghe daghe vieren".	'You shall celebrate the holy days'.

These sentences function similarly to the deadly sins: important terms are presented in the most authoritative language, Latin, so that readers could memorize them and perhaps even speak them during their confession. Such a function is not in play for the final type of Latin found in the *Doctrinael*, namely the quotations of biblical authors. These authors, with the odd exception of Matthew, are also quoted in Latin in direct speech, again immediately followed by a Dutch translation. Since these quotations are used to strengthen arguments or examples listed in the text, it can be assumed that these quotes were not intended to be memorized but instead meant as an authoritative means of enhancing the overall status of the text as a truthful source of religious wisdom, and De Weert's prestige as an author.

What these multilingual elements show is that for De Weert, Latin functions as a structural and authoritative tool. His discussion of the deadly sins and the Ten Commandments is connected to Latin terms and concepts that are presented as core aspects of each part of the text. For the reader, this presents Latin at the foreground, with Dutch featuring as its interpreter. This strategy continues throughout the first two parts of the *Doctrinael*, after which emphasis switches to practical instructions for lay people, thus giving Dutch the upper hand. In doing so, the *Doctrinael*'s multilingualism exemplifies the general stance towards Latin in vernacular theological treatises: Latin is a literary foundation that supports the practical implementation of concepts and instructions presented in Dutch.

The emphasis on confession and improvement in the virtuousness of everyday life directly aligns with the overall professionalization of medieval vernacular theology as described by Warnar. Meanwhile, the presence of Latin citations, sources and structural principles illustrates the tight relationship between vernacular moral theological works and the preceding Latin learned tradition. Whilst unique in its formal structure and heavy social criticism in comparison to other contemporary vernacular works, to which we return in §3.4, the themes of the *Doctrinael* make it a representative example of the Dutch "mirrors of sins" produced during the fourteenth century. It is with this example in mind that we now turn to the exceptional case of Jan Praet's *Leeringhe* and its use and presentation of Latin.

3.3 THE USE AND PRESTIGE OF LATIN IN THE *LEERINGHE*

By all accounts, the *Leeringhe* has not experienced much fortune throughout the course of its transmission and scholarly afterlife. It has only survived in a single early fifteenth-century paper manuscript that is severely damaged (Ghent, UB, MS 2906). Although the surviving text counts nearly 5,000 lines, based on the overall compositional structure of the manuscript (which consists exclusively of sexterns) it has been estimated that, at the very least, over 2,200 verses have been lost.[152] More importantly, these missing parts include both the text's beginning and end, resulting in a critical lack of information concerning its production, reception and intended use.

Furthermore, the *Leeringhe* has been edited in its entirety only once, in 1872 by J.-H. Bormans.[153] This edition is unfortunately far from perfect, containing many errors and an at times unhelpful apparatus to explain the text's often complicated medieval Dutch sentences. The edition also lacks an introduction: Bormans notes on the first page of his foreword that F. Snellaert would produce an introduction at a later date, but on page nine regrettably informs us that Snellaert has passed away and thus an introduction never came. No doubt in part because of this problematic edition and the incomplete nature of the text, the *Leeringhe* has received extremely limited scholarly attention.[154]

One outcome of this lacking information is that a precise date for the text is unavailable. Based on two French texts that were consulted by the author – the first book of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* by Guillaume de Deguileville finished in 1330, with a second rendition being completed in 1355, and the *Roman de Fauvel* by Gervais de Bus completed in 1310 – the *Leeringhe* was completed in or after 1330 at the earliest.[155] As Joost van Driel argues, however, a date towards the end of the fourteenth century, perhaps even around 1400, is more likely considering its stylistic association (in terms of its rhythmic structure, use of allegory and emphasis on the author-in-the-text) with authors active at that time.[156] Such a date would place the text's *genitus* closer to the only surviving manuscript, which is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century.[157]

What further complicates study of the *Leeringhe* are its mixed generic features. The text seems to defy characterization beyond the point of being didactical (based on its form) and religious

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152 Reynaert 1983: 20-22.

153 Bormans 1872. References to the *Leeringhe* are to this edition. An important note here is that Bormans' edition starts the text at l. 1, but the manuscript at fol. 25r rather than 1r, accounting for folio's missing at the start (see for this Appendix II). An edition of the text's 'parlament'-dialogue (ll. 2877-3955) is given in Reynaert 1983. The *Leeringhe* has also been edited in three parts by three Master's students at Ghent University (Degryse 1981, De Clercq 1981 and Van Steen 1981).

154 Apart from Reynaert 1983, the only extensive study of the text, other articles that mention the *Leeringhe* are Beets 1910: 108-125, Holleman-Stevens 1964, Dewitte 1998: 177, Van Driel 2011: 17-24 and Van Gijsen 2019: 201.

155 Reynaert 1983: 31-59. On the production of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, see Biesheuvel 2005: 18-21.

156 Van Driel 2011: 17-18 n.45 and 2012: 150. Cf. Van Oostrom 2013: 528, who places the *Leeringhe* around 1400. Van Driel also posits that the *Leeringhe* might have been written in phases, though offers no arguments for this theory.

157 On this date, see Reynaert 1983: 22.

(based on its content). In the *Leeringhe*, we find elements from various genres and selections of texts, though always in minor degrees: no single genre seems to dominante. By virtue of its allegorical shape, it invites comparison with the *Roman de la Rose* and the religious allegorical *disputatio*, but a quick glance at these texts instantly reveals more differences than similarities.[158] Through intertextual connections we might assume that the allegorical structure of the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* by Guillaume de Deguileville was influential, but this too does not seem be the case: the grotesque depictions of sins by Guillaume are nearly absent from in the *Leeringhe*. The one exception is the character Ghedinkenesse, and even her depiction deviates considerably from the Old French source.[159] Unlike most moral theological and lay ethical texts, the *Leeringhe* is largely pessimistic by nature, complicated in terms of its overall structure, self-centred around Jan Praet rather than an anticipated audience and, finally, is significantly multilingual.[160] Its dialogue structure shows similarities with the *Martijns* of Jacob van Maerlant, but despite plenty of points that suggest some form of influence, here too the differences outweigh the parallels. This complex mixture of uncertain influences and contradictory characteristics surely makes the text highly fascinating, but, I hypothesize, also less easily picked up by scholars working within a specific tradition or area of interest.

That said, whenever the text was studied or mentioned in literary histories it is praised highly for its extraordinary breadth of stylistic, narrative and symbolic excellence. Willem Jonckbloet argues that the text has more charm and greater aesthetic value than any other didactic text, bar Jacob van Maerlant's dialogues. He further notes how Praet does not use a single stopgap in nearly 5,000 verses.[161] Jan te Winkel equally praises Jan Praet, emphasizing his extraordinary use of various rhyme schemes and a simple, yet fitting, linguistic register.[162] Joris Reynaert echoes both sentiments, praising the work not just in relation to other Dutch authors, but to the entirety of literature produced during the fourteenth century:

> De charme van het beeld, de zuiverheid, maar anderzijds ook de ongedwongenheid van rijm en ritmiek verraden meteen een dichter die zijn vak verstaat. […] In rijmtechnisch opzicht vormt de *Speghel der wijsheit* hoe dan ook een meesterlijk beheerst waagstuk, dat, voor zover ik weet, in de Europese literatuur van de 14de eeuw zijn gelijke niet heeft.[163]

> The charm of the image, the linguistic purity and simultaneously the unforced nature of the rhyme and rhythm instantly signal a poet who has mastered his craft. […] From a rhyme-technical perspective the *Speghel der wijsheit* is a masterfully self-contained daring work of art that, as far as I know, has no equal in European literature of the 14th century.

[158] For example, the *Leeringhe* lacks the courtly context associated with the *Rose* narrative (both the original French and the Dutch adaptations) and deviates from the *disputatio*, as well the *quodlibet*, in its extraordinary length, uneven dialogue structure and stylistic variation. On the *disputatio*, see Kinable 2008; on the *quodlibet*, see Berendrecht 1990: 371.

[159] On these intertextual allusions, see Reynaert 1983: 40-46. The depiction of Ghedinkenesse is described in Van Gijsen 2019: 201. Other differences between the *Leeringhe* and the *Pèlerinage* are the first person narrator and narrative world-setting of the latter text, as well as its narrative context as a dream being retold. These elements all point to the *Pèlerinage* being inspired by the *Roman de la Rose* whilst no such connection can be established with the *Leeringhe*.

[160] Due to its many references to biblical texts and authors and its complete lack of references to classical works, the *Leeringhe* more closely aligns with moral theology than profane-ethical literature; see Reynaert 1995: 110.

[161] Jonckbloet 1889: 165.

[162] Te Winkel 1922: 28.

[163] Reynaert 1983: 7 and 31.

Many of these critics emphasize the formal aspects of the *Leeringhe* in their compliments, and this is not without reason. Throughout the text, five different rhyme schemes are used, each within different contexts or in association with different characters.[164] As Frank Willaert points out, this creative use of literary models is characteristic of Brugean poets active near the end of the fourteenth century.[165] This aesthetic experimentation also inspired Frits van Oostrom to devote a considerable amount of attention (roughly six pages) to Jan Praet, an otherwise lesser known and understudied author in comparison to others addressed in his account of Dutch literary history.

As Thom Mertens and his colleagues have noted, however, this experimentation with form and aesthetics is not only influenced by vernacular Flemish poets like Jacob van Maerlant, but also strongly rooted in Latinity.[166] Turning then to this influence and presence of Latin in the *Leeringhe*, we are able to see Dutch references to Latin authors, such as Bernard of Clairvaux (l. 2844) and Jerome (l. 4630),[167] as well as the inclusion of Latin terms and phrases (see *Table 2*). Looking at these Latin elements and their sources, I detect three types of Latin literature that are employed by Praet.

The first type is a selection of Latin terms used in the 'Mary letter' allegory with which the poem, at least in its present state, begins. In this literary exercise, authors attribute specific terms, values or concepts to each letter of Mary's Latin name 'Maria'. Examples are found in abundance from the twelfth century onward.[168] They can also be found in the medieval Dutch tradition along with other kinds of letter-poems.[169] Whilst some descriptive terms are more common than others, there does appear to be a large degree of variance in which terms are linked to which letter; Praet himself does not seem to deviate considerably from the norm. The letter 'R', for example, stands for 'Reconciliatrix' (comforter or reconciler) in the *Leeringhe*, but could also represent 'Reparatrix' (restorer or fixer) or 'Refugium peccatorum' (refuge for sinners).[170] However, in the *Leeringhe*, Praet takes this literary form to the next level: in addition to describing a quality or function of Mary, each letter is also associated with a specific virtue and flower. For instance, the letter 'M' stands for 'Mediatrix' (councilor or mediator), emphasizing the good and merciful ('goedertiere') nature of Mary, who, like a 'corsoude' (daisy) can be found everywhere. Praet takes the Latin terms as his narrative starting point, but whilst De Weert devotes the rest of his text to explaining his respective Latin concepts, Praet uses his to expand Mary's praise. Importantly, this expansion does not take place in Latin, but rather in Dutch.

The other two source types appear to be similar at first glance, but under deeper investigation display significant differences. The first of these two types is made up of ethical and moral passages taken from proverbial collections (*sententiae*).[171] At their core, to quote Wolfgang

164 On this type of 'stylistic heterogeneity' and the formal aspects of the *Leeringhe* in general, see Van Driel 2011.
165 Willaert 1997: 40. The Gruuthuse poets are also examples of this phenomenon.
166 Mertens *et al.* 2018: 399.
167 Jerome is mentioned by name within the text, although the reference itself cannot be traced back to any of his extant works.
168 Bardenhewer 1895 and Van Wijk 1936: 99-125. Cf. Salzer 1967.
169 The Van Hulthem manuscript (Brussels, KBR, MS 15589-623) contains a poem (text 72) in which the four letters of the word 'mors' (death) are each explained through a separate Latin term. The same practice is used by Willem van Hildegaersberch for 'dominus' (The Hague, KB, MS 128 E 6, text XXXIII). See also footnote 253 for more examples.
170 De Clercq 1981: 56.
171 The term *sententiae* is used here alongside the more general description 'proverbial' in line with Zumthor 1976, where a distinction is made between 'proverbs' that reflect an oral mode of production and *sententiae* which are associated

Mieder, these passage are 'allgemein bekannte, festgeprägte Sätze, die eine Lebensregel oder Weisheit in prägnanter, kurzer Form ausdrücken'.[172] They are found exclusively in the sermons of Verstannesse, Ghedinkenesse and Zin (ll. 655-1696), three allegorical speakers introduced after Praet's Mary letter-poem who share knowledge and wisdom through monologues that end with proverbial text blocks called *notae*. Whilst still linked to moral theology, these *notae* often display worldly lessons and ethics. It should be noted, though, that these types of proverbial *notae*were often found in manuscripts containing religious material. A fourteenth- and fifteenth-century bilingual composite manuscript produced in northern Germany (now Uppsala, UB, MS C 237), for example, contains some of the *sententiae* found in the *Leeringhe*, which are presented as separate blocks within the manuscript (fols 284r-291r, 293v-297v, 299r-307v, 343r-344v and 380r-388v) alongside religious tracts, grammatical treatises and computational texts.[173]

The third source type is found in nearly 2,000 verses after the last proverbial section, and consists of references made to either the Bible itself or commentaries on biblical passages.[174] These references are always spoken by characters of the narrative: once by Hoverde, once by Sapiencia, twice by the character of Jan Praet, twice by God and once by Centurio in God's sermon. They are accordingly not presented as separate narrative blocks like the *notae* but are instead integrated fully into the Dutch text. With the exception of the well-known phrase 'Consummatum est' (l. 4251), all Latin passages are either explained in Dutch, or preceded or followed by a Dutch translation, as was also the case for the *sententiae*. This makes it likely that whilst Praet himself understood Latin, he did not expect his audience to do so as well. With regards to any sources for these quotations, it is clear that Praet not had his Bible at hand, but also made use of secondary sources.[175] Considering this in light of the supposed access to proverbial collections and the references made to different French works, it would appear that Praet was trilingual and in a professional or social position to consult several different manuscripts during the making of his *Leeringhe*.

There thus seems to be a clear distinction between the three types of Latin used in the *Leeringhe*, in terms of their location within the text, their integration into the Dutch text and their supposed sources. I forward these observations cautiously, however, since the material context of the text is, as explained before, incomplete.

with literary sources, often classical or biblical. On the difference between these terms, see also Kramer 2009: 73-74. On proverbs and *exempla* in medieval literature, see more recently Bizzarri & Rohde 2009.

172 Röhrich & Mieder 1977: 3.

173 Since several of the *notae* in the *Leeringhe* are also found together in other manuscripts like Uppsala C 237, Reynaert (1983: 32-33) believes that Praet likely gathered all of his *sententiae* from a single manuscript, the text of which was used by other compilers or scribes (although not necessarily from the same codex). For the most extensive edition of Latin *sententiae* found in medieval manuscripts, see the multi-part volumes of Walther 1963-1986.

174 There are two exceptions to this rule. The first Latin sentence, 'Verbum caro factum est' (l. 90) is found at the very start of the text as it has been transmitted to us, and is thus nowhere near the other biblical quotations. Since the next twenty verses directly following l. 90 are lacking, it is difficult to determine the nature of this reference. The second exception is the sentence 'Timentibus Deum nichil deest' (l. 1296), which is found in the middle of the proverbial quotations. It is not a direct reference to the Bible, but instead an allusion to Psalm 33:10 ('Timete Dominum omnes sancti eius, quoniam nihil deest timentibus eum'). Since it is presented at the start of a *nota* and used in a similar fashion to the *sententiae*, it can be argued that Praet intended for this biblical reference to be used alongside the *sententiae* rather than the other biblical quotations found later in the manuscript.

175 Reynaert 1983: 34-35 believes the same to be true, mentioning in specific that Praet's accurate citation of lesser known passages such as Psalm 32:5[22] (ll. 4796-4797) and 1 Peter 4:18 (ll. 4851, 4924) makes it highly likely he had direct access to the Script.

Table 2.* Latin citations and references in Jan Praet's *Leeringhe

Fols & ll.	Latin	Translation	Source
fol. 26a, l. 90	Verbum caro factum est.	The Word is made flesh.	John 1:14
fol. 28a, l. 206 fol. 28b, l. 237 fol. 29b, ll. 270, 273 fol. 31b, l. 406 fol. 80a, l. 3962 fol. 80b, l. 3997	Mediatrix Auxiliatrix Reconciliatrix Illuminatrix graciae Illuminatrix Amatrix Dei verissima	Mediator Helper/comforter Reconciler Illuminator of grace Illuminator Truest lover of God	Literary tradition of the Mother Mary letter allegory.
fol. 40b, ll. 996-999	Forma, genus, mores, Sapiencia, res et honores, Morte ruunt subita, Sola manent merita.	The beauty, origin, morals, Knowledge, property and honour, All rush towards death, Where only the merits remain.	*Sententiae* collections
fol. 45a, l. 1296	Timentibus Deum nichil deest.	Who fears God lacks nothing.	Allusion to Psalm 33:10
fol. 45a, ll. 1313-1320	Vir videas quid tu jubeas Dum magnus haberis. Et caveas ne forte ruas Dum stare videris. Inspicias, ne despicias Quem laedere queris; Dat varias fortuna minas, Non ergo mireris.	Man, beware of what you demand When you are considered powerful. And ensure you do not fall victim to Fate When you appear to be immune. Ensure you do not disdain Those you wish to thwart; Fortune makes fate uncertain, So do not boast.	*Sententiae* collections
fol. 46a, ll. 1372-1373	Audi, vide, tace, Si tu vis vivere pace.	Hear, see and remain silent, If you wish to live in peace.	Found in various texts, the most well-known being the late 13th-early 14th-century *Gesta Romanorum*, a Latin collection of proverbs, citations and *sententiae*.

fol. 75b, ll. 3452-3453	Qui non dat quod amat, Non accipit ille quod optat	He who does not give what he loves, Does not receive what he desires.	Peter Abelard: *Carmen ad Astralabium filium*
fol. 83a, ll. 4134-4135	In cruce sto pro te dum peccas, desine pro me; Nam pro te morior: non est dilectio major.	On the cross I hang for you as you sin; stop [sinning] for me. For to die for you: there is no greater love than that.	Found in different variations in medieval sermons.
fol. 84b, l. 4251	Consummatum est!	It is finished!	John 19:30
fol. 85b, l. 4294	Vere filius Dei erat iste.	Surely, he was the son of God.	Matthew 27:54
fol. 94b, ll. 4796-4797	Terra jam est semper plena Misericordia domini.	The earth is always filled with The mercy of our Lord.	Psalm 32:5
fol. 95b, l. 4851, fol. 96b, l. 4924	Vix salvabitur justus.	It is hard for the righteous to be saved.	1 Peter 4:18 (and Proverbs 11:31)
fol. 96a, ll. 4873-4874	Multi sunt vocati, Pauci vero electi.	Many have been called, But only few are chosen.	Matthew 20:16

Whilst it is therefore tempting to assume as, for instance, De Clercq has done, that there is an intentional substantive separation between the beginning and final parts of the text, this cannot be concluded solely based on the text as it is handed down to us.[176] The indicated differences are nevertheless reason enough to further explore this hypothesis, for which a closer look at the function of these three Latin inclusions may be useful.

The Mary letter allegory serves a dual purpose, the first of which is explained in the text itself by Jan Praet the character:

Om dat ghi speghel sijt der wive,	Because you are the mirror of all women
Ende ic gherne van u scrive,	And I like to write about you
Metten blomen, die letteren vive	And the flowers and the five letters
Die uwer namen toebehoren,	That belong to your name,
So biddic u, werde Vrauwe,	I pray to you, worthy Lady,
Dat ghi mi helpt, ende sijt ghetrauwe	That you will help me and be faithful
In mijn zware vonnesse nauwe,	When my heavy verdict closes in on me,
Dat ic ontsie voor alle dinc,	Which I fear above all else,
Ende mi uwe gracie so bedauwe,	and that you will bestow me with your grace
Dat mi de duvel niet ghelauwe:	So that the devil will not grab onto me,
Maer dat ic met bliscepen scauwe	So I instead joyfully behold him
Die dor mi ant cruce hinc. (ll. 169-180)	Who hung on the cross for me.

Praet likes to write about Mary on account of her virtues and requests for her aid and protection against the Devil. This sentiment also follows from the functions attributed to Mary in the letter allegory itself: Mary watches over sinners like Jan Praet and mediates between them and God on Judgement Day. In his praise of Mary, Praet's use of the letter allegory conforms to that of many other texts of his time – both in Latin and the vernacular – but moves away from the norm in a creative and unique manner: its adds to the Latin terms with new Dutch attributes in the form of virtues and flowers. This is especially important from a multilingual perspective, since many Latin words for virtues were known, yet Praet instead chose to incorporate Dutch terms instead. His desire to write about Mary thus seems directly connected to his wish to describe her in ways more extensive and innovative than does the Latin tradition, which in turn highlights Praet's qualities as a Dutch poet.

The passage also indicates a purpose for those reading the *Leeringhe*, whom Praet addresses as the 'goeden, vroeden, ripen lieden' (l. 182: the good, sensible and mature people). Considering the origin of these Mary letter allegories lies in the medieval *artes praedicandi*, the theoretical and practical study of the structure and composition of sermons, it is likely that Praet intends for his readers to be inspired by Mary just as he is, so that they too may venerate her and receive her grace.[177]

Whilst the Mary letter-poem might thus be described as serving a motivational purpose, the proverbial passages are more educational and artistic. From the thirteenth century onward, proverb and *sententiae* collections were used in schools to instruct pupils in worldly morals, sanctioned by religious authorities and rooted in an intellectual tradition.[178] As a result, *sententiae* became part of a

[176] De Clercq 1981: 13.
[177] The connection between the letter allegory and the *artes praedicandi* is made in Van Oostrom 2013: 531. On the *artes praedicandi*, see Wenzel 2015.
[178] Morewedge 2015: 2028-2029.

larger intellectual network between scholars across Europe, used to share knowledge and provoke thought. This social aspect also led to the use of *sententiae* being associated with *auctoritas*, not just through its common connection with biblical and classical sources, but also through its function as a mark of mastery for those able to use them in a succinct and sophisticated manner.[179] When these Latin *sententiae* are then incorporated into a vernacular work and/or accompanied by vernacular proverbs, part of this *auctoritas* is absorbed and transmitted across the text as a whole, which through these learned elements gains a higher degree of complexity.[180]

This particular function of *sententiae* is also applicable to Praet's *Leeringhe*, with the connection to both learning and the production of sermons being especially clear; the *sententiae* only appear in the sermons of Verstannesse, Zin and Ghedinkenesse (ll. 655-1696). The incorporation of these few Latin *sententiae* into the Dutch text is most striking. Alongside Latin *sententiae*, which in the manuscript are marked as *notae* (even if they are directly followed by a single Dutch sentence such as for ll. 1372-1373), Praet also includes vernacular proverbs in the manuscript margins, which are called *glossae*. Of these, the large majority are found prior to l. 1682 (23 out of 27 cases) and only two also incorporate Latin *sententiae*. Considering that a common reason to include Latin quotations was to increase the authority of the (vernacular) text, it is striking how insignificant this number is. Instead, Praet seems to not just prefer Dutch as a literary language but also as the medium to confer knowledge upon his readers.

This is most evident in the *glossae*, which feature alongside the *notae* as Dutch equivalents. The *sententiae* and *glossae* share a rhyming scheme (aabccb) that is only found elsewhere in the manuscript in the 'parlament' episode between Pride and Humility, where both characters speak in similar brief and information-dense sentences. The Latin *sententiae* are also composed in line with this Dutch rhyming scheme rather than, for instance, the Latin metre or traditional word order of *sententiae* found in other sources. Additionally, in both fully Latin *sententiae* blocks (ll. 996-999 and ll. 1313-1320) the narrator points out specifically that the Latin is *read*, referring to a written source. The Dutch *glossae*, by contrast, are presented as lessons *spoken* by the three narrative characters Verstannesse, Zin and Ghedinkenesse.[181] This difference in presentation in combination with the overwhelming presence of Dutch *glossae* as opposed to Latin *notae* can in my view be understood as a commentary on the authority of Latin as a source language: whilst Latin written sources serve as traditional useful means to knowledge, Dutch wisdom transmitted verbally can be just as effective, if not better.[182]

A final point adds to this hypothesis, for besides fully Dutch and fully Latin passages Praet also produced two sections where the two languages are mixed. Both *notae* at l. 1296 and ll. 1373-1374 begin with a Latin citation and then continue in Dutch. In these mixed cases, it seems the Latin quotation serves as a starting point, which the Dutch text then further explores. This is the case for these microlevel examples of multilingualism but also for the use of *glossae* and *notae* on a larger scale: Latin plays the supporting role in an intellectual discussion that is first and foremost a

179 See for instance Hain 1951 and Zumthor 1976.

180 Reuvekamp 2007 has shown that this transmission of authority also takes place in courtly romances when Latin *sententiae* are incorporated there.

181 This distinction perfectly echoes the differences between proverbs and *sententiae* outlined by Paul Zumthor (see note 171).

182 Cf. Kalff 1906: 'Although nothing suggests Jan Praet imitated a specific work or author, he does repeatedly connect new insights to Latin text or short Latin verses, which are often further extended by himself. In these extensions, especially the lyrical parts, the author appears at his best.' (p. 439, my translation).

Dutch affair, both in terms of the languages used, the characters speaking them (who are given Dutch rather than Latin names, unlike many other allegorical characters in the story), and in the proverbial examples forwarded. Therefore, as much as the Latin *sententiae* serve an educational purpose, they also seem to illustrate that Dutch can be used just as productively as Latin to reach the same end goal. Though Jan Praet – both the author and the character – never states his preference for the vernacular, these three arguments show that in practice his preference for Dutch certainly shines through.

Praet's reflection on the authority of Latin from such a meta-perspective is further extended to the biblical quotations of the *Leeringhe*. In one case, authority is derived through imitation of historical reality by presenting characters to speak in the language they were expected to have spoken. In the sermon where God is speaking, both times when God quotes himself directly, he does so in Latin, the most appropriately authoritative language (ll. 4134-4135, 4251). When the Roman centurion and those near him witness the death of Jesus, they too speak in Latin as they would have done in Roman times: *Vere filius Dei erat iste* (l. 4294).[183] In another case, however, the authority of these quotations themselves is opened up to interpretation by the two debaters of the text, Sapiencia and Jan Praet the character. Rather than presenting these quotations as clear-cut examples, such as was the case with the *sententiae*, they are used to steer the direction of the dialogue itself. A closer look at this debate towards the end of our text is warranted.

God's sermon has just ended and Sapiencia continues in a similar vein, urging Jan Praet once more to let go of his sinful thoughts and to honour God by following his example, for this alone will save his soul when Judgement Day arrives. To support her argument, she refers to both Saint Jerome (l. 4630) and the evangelists (l. 4723) and closes her monologue by stating that: 'Hets zeker waer dat ic di telle, want lieghic di, so lieght Scrifture' (ll. 4747-4748: What I tell you is the truth, for if I were to lie to you, then so would the Bible). Praet actively contests this statement by moving away from the fact of the matter and drawing the attention of both Sapiencia and the reader to the actual implementation of this biblical knowledge. Jan explains that despite the true nature of the lessons of God and Sapiencia, he and many others still find that they easily fall short in their actions and return to their sinful behaviour (ll. 4758-4759). Through this tactic, Praet effectively questions the capacity of humans to live a virtuous life, forcing Sapiencia to not only refer to the Bible but in fact quote it directly in Latin as a countermeasure. Citing Psalm 32:5, Sapiencia explains that regardless of how dim and unkind the world might look to Praet, God's mercy is always present and that this should comfort Praet and give him the strength to devote himself fully to God.

With Sapiencia referring to the Holy Bible itself, one might expect Praet to give in at last and commit to bettering his ways.[184] However, the opposite seems to be the case, for rather than

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[183] Here one can see a clear difference between codeswitches to Latin and to other vernaculars. Whilst switching to Latin is intended to increase the status of a text (passage), switching to Dutch or French is often used to add a *couleur locale* or to enhance the "otherness" of those speaking. See Peersman 2015: 107-110. An example of this in the Flemish corpus is the nonsense poem *Dit es de Frenesie*, in which the Dutch student switches to French when he is making a gambling bet and again when someone (French) is talking to him, enhancing the historical context of Paris where the narrative takes place (ed. Parsons & Jongenelen 2009: ll. 30 and 69).

[184] This is, for instance, exactly what happens in the *Second Martijn*, a dialogue work by the Flemish author Jacob van Maerlant (see Chapter 6), where two figures, Jacob and Martijn, argue about which woman to save in a dire situation: the one who you love, but does not love you, or the one that loves you but who you do not. Here, it is only when Jacob includes biblical arguments that Martin finally forfeits his position and accepts Jacob's answer (Cf. Warnar 2020: 231).

accept the biblical message without question, Praet debates the value of the citation yet again, this time by juxtaposing it with another biblical reference:

Vrouwe, ghi dinct mi zeghen waer;	Lady, I believe what you say to be true;
Nochtan hebbic so groten vaer	Yet I am still so very frightened
Door een woort dat staet bescreven,	By a text that is written,
Dat groot mijn herte maket zwaer,	Which makes my heart weigh heavy,
Als icker vele peinse naer,	When I think about it intensely,
Dat het mijn herte doet verbeven.	It makes my heart tremble.
Dat scaerpe woort dat mi doet duchten	The sharp text that frightens me
Ende int herte zwaer versuchten,	And troubles my heart so,
dat las ic bescreven dus:	I found written as such:
Vix salvabitur justus.	*Vix salvabitur iustus.*
Dat woort mach men dus bescriven:	This text can be explained a such:
Dat cume sal behouden bliven	That the just man
De rechte mensche na sijn leven. (ll. 4842-4854)	Shall scarecely be saved after his life.

Praet's point is clear: even if the Bible tells us that God's mercy is everywhere on earth, that same source tells us that even those who are righteous men find it difficult to live in such a way that they may receive His mercy and the salvation that Sapiencia promises. The same sentiment is expressed by a second biblical reference of a similar nature, this time taken from Matthew 20:16: 'Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi' (ll. 4873-4874: Many have been called, but only few are chosen). Through these references, Praet shows Sapiencia that he too understands the Bible and that just as she may present the Bible as the source that holds the solution to Praet's problems he in turn may point to it as evidence that he himself is unable to follow her directions. In doing so, Jan Praet invokes his narrative counterpart to partake in a scholarly form of debating theology that was traditionally reserved to highly educated scholars and theologists and would of course be performed exclusively in Latin. And to up the ante, we must consider the person Praet is arguing with is the Latin embodiment of wisdom itself!

Unfortunately, we are left in the dark as to how this discussion might end, for Sapiencia's rebuttal only consists of some fifty verses before being cut off, due to the missing end of the only manuscript of the *Leeringhe*. That these few Latin examples did actually lead to discussion is, however, without question, for in the final lines of Sapiencia she repeats Praet's initial Psalm citation and begins to reinterpret it. What is most important to take from this, then, is that the use of Latin biblical references once more shows Jan Praet's eagerness to actively use Latin as a stepping stone to further his vernacular narrative, and in doing so to illustrate that a discourse of religious morality can be held in Dutch. Latin is not solely used as a means of granting authority, truthfulness or status to the Dutch text and even highly prestigious sources like the Bible require interpretation in order to be valued and understood correctly. Rather, the Latin serves to enhance the Dutch content, to invite further experimentation on a stylistic level and to increase the authority of Jan Praet as a vernacular writer of moral theology and lay ethics.[185]

Returning to De Clercq's suggestion of a thematic or structural divide in the work, looking at the use of Latin, we can argue that the *Leeringhe* does not display a clear division between the

[185] And were we to move slightly into the realm of speculation, we could wonder if Praet's criticism of the clergy expressed in earlier parts of the text, then, doesn't just concern itself with the lack of their moral and religious exemplarism, but perhaps also their supposed monopoly on the Latin discourse of knowledge.

first and second half of the text. Rather the content, in so far as we can access it, shows a clear framework: Sapiencia relies on Latin authoritative knowledge to give weight to her arguments, whilst Jan Praet remains a stubborn opponent who questions the authority and practicality of these sources as he debates them, and adds Dutch counterparts to them in a superlative manner (i.e., with increasing number and complexity as the story progresses). This is already present at the Mary letter allegory with which the manuscript begins and seems to be in full swing during the debate between Praet and Sapiencia at its abrupt end.

This stance clearly separates the *Leeringhe* from De Weert's *Doctrinael* as well as many other moral theological treatises in Dutch. Both texts make use of similar Latin sources and present translations for Latin quotations, but here the similarities seem to end. From a sociolinguistic perspective it appears as if the *Doctrinael* is largely reliant on the example set by the Latin domains and the prestige of Latin as a learned language, whilst the *Leeringhe* steers further away from this domain. This in turn allows Praet to experiment with the vernacular in order to showcase his skill and increase his prestige as a vernacular author. Where the *Doctrinael* follows its Latin sources and feeds off them, the *Leeringhe* welcomes Latin into an otherwise aesthetically superb Dutch work where a lively debate between its Dutch and Latin elements takes place.

3.4 THE MAN IN THE MIRROR: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE *LEERINGHE*

With the use and functionality of Latin in the *Leeringhe* bared, it is now fruitful to consider the sociolinguistic context in which this text and its author Jan Praet operated. To begin with the author himself, the family name 'Praet' (or 'Praat') can be traced back to inhabitants from several regions in and around Bruges, in particular the area of Oedelem, which was for a long time under the rule of the House of Praet.[186] Genealogical information on this family is, however, incomplete and therefore hard to interpret in relation to the *Leeringhe*. What can be said is that the family likely had close ties with the City of Bruges as well as the aristocratic rule of Flanders. Already in the thirteenth century, a Jan Praet worked as a clerk in Bruges and as canon of Saint Donatian's Church.[187] His nephew, also called Jan Praet, was a knight working for the leaders of this same city. His son, Lord Jan Praet of Oedelem, would however be driven out of the city after being taken captive by a Brugean militia during the Matins of Bruges on May 18th, 1302 for choosing the side of the French-aligned Leliards in the Franco-Flemish War (1297-1305).[188]

Following the death of Boudewijn V of Praet, who worked at the count's chancellery from 1335 until his death in 1372, the estate of Oedelem was handed down to Lodewijk de Fries (also known as Lodewijk of Flanders), a bastard son of Count Louis II.[189] This Lodewijk had a son called Jan van Praet, who, following the death of his father in 1396, gained ownership of Oedelem and fought alongside Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy in 1421 before his death in 1450. Sadly we

[186] Buylaert (2011: 570) notes that members of this family were also known under the family name 'Van Moerkerke'. On the Praet family, see Verhoustraete 1967.
[187] See Warlop 1975, III: 1072 and Van Oostrom 2013: 528.
[188] Two other members of the Praet family, Ruebin and Kerstien, were also forced from the county one year later. Roughly 50 years after that, one Jehan de Praet would also be banished along with 464 other inhabitants of Bruges who sided against Louis of Male. See on this Reynaert 1983: 64-66.
[189] Verhoustraete 1964: 223-224. Reynaert (1983: 65 n. 98) mistakenly states that the estate of the Praet family was given to Lodewijk de Haze, a brother of Lodewijk de Fries.

do not know enough of these individual Jan Praets to conclusively point to one of them as the author of the *Leeringhe*, though as a whole this family seems the most promising place to look for him, considering the active role of its members in Bruges, either as scribes, clergymen or politicians.

Linking the *Leeringhe* itself to a specific social milieu in or near Bruges likewise proves itself difficult due to a lack of historical and biographical data. Textual elements can, however, offer hints that point either towards or away from certain milieus. For example, only few arguments can be found to support the idea that the text was written for a courtly audience and none of these arguments can be considered decisive by any means. In fact, what is perhaps the strongest argument against a courtly audience, is the very absence of courtly characters within the text as a whole, in either positive or negative roles. Noblemen, knights, princes and maidens are rarely mentioned, neither as possible readers nor as subjects of the text's many examples. The only direct reference seems to be made during a single passage, namely the point in the discussion between Hoverde and Oetmoed where the horse Valuwe is introduced (ll. 3210-3549).[190] Valuwe is the embodiment of deceit, in the text connected primarily to worldly activities concerning greed and prestige.[191] All different classes are mentioned in relation to Valuwe (see ll. 3385-3389, 3258, 3365, 3545-3549) but a specific reference is made to courtly activities:

Ic doe tornieren,	I partake in tournaments,
Rudders verfieren	Make knights fill
Van haren zinne,	Their minds with pride,
Vrouwen pareren,	I make women embellish themselves,
Zinghen, baleren	To sing and dance
Om rudders minne;	For the love of a knight;
Cnapen joste[e]ren	I make squires jostle
Ende breken speeren	And break spears
Om rome saken;	For worldly glory;
Joncvrouwe[n] vermoyen,	I make maidens pretty themselves,
Wempelen, ployen	Twist and pivot
Ende hornen maken. (ll. 3278-3289)	Their headdresses into pointy horns.[192]

Emphasis in this passage lies primarily on the external qualities of the aristocracy: how they dress, how they attempt to impress others and how they spend their free time. It is possible that the author Jan Praet, probably a member of the nobility himself, is criticizing members of his own social class for their haughty appearances and behaviour. Alternatively, this emphasis on external qualities could mean the passage is meant for members of other social classes looking down on the aristocracy for their way of life, though without evidence to support this possibility, I deem it improbable.

[190] Hoverde and the other sins are presented as squires and knights during the 'parlament' between Hoverde and *Oetmoed*, but rather than to be considered a direct reference to the courtly class, this is instead a common characteristic of this type of allegorical combat between sins and virtues, following the example of the *Psychomachia* by Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (c. 348- c. 413). See De Clercq 1981: 65.

[191] On Valuwe and its relation to the French *Roman de Fauvel*, see Verwijs 1862, Beets 1910 and Reynaert 1983: 50-59.

[192] This pointy horned headdress was known as an *escoffion* and was in fashion during the fourteenth century amongst members of higher society, but also condemned for its association with the devil. See on this Lester & Oerke 2013: 18.

Similarly, it is also unlikely that Praet, despite his vast knowledge of Latin, was a practicing member of the clergy, even if he most plausibly did follow a religious education as *clericus*.[193] By far the strongest argument against placing Jan Praet in a practicing religious function during the writing of the *Leeringhe* is his harsh and vehement criticism of the clergy. This criticism starts off on a meta-level, when Praet expresses his frustration with his sparring partner Sapiencia. He complains that her 'sermoen' (l. 2008: sermon) is too long and boring, as a result of which the information vital to him does not reach his ears. Indeed, the character Jan Praet seems to have little patience for the teachings of clergymen, for he explains that the very lessons Sapiencia is teaching him now are not even observed by the clergy themselves (ll. 2022-2038):

Maer an clergien hebbic bespiet	But of the clergy I have noticed
Dat zi node gheven yet:	That they do not like to give:
Ic waent hen vrecheit doet ontbeeren.	I believe stinginess makes them not do so.
Maer alle nemen zi gheerne mieden,	For all of them gladly accept favours,
Diese hen gheven of willen bieden;	From those who would give it to them;
Al waert van claeren woekerschatte,	Even if it were usury,
Si souden den volke wel bedoeden	They would still try to convince the people
Dat wel besteit ware an hen lieden,	That it was well spent on them,
Ende gheven hen paerdoen te quatte.	And in thanks they would pardon them all their sins.
Ic waent hem raet de ghierichede;	I believe greed must be counselling them;
Zi drinken gherne ende eten mede	After all, they love to eat
Vette spize ende goeden wijn,	Fatty food and drink good wine, yes,
Gula hout [bi] hem hare stede,	*Gula* keeps them company,
So dat si pleghen hare sede;	And so they do as she commands;
Want aermoede dinct hem al venijn.	For they believe poverty to be a poison.
Si draghen cleedren van saysoene,	They wear fashionable clothes,
Werdich, diere, van groten doene,	Decent looking and expensive,
Daer Hoverde in mach reigneren.	In which Pride could reign.
Dat zi secghen in haer sermoene,	Whatever they say in their sermons,
Dat ware hem zelven zwaer te doene.	They themselves find very difficult to do.

The harshest note of critique is the greediness of the clergy, and whilst this is a *topos* often found in medieval literature, there is reason to believe Jan Praet intended to place particular emphasis on this. Praet does something unique when it comes to his discussion of the seven deadly sins: he leaves out sloth (Lat. *acedia*) – although the explanation of sloth in a clerical setting, that is, to show an indifference towards your obligations to God as a member of his Church, is present in the text itself – and replaces it with 'vrecheit' (greed). In prior research scholars like Joris Reynaert have mainly wondered why Praet deliberately left out sloth (for which no clear answer is yet found), but just as fascinating is why Praet replaced it with 'vrecheit' whilst also adding 'gulsichede', the more traditional category for Greed. The simplest explanation, based on the text's overall emphasis on greed, is that Praet deemed it such a terrible sin that it deserved double mention: once to emphasize those who always desire for more ('vrecheit', ll. 1879-1886) and once to describe those who show no restraint and act rashly ('gulsichede', ll. 1887-1894). Considering this extraordinary decision, it

[193] See Jonckbloet 1889: 162 and Reynaert 1983: 64. Both Van Mierlo (1940: 32) and Van Steen (1981: XXV) think Praet was a layman despite his knowledge of Latin.

is all the more meaningful that those depicted as the most greedy in the *Leeringhe* are members of the clergy.

Clergymen are presented as embodiments of the worst that mankind has to offer: they deceive the very people they are supposed to help through corrupt means, and rather than set an example for the way good Christians should live, they act sinfully and cherish their many attachments to worldly gains and desires. Among them is also the staple example of priests who seem unable to live the celibate life they prescribe for others (ll. 2049-2064):

Bi groten wille van luxurien	Out of great lust
Houden si some vette amien	They keep some well-fed concubines,
Die zi hantieren, ende handelen mede	Whom they have their way with, and whom they touch
Metten leden, die zi doen wien,	with the same hands that they use
Ende Gode heffen ende benedien:	To sanctify and bless the host in the *Ostentatio* with:
Dat dinct mi wesen grote onzede	This, I believe, is a very big sin,
Hoe dat zi meughen sijn so coene,	How they can act so careless
Na der leeringhen Gods sermoene	With the lessons of Gods sermon
Als zi nachts lecghen in hooftzonde,	When they lie in sin at night only to perform
Gods helighe messe sdaeghs te doene,	God's holy Mass by day.
Ende te etene ende drinkene als lyoene	And to eat and drink like lions
Dat Helighe Sacrament met monde;	And then eat the Holy Sacrament with the same mouth.
Ende als zi messe hebben ghedaen,	And when they have performed the Mass,
Dat zi dan weder keeren saen	They quickly return
Om te vernieuwene hare sonden	To their concubines, who gladly welcome them,
An hare amien, die hem ontfaen.	To renew their sins.

The similarities with the Gruuthuse songs are easily spotted, for instance with the chaplain of Oedelem (II.17) and sister Lute and brother Lollaert (II.86).[194] In both of these songs, the sexual indiscretions commited by members of the clergy are explained as if obvious to everyone despite the clergy's efforts to keep them hidden from plain sight. Both Maerlant and De Weert also show great disdain towards members of the clergy. In his *Sinte Franciscus' leven* (The life of Saint Francis of Assisi), Maerlant scorns the lower clergy and monks for their lack of moral and Christian discipline, preferring beer and food over the Lord's sacramental bread, and stacking up riches for themselves rather than dividing them amongst the needy.[195] His criticism goes even further in his strophic poem *Der kerken claghe* (The Church's complaint), where the clergy are presented as hypocrites who through their own poor moral standards lead those depending on their wisdom to doom. In this regard, Jan de Weert once more proves himself an astute student of Maerlant. His *Doctrinael* is littered with insults, sneers and critiques aimed at those in the Church.[196] For instance, in his discussion of greed, De Weert dedicates a whole paragraph to the act of simony (ll. 337-416). Likewise in his presentation of envy and lust, the clergy are first in line to be condemned (ll. 878-889, 1097-1125).

This comparison between Maerlant, De Weert and Praet brings forth an interesting fact, namely that criticism of the Church was possible and even common from authors who themselves

[194] This similarity becomes even more interesting when we consider that the House of Praet was in charge of Oedelem and thus also partially responsible for the activities of its chaplain.
[195] On Maerlant's criticism of the clergy, see Te Winkel 1877: 183-242.
[196] Cf. Van Oostrom (2013: 135): 'Not 200 verses go by without a cleric being targeted' (my translation). For an extensive description of De Weert's criticism of the clergy in the *Doctrinael*, see Jacobs 1915: 15-39.

benefitted from a religious education and made reference to religious Latin works produced by members of the Church and universities.[197] De Weert and Maerlant, despite their criticism, respect the authoritative status of their Latin sources. As shown in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, this correlates with the language attitude found in medieval prologues as described by Remco Sleiderink in his 2010 article. Praet on the other hand (partially) includes his critique of the clergy in his overall attitude towards the functionality of Latin as an authoritative source of knowledge. Prelates and provosts are bereft of any authority and described in similar terms as Lucifer and their psalms are considered boring. As a result, the authority of Latin as a language of knowledge is actively diminished by the failures of those supposed to master it. A critical stance to both Latin, Latin sources and Latin domains such as the Church and universities is thus presented as an important theme throughout the work. Because of this, the *Leeringhe* can be considered both a product of the fourteenth-century moral theological vernacular tradition and a commentary on the development of this very tradition.

All in all, support for the notion of an intended (exclusively) courtly audience is rather slim, whereas the idea of Praet writing either as a member of the clergy criticizing the more condemnable members of his cloth or for members of a religious community, whilst certainly a possibility, appears unlikely. More probable, then, is an urban audience, the case for which I continue below.[198] Here a comparison with Jan de Weert's *Doctrinael* is again of good use, since Herman Brinkman convincingly showed that this text was primarily intended for an urban audience. Brinkman's analysis consists of three types of information that, combined, illustrate the active attempt of Jan de Weert to make his work appeal to members of urban life. Firstly, Jan de Weert made small changes to his Latin example, most notably in their exemplarity. A citation originally placed in an agricultural context is changed into an urban one, emphasizing labour and the production of cloth.[199] Secondly, in his discussion of the seven deadly sins, De Weert put an increased emphasis on greed rather than pride. The explanation of this greed is often supplemented by examples that take place in an urban context, for instance the story of a man who through his greed bankrupts his business, forcing his wife into prostitution, itself an urban profession.[200] The third type of information is the close connection between the *Doctrinael* and De Weert's other text, the *Wapene Rogier*. Given two references to the *Doctrinael* in the *Wapene Rogier* (e.g., ll. 1209-1211, 1249-1251), it can be assumed the audience was expected to be familiar with the earlier text, making the urban elements in the *Wapene* a further argument that the primary audience of the *Doctrinael* may also have been situated in an urban milieu.

Whereas the first type (source comparison) and third type (comparison with a different text by the same author) of information are not available to us, since no other work of Praet is known and his only work is considered to be original, the second type (textual analysis of social aspects) is indeed applicable to the *Leeringhe*. The majority of the text stays within a religious register, but Praet occasionally introduces more worldly examples to further his point. One of these examples is the recurring proverbial depiction of separating the chaff from the wheat, a biblical reference which is connected by Praet to a loss of monetary profit (ll. 520-544, 838, 1433-1444). More direct are the

197 Cf. Van Oostrom 2006: 535-536.
198 This suggestion was already made by Pleij 1991: 20-21, though no extended argumentation was presented.
199 Brinkman 1991: 105. De Weert's restraint to also alter the religious content of the Latin reference itself is in line with my earlier description of multilingualism in the *Nieuwe doctrinael*.
200 Brinkman 1991: 110.

references to pubs and taverns (l. 1779) and most of all, money (ll. 1307, 2045, 2107-2109, 2124, 2146, 3428-3429, 3439-3440, 3894-3895). Such emphasis on money not only fits the negative characterization of the corrupt clergy, where most of the references are found, but also the growing importance of money in the rising urban economy, which was felt both by the aristocracy and bourgeoisie.[201] Overall, the sins that most trouble Praet are those generally associated with urban life: spending too much money on worldly pleasures and acting sinfully within an urban culture of exchange and wealth, in which the joyous babble from the tavern drowns out the cautionary sermons coming from the cathedral.

Reference to such urban elements also fits the primary purpose of 'Mirror'-texts, for their intent is often to depict their audience so that readers may view them as a mirror images of themselves. This does, however, bring one final issue to the front, namely that above all else the image in the mirror of the *Leeringhe* is not a large group of people, but specifically the character of Jan Praet himself. Unlike the *Martijns* of Jacob van Maerlant or the *Wapene Rogier* by Jan de Weert, in which the authors present themselves as narrative characters devoid of any personal characteristics beyond their intellectual capabilities, the *Leeringhe* presents a highly personal description of its protagonist. Praet is a true pessimist, skeptic and doubter, but more importantly a smart and stubborn one. This, as most can imagine, proves to be a particularly troublesome combination, for despite Sapiencia efforts, Praet seems immovable in his convictions. He does, however, draw our sympathies nonetheless, since Praet does not ask for insight like the dialogists in the *Martijns* and *Wapene Rogier*, but rather for help (and desperately so). Praet's problem is not incomprehension but inability, which is perhaps also why the lessons from his teacher – Wisdom herself – seem unable to move him. Combined with the uniquely creative use of form and metaphor – so distinct from any other moral theological work – and the unorganized appearance of the text's structure – so unlike most profane-ethical works – as well as the complicated nature of its content, one can hardly escape the thought that perhaps the *Leeringhe* was intended first and foremost for Jan Praet himself.[202]

Ironically, then, the single reference to an actual audience in the text perfectly fits our image of Praet: he writes for mature people (l. 182). Now to be clear: no direct reference to Praet's age is found within the text, nor can we determine the author's age without first identifying him. What we do see, however, is the author's principal conflict revolving around approaching death and Judgement Day, a worry easily connected to those nearing the end of their lives. The text even points out that it is primarily those with little time left for whom such thoughts remain strong and worrisome (e.g., ll. 691-716). Whilst the very existence of a manuscript of the *Leeringhe* from a later date than the text is thought to be composed proves that it knew at least some degree of transmission, and whilst one should retain some separation between author, narrator and character in mind, we must also acknowledge that one of the most striking elements of the *Leeringhe* is its emphasis on its own author, and not on its audience. My conclusion is thus, like the *Leeringhe* itself, somewhat of a pessimistic mixture. Who is the man in the Mirror? It appears to be Jan Praet himself. But who this Jan Praet actually is largely remains a mystery.

201 Little 1971: 22-31.
202 Cf. a similar description for Jan de Weert's *Doctrinael* by Van Oostrom 2013: 137, cited here in my free translation: 'the impression persists that we are not to thank an audience that specifically asked for this text, but instead a writing surgeon who mentally poured himself out on the text'.

3.5 Conclusion

Our understanding of the vernacular discourse of knowledge in medieval Dutch has been greatly increased by the articles and studies produced in the framework of *Men of Letters: Medieval Dutch Literature and Learning*, a project led by Geert Warnar at Leiden University from February 2004 until November 2009.[203] One of the articles flowing from this project, written by Warnar and sharing the project's name, opens with a brief discussion of the fourteenth-century poem *Den lof van Maria* (The praise of Mary), found in the Van Hulthem manuscript.[204] In this poem, three men discuss how to best praise the Blessed Virgin. The men are famous philosophers Henry of Ghent and Albertus Magnus, and, surprisingly, Dutch author Jacob van Maerlant. As Warnar points out, it is not only unusual to see Henry and Albertus feature in the same poem as debaters, but even more so that the vernacular author, Maerlant, is presented as its winner. What we are to take away from this outcome is that 'by presenting Maerlant as equal to two great thinkers the author suggests that vernacular poets were not by definition inferior to the intellectual elites of academic professionals'.[205] This idea is supported by the text itself: we are not told exactly why Maerlant is deemed the winner but, strikingly, what separates him from the two learned philosophers is that he is the only debater who does not refer to Latin scholars in his rebuttals. Perhaps we can then extend Warnar's conclusion by arguing that Maerlant is not only presented as equal to, if not better than, the two renowned scholars, but also that authoritative knowledge in the vernacular can be gained, and even triumph in its own right, that is, without relying on Latin texts and scholarship. Whilst *Den lof van Maria* is unique in this expression, Jan Praet's *Leeringhe* shows that a similar sentiment is evident in other Dutch works from ca. 1400.

The analysis of Praet's use of Latin shows a highly ambitious author. Rather than presenting a didactic formula centred around Latin doctrine (like his Flemish colleague Jan de Weert), Praet engages with Latin knowledge and sources in several ways to supplement his moral-theological work. Moreover, this work overtly celebrates the vernacular in both in style and content. This daring stance towards Latin as an authoritative language of religion and knowledge – open to interpretation, up for debate and, moreover, as a side-show rather than the main act – is unparalleled in medieval Dutch didactical literature. This makes it all the more frustrating that so little is known about the historical Jan Praet! Everything in his text, from its stylistic variation to its mixed generic composition and its considerable length signals that this was not the Flemish author's first or only lierary work. Whether Praet was a clerk like his ancestors, or perhaps one and the same as Lord Jan Praet of Oedelem, remains a topic for further study.

What we can take away from the *Leeringhe*, despite the many questions and riddles it still poses to us as readers and scholars, is that writers active in Flanders around 1400 had both the capacity and willingness to fight for the position of Dutch as a literary language alongside the authoritative father, Latin, and the courtly big brother, French. Jan Praet shows clear mastery over Latin and (correctly) believes himself to be adept at expressing its values and wisdom in the

[203] The project was funded by the NWO (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek), the national Dutch Research Council. On the project and its academic output, see: https://www.nwo.nl/en/projects/276-50-001.
[204] Warnar 2007. For *Den lof van Maria*, see Brinkman & Schenkel 1999, I: 264-271.
[205] Warnar 2007: 222.

vernacular, at times implementing it as a tool to voice personal struggles with the social issues of his time. Much like the Gruuthuse songs, the *Leeringhe* is a celebration of the literary qualities of Dutch and proof that, under the influence of French and Latin authorities, Flemish authors could address the very foundations of these ruling institutions in their own maternal tongue, which was probably also that of their primary audience.

PART III. MATERIAL DIMENSIONS

4

TWO MULTILINGUAL SCRIBES IN MEDIEVAL GERAARDSBERGEN

4.1 MULTILINGUALISM ON THE PERIPHERY OF FLANDERS

Cities like Bruges, Ghent and Ypres were among the most prominent centres of commerce, culture and politics in northern Europe during the late Middle Ages. Unsurprisingly, many of the multilingual written works in Flanders can be traced back to literary activities in or near these cities. Multilingual literary milieus can, moreover, also be found outside these major urban areas. Alongside these Flemish metropoles there were also smaller cities positioned around the borders of the county where various cultures met and interaction between different languages was common.[206] One of these cities was Geraardsbergen (French: Grammont).[207] The city was founded in the eleventh century in the Dender river region in Imperial Flanders, the part of Flanders that was a fief of the Holy German Empire, at the borders of the County of Flanders, the Duchy of Brabant and the County of Hainaut.[208] By the end of the fourteenth century, its strategic borderland location had helped shape Geraardsbergen into a fully-fledged cultural crossroads with well-established administrative, economic, and religious institutions in place.[209]

To get a sense of how this contact point between different languages and cultures also gave rise to a multilingual literary market, I look here at the activities of two fifteenth-century commercial scribes who resided in Geraardsbergen. The first of these is arguably the most well-known figure to come from late-medieval Geraardsbergen, namely Guillebert de Mets. He was highly successful as both a scribe and bookseller, as evidenced by the large number of manuscripts that can be linked to him. As can be concluded based on what we know of Guillebert's professional life and some of the manuscripts he wrote himself, Guillebert was fluently trilingual and comfortable communicating and producing texts in Dutch, French and Latin – though as will become clear, he and/or his clients appeared to have a particular preference for French.

In contrast to Guillebert, we know very little about our second scribe: his name is unknown to us and his surviving oeuvre consists of a single known codex. This book, held in the Royal Library of Belgium (Brussels, KBR, MS 837-845), is a monogenetic composite comprising two

206 The bilingual contact between the Southern Low Countries and Northern France has been the subject of several recent studies; see, for instance, Crombie 2017, Van Bruaene 2017, Hoogvliet 2016 & 2018 and Dlabačová & Hoogvliet 2020.

207 On the history of Geraardsbergen, see De Portemont 1870, Fris 1911 and Guillemin 1945, as well as several studies that zoom in on specific aspects of the city, such as its political turmoil (Fris 1912-1913 and De Lange 1968) and commerce (Stabel 1994 and Gierts 1997).

208 On literary activities in Imperial Flanders, see Kestemont 2012a and 2014. On the cultural activities in Geraardsbergen see, for instance, Batselier 1976: 8-10 and Pleij 2007: 41-42.

209 De Cock & Van Bockstaele 2008: 299.

homogeneous unarticulated codicological units.[210] This means it consists of two manuscripts joined together at a later date (composite), written by the same scribe (monogenetic), both produced in a single unit of production in quires that do not show a codicological break (unarticulated) but that do contain different texts (homogeneous). Based on its origin, the second of these two manuscripts is known as the Geraardsbergen codex.[211] From a multilingual perspective, this Geraardsbergen codex draws the most attention of the two, as it contains a mixture of Dutch, French and Latin in a variety of texts, most of which have not yet been studied for their linguistic aspects. Of the 89 texts in this manuscript, one is French and eighteen are Latin. Six additional texts mix French and/or Latin with Dutch, whilst eight more texts are written in Dutch, but contain either French or Latin terms. Combined, this means over a quarter of the texts in the Geraardsbergen codex show some form of multilingualism, whilst the book's overall emphasis seems to be on Dutch.

In what follows, the works and activities of Guillebert and the anonymous scribe of the Geraardsbergen codex are discussed as material and literary lenses through which the multilingual dynamics of Geraardsbergen's literary milieu are viewed. This discussion begins in §4.2 with an in-depth look at the professional life of Guillebert and the works he produced while in Geraardsbergen. Next, in §4.3, the linguistic capabilities of the scribe of the Geraardsbergen codex are explored through an analysis of his use of both French and Latin. In §4.4, my discussion of this codex continues as I examine the functionality of the book. In 1999, Joris Reynaert showed that the Geraardsbergen codex was not meant to be read from start to finish, but instead functioned as the repertoire of a commercial scribe: it contains individual texts that were intended to be copied and distributed separately, either in the form of single leaflets or as inscriptions on buildings and objects.[212] The core structural principle of the manuscript was therefore not to create thematic unity nor to cater to a single sociocultural readership, but rather to produce different texts for different readers. That is to say, it offers "something for everyone" among his potential clients. This refers back to the question already tackled in §4.3 , namely whether the French and/or Latin texts in the manuscript served a different type of audience than the Dutch texts, or if the manuscript was (also) aimed at bilingual buyers. Finally, §4.5 considers the differences between Guillebert de Mets and the anonymous scribe of the Geraardsbergen codex and what these differences tell us about the diversity of Geraardsbergen's multilingual literary culture during the fifteenth century.

4.2 GUILLEBERT DE METS, *LIBRAIRE EXTRAORDINAIRE*

Our first look at the literary culture of Geraardsbergen starts with Guillebert de Mets, who was born around 1390 as the son of a mason ("Mets" referring to a *metselaer*, a bricklayer).[213] By his

[210] Kienhorst 2005: 790. On these terms, see also Chapter 1 of this dissertation (p. 30). Further material and codicological descriptions of Brussels, KBR, MS 837-845 are informed by Govers *et al.* 1994: 12-26, which was also written by Hans Kienhorst.

[211] Among various references to the city, the manuscript is written on paper that has been linked to the fifteenth-century municipal administration of Geraardsbergen. On this localization, see Govers *et al.* 1994: 12. Cf. Pleij 1978: 123. The first manuscript in MS 837-845 will be described in more detail in §4.3.

[212] Reynaert 1999a. His theory is the generally accepted explanation of the manuscript's function (see, e.g., Pleij 2007: 16-17, 65).

[213] The origins of Guillebert's last name were first and convincingly unravelled by Fris, who was able to decisively link Guillebert to Geraardsbergen, as opposed the city Metz in the northeast of France (1912).

death around 1438, he had become a well-known and respected scribe, author and commercial bookseller; owner of an inn in the centre of Geraardsbergen; and a city alderman (Dutch: schepen) and the Master of Coin (i.e., treasurer). In order to appreciate this path to success and its multicultural context, we must look at some of the major points in Guillebert's life, starting with his first steps on the road to becoming a scribe.[214]

Guillebert lived in Geraardsbergen in his early years, during which he is believed to have followed a basic education in reading and writing Dutch and Latin at one of the city schools, most likely the Latin school of Saint Adrian's Abbey.[215] It is very tempting to presume that his first strokes as a scribe were also taken in Geraardsbergen, guided by Joos van den Nocquerstocque, who was clerk of the city council of Geraardsbergen between 1392 and 1405 and alderman at various points between 1409 and 1420.[216] Regardless, it became clear at an early age that Guillebert was a gifted student and as a result, around 1405 he left Geraardsbergen and moved to Paris where he studied and worked for almost fifteen years before returning to his hometown.

In Paris, Guillebert quickly rose through the ranks as a scribe and *libraire* (book merchant), eventually becoming the book supplier of John the Fearless and Philip the Good, Dukes of Burgundy. Though there is no official document stating Guillebert attended the University of Paris, it is quite likely considering his familiarity with the university milieu. Evidence of this familiarity is found in a work composed by Guillebert later in his life, entitled *Description de la ville de Paris* (1434).[217] It is among the oldest historical descriptions of Paris and highlights the social network in which Guillebert probably moved. Some of the people mentioned in this work are those who Guillebert admired and saw debate and orate in person. These include influential thinkers such as Jean Gerson, his mentor Pierre d'Ailly and Gilles Deschamps, all professors at the University of Paris, as well as Jacques Legrand (Jacobus Magni), professor of philosophy and theology at Padua. Also mentioned are various important literary figures with whom Guillebert was probably in contact during his stay in Paris. Among them are Nicolas Flamel and Christine de Pizan, as well as the Limbourg brothers, three influential miniature painters who worked for Philip the Bold and Jean de Berry. It is also very likely he was acquainted with Jacques Ducy, treasurer of the French King Charles VI, as Guillebert's *Description* contains an extensive description of Ducy's home and inn, the only surviving source to do so. Whilst it is difficult to determine the exact nature of Guillebert's relationships with these important figures, what is clear from the sheer number of names listed in his *Description* is that his social and literary interests were aligned with those of the aristocratic and academic elite of Paris.

The best evidence for this alignment are the surviving manuscripts copied by Guillebert, a large proportion of which were produced for the highest members of the Burgundian court. These include a copy of *Les traités dits de Sidrac et Lucidaire* (The Hague, KB, MS 133 A 2) produced for John the Fearless, a multi-text manuscript containing Guillebert's own *Description* (Brussels, KBR, MS 9559-64) and another holding the *Fais d'armes* by Christine de Pizan (Brussels, KBR, MS 10205),

214 The following overview of Guillebert's life and work is informed by De Clercq 1938a/b, Somers 2002, Van Trimpont 2012, Delsaux 2016 and Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken 2017, I: 31-69.

215 On city schools in the Burgundian Netherlands, see De Ridder-Symoens 1995; for Geraardsbergen specifically, see Soens 1912-1913. On Saint Adrian's Abbey, see Van Bockstaele 2002.

216 On Joos van den Nocquerstocque, see Brinkman 2004. He was related to Percheval van den Nocquerstocque, a priest from Geraardsbergen associated with the Diocese of Cambrai, whose name is mentioned in one of the poems in the Geraardsbergen codex (text 68)

217 Edition: Mullaly 2015.

both produced for Philip the Good. Another manuscript, lost to time, containing *La Somme le roi* and the *Sidrac*, was also copied for 'les comptes généraux de duc de Bourgogne', according to a booklist from 1431.[218] Another copied for Philip the Good was Paris, BA, ms. 5070, which contains a French translation of Boccacio's *Decamerone* and exemplifies the luxury of the manuscripts Guillebert produced (*Fig. 3*). Its text was composed by Laurent de Premierfait, a French poet and translator who worked as a clerk for Jean de Berry. He was familiar with Guillebert through their common acquaintance, Charles Bureau de la Rivière, Duke of Dammartin-en-Goële, an advisor of Charles VI.[219] Laurent de Premierfait also translated the *Oeconomica* by Pseudo-Aristotle in another manuscript copied by Guillebert, of which a fifteenth-century copy was made for Louis de Bruges (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1085). These examples illustrate the status that Guillebert enjoyed as a *libraire* and highlight his close relationships with the contemporary Burgundian elite.

Whilst some of these manuscripts were produced while Guillebert was still in Paris, most date from after 1419, when John the Fearless was assassinated and Guillebert decided to return to Geraardsbergen. Back home, he would combine his book-crafting profession with various administrative functions, as noted above. In 1420, he was appointed Master of Coin of Geraardsbergen and in that same year became the alderman representing Geraardsbergen in negotiations with Ghent. Guillebert also married Mergriete de Lompere, daughter of a former Geraardsbergen alderman.

Through these official functions, Guillebert was able to extend his contacts in Flanders, in particular to book producers working in Ghent. Many of Guillebert's works contain luxurious illustrations, provided by a group of illuminators known as the "Masters of Guillebert de Mets". Most of these masters resided in Ghent and kept contact with Guillebert who would prepare the text sections of the manuscripts from Geraardsbergen. Their style of illumination is said to have been inspired by the Parisian book producers of 1400, with whom Guillebert would have been intimately familiar through his years in Paris.[220] Combined with the fact that many of Guillebert's books were produced in French for members of the Burgundian court, it seems that despite living in predominantly Dutch-speaking Geraardsbergen, Guillebert managed to keep his work focused on French literature. Perhaps this is also echoed in the name of Guillebert's inn where most of his activities as a bookseller probably took place: The Arms of France (French: *L'Escu de France*).[221] At his inn, Guillebert not only traded in parchment, paper and ink but also conducted business with highly placed officials and ducal administrators.[222] The inn's importance to Guillebert's literary activities is succinctly described by Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Erik Verroken in the summary of their study of Guillebert de Mets and his affiliated illuminators:

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[218] See Paviot 2009: 417.
[219] Van Trimpont 2012: 20-21.
[220] For the Masters of Guillebert de Mets, see Martens 2002 and Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken 2017, I: 119-492. On manuscript painting in Flanders in general, see, e.g., Le Loup 1981, Smeyers & Cardon 1995, Smeyers 1998. and Clark 2000.
[221] This inn originally belonged to Joos van den Nocquerstocque, further supporting the idea that Guillebert and Joos had already been in contact before the former moved to Paris.
[222] It is worth noting that texts could not only move from the inn to customers but also between different Geraardsbergen inns. Guillebert's father-in-law, Adriaan de Lompere, had two more daughters, both of whom were also married to Geraardsbergen innkeepers (Jan van Eyne and Simoen van der Meercatte). Through these familial bonds alone Guillebert would have been able to reach just about anyone in Geraardsbergen, regardless of their social status. On the commercial and cultural role of medieval inns, see Van Houtte 1950, Hermesdorf 1957 and David 1963.

Figure 3. Luxurious page in one of Guillebert de Mets' manuscripts for the Burgundian Dukes (Paris, BA, ms. 5070, fol. 273r). Source: BnF.

> His inn, *The Arms of France*, plays an important role in the developing relationships between Guillebert de Mets and his illuminators. Strategically situated in the very heart of Grammont next to the central market, opposite the Aldermen's House, it was a real hub, a meeting place for the members of the city council, which was also frequented by high officials of the Burgundian administration. Moreover, it was in the inn that Guillebert organized his activities as book-seller, based on the model he had observed in Paris, and where he attracted his clientele, which included local patrons, occasional clients passing through Grammont, and more prestigious hosts like members of the ducal administration who lodged on the premises.[223]

The central location of The Arms of France is reminiscent of known commercial book market locations in other cities such as Paris and London.[224] It also echoes findings by Joris Reynaert and Herman Brinkman on professional scribes working in Ghent around 1400, such as the 'ghesellen van den Ringhe' (whose shops were located opposite the city hall of Ghent next to the Hoogpoort and Botermarkt.[225]

In addition to the surviving manuscripts written by Guillebert, fortune would have it that we are also aware of the other types of books Guillebert owned and could thus copy for customers. When the plague reached Geraardsbergen in 1438, Guillebert, his wife Mergriete and their eldest son are believed to have been among the many victims. The books that were in Guillebert's possession at his death were listed in an inventory dating from 1441, compiled by Willem of Zevencore, the tutor of Guillebert's son Simoen. This booklist also contains references to works already in production at that point as well as books that were being executed on by illuminators. In total, it contains just shy of one hundred titles.[226] These works could either be copied on demand or borrowed for a period of time in exchange for payment, and in some occasions Guillebert might have also pre-produced entire books in anticipation of a potential buyer.[227]

Most of the texts on this booklist are of a religious nature, but one also finds didactic texts, various works of Christine de Pizan, a chronicle of Flanders, encyclopedias, utilitarian works, philosophical texts and, unsurprisingly, a copy of Guillebert's own *Description*. The overwhelming majority of these works are in French, and Latin titles are largely absent.[228] There are, in addition, also various Dutch works listed, such as *De preek op de gulden berch* by Nicolas of Strasbourg, Jacob van Maerlant's *Der naturen bloeme*, *Die cierheit der gheestelijker brulocht* by Jan van Ruusbroec and possibly a copy of the *Cyrurgie* of Jan Yperman. There are also more generic titles of Dutch texts on the list, such as Books of Hours, an untitled treatise on dreams and a confessionary.

This mixture of texts of different languages in Guillebert's repertoire is informative on a number of levels. Primarily, it displays the breadth of literature that Guillebert was interested in as a book producer and, importantly, that in his profession he did not limit himself to works, and thus

223 Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken 2017, II: 845. This English summary by Vanwijnsberghe and Verroken is found on pp. 843-848 (Vol. II).
224 On book production in Paris, see Rouse & Rouse 2000 and Croenen & Ainsworth 2006. For London, see Parkes 2012 and Mooney & Stubbs 2013.
225 Reynaert 1993b and Brinkman 1998. Cf. Vanwijnsberghe 2006 for urban book production in Tournai, Lille and Bruges.
226 Ghent, SA, Serie 330, no. 22. A description of the entire list is given in Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken 2017, I: 71-117 and II: 567-601.
227 See Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken 2017, I: 70-74. Here, too, a comparison can be made with at least one other scribe from Ghent. Jan de Clerc was a true entrepreneur who at some point in his career acquired around 30 manuscripts, which he then used to make money, either by selling copies or by loaning works to customers or fellow booksellers for a fee (Brinkman 1998: 103-106).
228 This lack of Latin titles led Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken (2017, I: 103) to conclude that Guillebert's clientele did not consist of theologians, lawyers or humanists.

customers, using a particular language. Whereas the emphasis on French titles may suggest Guillebert was largely producing books for his former French contacts outside of Flanders (or anticipated new French-speaking ones in Geraardsbergen), the presence of Dutch titles makes it equally likely that at least part of Guillebert's clientele was in Flanders, and Geraardsbergen specifically. Therefore, it is very likely that not all his works were produced for export.[229] Additionally, when we consider that Guillebert was not producing original works but instead copying existing titles, his booklist offers a clear indication of the types of books that were in circulation in Geraardsbergen during the fifteenth century. As such, both this climate for Guillebert's book production and the possibility of a local market for his own copies point to a multilingual interest in literature in Geraardsbergen.

The plethora of Dutch, French and Latin titles also suggest Guillebert was himself fluently trilingual, which makes sense in the context of Guillebert's residence in both Geraardsbergen and Paris, and his assumed level of education. More direct evidence for this can be found in two historical documents. The first is a private cartulary of the City of Ghent, written by Guillebert, that contains Dutch, French and Latin.[230] The flexibility with which Guillebert alternates between languages in this document confirms his comfort with writing in all three. In the second example, Guillebert is not active as a scribe but rather as a translator. In a document from 1432, a payment is listed to one 'Arnequin de Courtrai', a messenger of Philip the Good who was sent to Geraardsbergen to provide Guillebert with a large paper manuscript from the Duke's collection so that Guillebert could translate the work for him.[231] Unfortunately, we cannot determine if the translation was from Dutch or Latin, but the request makes it clear that although no longer living in Paris, Guillebert was a sought-after scribe and, evidently, also an adequate translator who mastered the languages of the Burgundian realm. Whilst himself an extraordinary individual with a unique career, Guillebert's life and works present us with important insights into the multilingual dynamics of the literary milieu of Geraardsbergen, and with evidence that it was possible for the son of a mason to establish himself as an effective and highly productive *libraire* on the periphery of medieval Flanders.

4.3 The linguistic proficiency of the Geraardsbergen scribe

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, as much as we know of Guillebert de Mets, so little do we know of his anonymous Geraardsbergen colleague who was responsible for the two manuscripts combined into Brussels, KBR, MS 837-845. The first of these two manuscripts, running from fols 1-102 in the Brussels codex, consists of two chronicle works in prose, both of which are linked to the County of Holland. The first is the longer version of the *Wereldkroniek* by the Herald Bayern (also known as Claes Heynensoon (ca. 1345-1414)), who was a herald and court

229 Cf. Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken 2017, I: 86, who note that Guillebert's 1441 booklist shows affinity towards the French royal libraries. Cf. Somers 2002: 1228.

230 Ghent, RA, Varia D, no. 3330. Only the first codicological unit of this cartulary (fols 1-129) is by Guillebert's hand. This manuscript was serendipitously found by Godfried Croenen during his work on the *Medieval Manuscripts in Flemish Collections* (MMFC) project (as shared by Godfried Croenen on the MMFC Twitter page on September 8th, 2020: https://twitter.com/MMFCbe/status/1303289564581167104). I thank Godfried Croenen for bringing this manuscript to my attention and for sharing his insights on Guillebert de Mets.

231 Somers 2002: 1237-1238.

historiographer for both the Counties of Holland and Gelre.[232] This text was dedicated to William II, Count of Holland (1404-1417) and Frederick of Blankenheim, the bishop of Utrecht (1393-1423), and the version in MS 837-845 is the only one found in the southern Low Countries, suggesting the Geraardsbergen scribe may have had a special interest in the historical affairs of Holland. Such an interest is also supported by the inclusion of the second chronicle copied in this first manuscript, which is a shorter work written by an anonymous author known as the Chronogrammist, which itself served as one of the sources of the *Hollantsche cronike* by the Herald Bayern.[233] Unfortunately, little is known about how exactly this manuscript relates to the Geraardsbergen codex and given the lack of multilingual elements in this first manuscript, aside from several Latin citations also found in other manuscripts of the *Wereldkroniek*, this dissertation is not the place to delve further into this matter.

One way we can gain more insight into the linguistic proficiency of the Geraardsbergen scribe is, ironically, through Guillebert de Mets. In his review of the 1994 edition of the Geraardsbergen codex, Rob Lievens suggested that the entirety of the codex may have been based on a ledger of texts once collected by Guillebert himself.[234] One of the arguments used by Lievens is based on an interested reference made to Guillebert's inn in text 69 of the Geraardsbergen codex. The text informs the reader of a full pardon of sins that can be earned in Aachen during the month of July once every seven years (i.e., an indulgence).[235] In the actual text itself we read of several religious relics that can be seen in not only Aachen but also Maastricht and Cologne. As the work concluded with a description of the golden cathedral of Cologne, the scribe added several wavy lines in red ink to indicate its end, as is a common practice in the entire manuscript (*Fig. 4*). Surprisingly, however, the text does not end here, as the scribe filled the remaining space of the folio with an additional paragraph and two lines separated by a blank line. In this new paragraph, various places are described in what appears to be some type of travel directions, almost certainly for a pilgrimage. It is in the final two added lines separated from the paragraph that the reference to Geraardsbergen and Guillebert's inn is found, supposedly as the final destination of the journey (fol. 134r).

There are many reasons why these additional paragraph and closing lines stand out. On a codicological level, the ending deviates from the rest of the text in its paratextual presentation. All previous sections in the treatise have been preceded by a separate heading describing the location of the relics. No such heading is in place for this final paragraph. The paragraph also lacks paragraph markers and the waved lines in red ink, both of which are used in earlier parts of the text to highlight textual breaks. On a textual level, the earlier parts do not contain any directions to the cities listed in the additional paragraph and lack the travel descriptions found there. Additionally, it is highly unusual for indulgences to reference a local inn. Based on the positioning of the reference to Guillebert's inn at the end of the page in separate lines, Reynaert has argued that the text as a whole takes on the appearance of an advertisement: after a long and arduous journey, lay down your load at The Arms of France! This creates a further disassociation between the final lines of the text and the preceding parts, since whereas Maastricht, Cologne and Aachen

[232] Van Anrooij 1986: 156 and Verbij-Schillings 1987 and 1999: 9-13.
[233] Verbij-Schillings (1995: 261) has even suggested that the Chronogrammist and the herald may have been the same person.
[234] Lievens 1996: 159-160.
[235] On indulgences in the late medieval Low Countries, see Rudy 2017: 30-51.

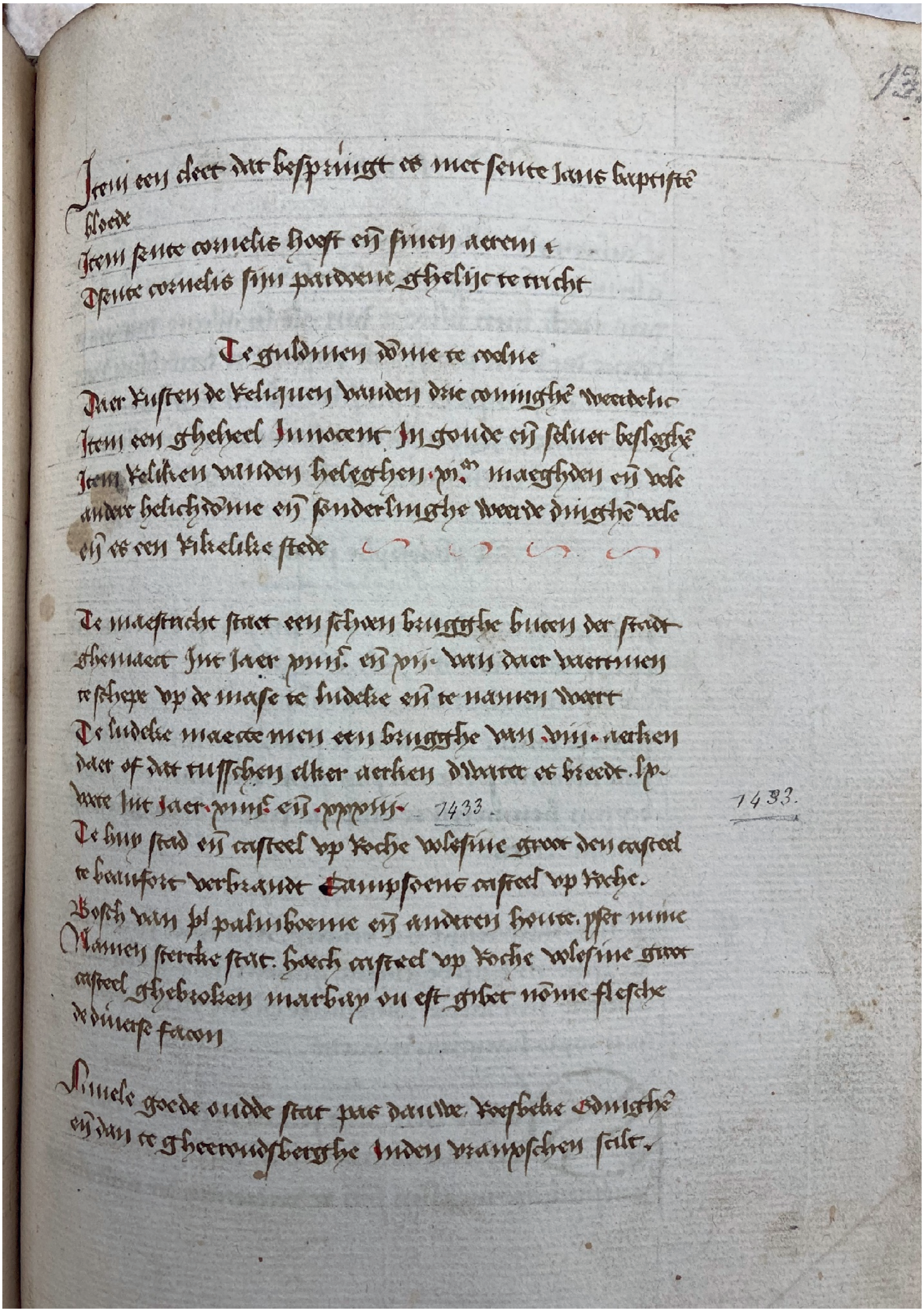

Figure 4. Final part of text 69, which contains the reference to Guillebert de Mets' inn The Arms of France (Brussels, KBR, MS 837-845, fol. 134r). Source: Jelmar Hugen.

all draw in visitors due to their claim to important religious artefacts, the draw to Geraardsbergen is not the relics of St Adrians said to have been kept there, which surely would have been an attraction frequently visited by pilgrims, but instead Guillebert's inn.

Based on these discrepancies, I deem it quite possible that the remaining text on the second half of fol. 134r was not an original component of the indulgence text. It is difficult to determine whether this was composed by the scribe or if the added text was already present in his exemplar. And if it was added by the scribe, whether this was indeed with the promotional intentions that Reynaert has suggested or if instead the scribe included the paragraph and separated lines as directions to Geraardsbergen (possibly following his own journey for the full pardon). In my view, some elements do point towards the scribe himself being responsible for the final paragraph and the two lines that reference The Arms of France. One such element is the inclusion of French at the end of the added paragraph, which reads: 'marbay ou est gibet nomme flesche de diverse facon' (Marbais, where the gibbet stands that people call 'arrow' in various ways). There are two possibilities for the codeswitching to French here: either the entire added section was originally in French and the scribe was unsure how to translate the Marbais-description into Dutch, thus deciding to just leave it in French; or the scribe intentionally added the Marbais-description in French to the Dutch text, perhaps to signal out its importance to French-speaking pilgrims.[236] Whilst the content of the sentence might favour the first option, there are few arguments that suggest the text as a whole is a translation from French.

There is another text in the Geraardsbergen codex where something similar to the situation in text 69 occurs. Text 55 (fols 118v-120r) is a treatise on seven worldly and seven heavenly acts of charity, followed by a long list of *exempla* from religious figures and theologians. The text opens with a section listing all seven worldly acts, after which all seven heavenly acts are discussed in seven separate paragraphs. Next, the list of *exempla* follows with each, bar the first *exempla* of Saint Jerome (l. 28), beginning with 'Item'. This list continues until the top of fol. 120r, the first lines of which make clear that the list of examples has finished: 'Vele exemple vintmen hier toe dienende die lanc waren te scriuene' (l. 66: Many examples can be found in support of this, that were too long to write). This paragraph ends by referring to the sixth chapter of the tenth book of *De civitate dei* by Augustine (ll. 70-71). Surprisingly, the text then presents one final section, which again references Augustine's work, except now in French: 'Saint augustin ou VI^{e} chapitre du X^{e} liure de ciuitate' (l. 80).[237] As in text 69, this reference is also found a the end of the text, and likewise seems out of place. The similarities are eye-catching. In text 55, each paragraph begins with a paraph and is separated from the next paragraph by a blank line. The only other paratextual mark is a wavy red line right before the French reference to Saint Augustine (*Fig. 5*). As such, we again find a section of a Dutch text that seems out of place with, for no apparent reason, French elements.

What makes this particular example even more confounding than the use of French in text 69, is that earlier in the manuscript we find another case where a reference to Augustine is written in French. This reference is found in text 31, which is part of a larger group of small texts (texts 23-45) that stand at the centre of Reynaert's interpretation of the manuscript's function. These

236 Reynaert (1999: 45 n. 10) suggests the sentence might have functioned as a nod to readers, the meaning of which is now lost to us. Whatever this nod may have been, it would have been a multilingual nod.

237 It is unclear if the text referenced is the Latin version of the *De civitate dei* or its French translation by Raoul de Presles, advisor of Charles V. The passage referenced is a quote based on Sirach 30:24, 'Have mercy on your soul by pleasing God', which in both versions is found in Book 10, Chapter 6, just as the Geraardsbergen cites it.

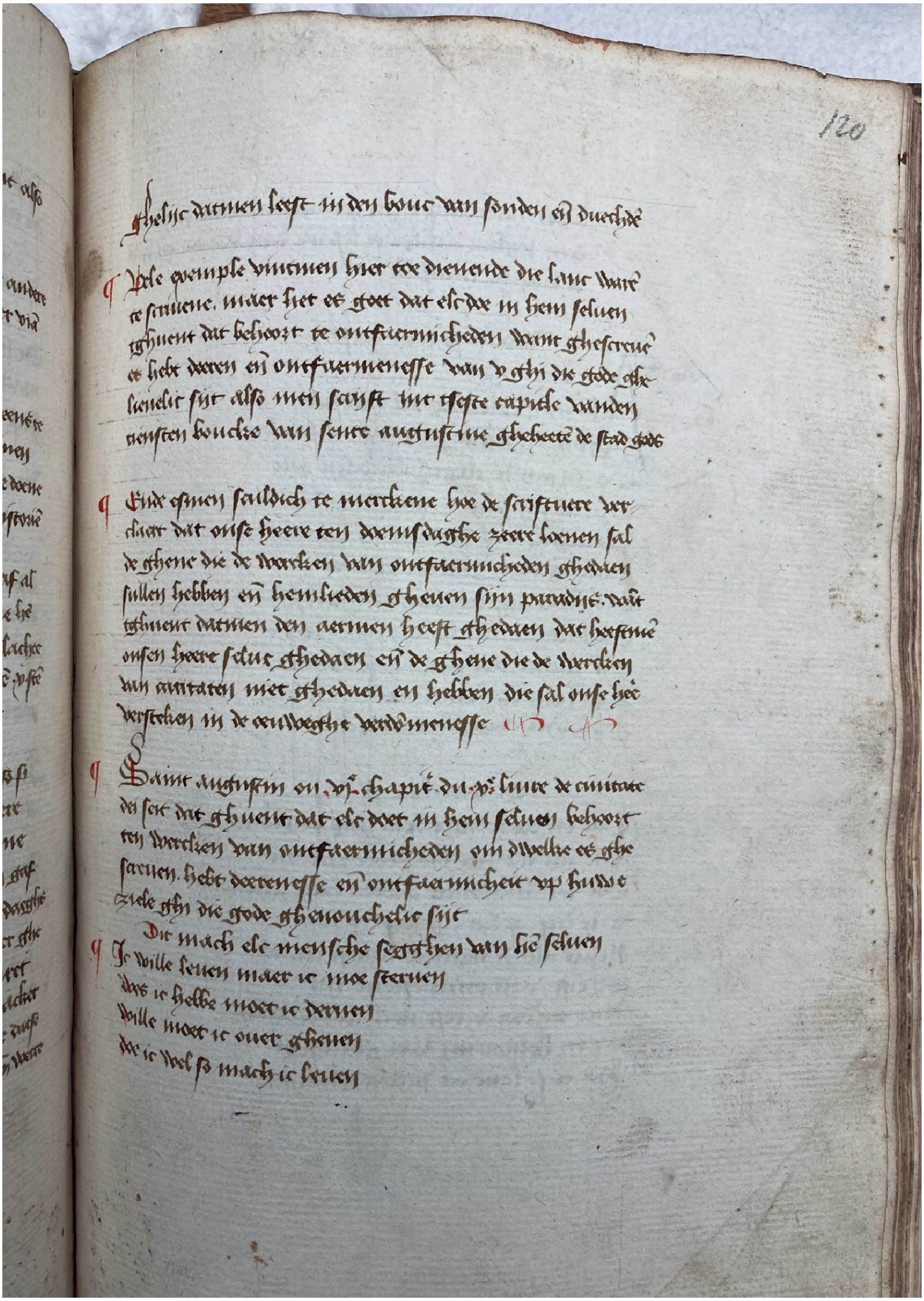

Figure 5. Final part of text 55 and the entirety of text 56 (Brussels, KBR, MS 837-845, fol. 120r). Source: Jelmar Hugen.

texts all appear to be intended for use as inscriptions, to be added to decorate or lend importance to objects, buildings, monuments and the like. They are all accompanied by a heading describing the text's content or, more often, the location where the inscription should be made or was initially found. Text 26, for example, is an inscription that informs the reader to treat animals well. Its heading reads 'in een stal te scrivene' (to be placed in a stable). Of these inscriptions, only one heading is written in French, namely that of text 31. The heading reads: 'Saint augustijn escript a sa table' (Saint Augustine writes [this] on his table).[238]

It is certainly curious that this single French reference once more concerns Augustine. More important, however, is that it is found in a heading, a paratext which is traditionally not part of the original text but instead added by scribes and /or compilers to add structure to the presentation of the text in a specific manuscript (not to be confused with a rubric, which was usually part of the textual tradition).[239] The French heading was therefore most likely added by the scribe of the Geraardsbergen codex, which in turn makes it plausible, given the additional context presented above, that the French reference to Augustine – and consequently the paragraph in which it is found – was also an addition made by the scribe of the codex.

Does this then mean that the anonymous scribe knew French? It is very likely. It is still a possibility that he was merely copying from an exemplar in which these French elements were already present, but given the context of the three French references discussed so far, all of which hint at some form of scribal interference, it is more plausible that the scribe knew French and felt comfortable to include it on occasion – even if his reasoning for this remains unclear to us or if this simply happened unconsciously out of habit. If we consider this to be the case, can we then also say something about the degree of fluency the scribe had in French? Whilst the sample size in the codex is limited, in general his mastery of French seems to be sufficient. There are, however, also mistakes made during his copying of French words that could point to a more limited understanding, although their existence in the exemplar cannot be ruled out.

One such example can be found in text 83, a poem on the four humours which are each presented in a Frenchified form. The very first of these, however, is erroneously transcribed: instead of 'flumatique', correctly found in l. 9 of the same poem, the scribe in l. 1 wrote 'fleurnatique' (fol. 159r) which is an entirely different word.[240] Of a different nature is the (mis)spelling of one of the French wines listed in text 11, an ode to wine: it lists 'saint pour sain' on l. 15, referring to a wine from the region of Saint-Pourçain. Whilst variation in medieval spelling is common, the separation of the words 'pour' and 'sain' can lead to an erroneous reading of the sentence and makes the reference to the region less obvious.[241]

Either of these mistakes could be attributed to a lack of focus, since the scribe also made similar errors when writing Dutch.[242] This, however, is probably not a valid explanation for the

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238 The inscription itself cannot be traced back to Augustine's corpus, but rather to the *Vita Augustini* of Possidius. Augustine was known to despise people who talked during meals. See Govers 1996: 130.

239 The term 'heading' here refers to an artificially added description of a text, included at a later stage by a scribe, compiler or reader. See Sonnemans 1996a: 61-64 and Meyer & Zotz 2017.

240 In contrast, we can wonder if the Frenchification of these humours is also the merit of the scribe, as the author of the text, Geraardsbergen poet Pieter den Brant, was Flemish, and the only Flemish-looking form of a humour in the text (l. 58: 'Sangwijn') is found in a rhyming position, which is typically difficult to alter (Kestemont 2012b).

241 Also surprising is the rhyming of the wine 'beane' (a wine from the region of Beaune) with 'gane' in the following line. This, however, is a characteristic of the text rather than something to be attributed to the scribe. See Van Buuren 1991, who discusses a variation of text 11 in another manuscript which contains the same spelling scheme.

242 See, for example, the errors listed in Lievens 1996: 158.

errors he made in the Latin references found in the manuscript. Researchers of the Geraardsbergen codex have pointed out that whilst the scribe understood Latin, his command over it was very poor, evident by the many scribal errors made in the transcription of Latin texts in the codex.[243] In some cases, the faulty presentation of Latin leads to incomprehensibility, such as is the case for the final lines of text 75 (fol. 142r), a fully Latin text consisting of instructions for preachers or priests on how to absolve someone of their sins during confession. It appears that at the end of the text the scribe combined different verses that were supposed to be presented separately, resulting in grammatical uncertainties for the reader:

> Et cum hoc fiat absolucio de peccato propter quod lita est excominicatio vel de alijs addatur forma prior addiciones quedam alie condicionales aut involute tutius dimittantur.
>
> And when the absolution from this sin, which takes place because of an excommunication, is consecrated, or when the first formulation is extended by other things, certain other conditional or unclear additions should safer be left out.[244]

Another interesting example is text 61 (fol. 125r). The text is a short poem that packs quite an emotional punch with its description of three things in life that will sadden a person:

> Sunt tria que vere faciunt me sepe dolore
> Est primum durum quia nosco me moriturum
> Secundum timeo quia tempus nescio quanto
> Inde magis flebo quia nescio quo remanebo. (ll. 1-4)
>
> These are three things that truly often make me feel sad.
> The first hard thing is that I know I will die.
> The second thing that I fear is that I do not know how much time I have left.
> What will make me tear up even more is that I do not know what will remain of me.

Here, according to Gumbert, the scribe misread certain Latin words, leading him to write an incorrect alternative instead: 'dolore' should read 'dolere', 'quanto' should read 'quando'.[245] In the case of 'dolore', this error also disrupts the internal rhyme scheme of the poem, in which each final word of a sentence rhymes with a previous word in the same sentence (e.g., 'moriturum' rhymes with 'durum', 'remanebo' with 'flebo'). In each of these cases, however, the incorrect word the scribe wrote down is not gibberish but an actual, different Latin word, and more importantly one that still fits the context of the poem on a content level. In the case of verse 3, the scribal errors brings a (possible incorrect) nuance to the text, where rather than to not know when the narrator will die ('quando'), he instead does not know how much time he has left ('quanto').

These examples suggest that the anonymous scribe of the Geraardsbergen codex had a limited understanding of Latin, but not enough to consider the ramifications of his scribal errors, or perhaps those of his exemplar, and correct them. This, then, forms a contrast with his use of

[243] Govers 1996: 143 and Gumbert 1996 and 1997.
[244] It is unclear to me what 'alijs' is referring to, and 'propter' and 'quod' are synonymous in this context and therefore only translated once. The message of this final sentence appears to be that should anyone be in doubt due to added elements in a confession, one can best stick to prior instructions.
[245] Cf. Gumbert 1997: 70.

both French and Dutch, if we assume, as I argue, that paragraphs and headings containing elements from both these languages were added by the scribe of the manuscript on multiple occasions. As such, like Guillebert de Mets, the scribe behind MS 837-845 was most likely trilingual, be it to a far lesser degree than his famous hometown predecessor.

Based on his codicological study of both manuscripts in MS 837-845, Hans Kienhorst has argued that the two manuscripts were likely user manuscripts.[246] Two of these users are known by name, namely 'Sjodocus Croy' (possibly a member of the aristocratic family De Croÿ, which had ties with both Geraardsbergen and the Burgundian court) and 'J(oan) Bap(tis)ta Conincx', but neither was the original owner as they both lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth century respectively.[247] There is, however, a brief notation written at the bottom of fol. 101r which Kienhorst notes is written by the same person who added an interlinear notation on fol. 123r – a person Kienhorst argues is most likely the scribe of MS 837-845. Considering the notation on fol. 101r notes the birth of the scribe's daughter 'alyonora' it is almost certain that the two manuscripts were initially owned by the scribe himself.[248] That being said, the function of the Geraardsbergen codex as a collection of texts intended to be copied separately as inscriptions or booklets, as outlined by Joris Reynaert, makes it likely that this scribe also intended for some if not all of his texts to be read or heard by other people as well. I have argued that this scribe was trilingual, but can the same be said about these people? The overwhelming majority of the Geraardsbergen codex is written in Dutch, but were these texts intended for monolingual readers, or were they directed at bilingual or trilingual readers? Or does the manuscript give us reasons to think these non-Dutch texts functioned differently and, accordingly, served a different type of audience? Looking at a selection of the non-Dutch texts and their relationship to the surrounding Dutch texts of the manuscript sheds some light on this matter.

4.4 THE MULTILINGUAL FUNCTIONALITY OF THE GERAARDSBERGEN CODEX

One of the most visually striking aspects of the Geraardsbergen codex is its inclusion of several texts written in the form of horizontal branching diagrams. In these texts, sentences are split into two or more parts, combined by horizontal lines that visualize possible reading directions. Whilst these type of diagrams can be found in other medieval literary manuscripts, they are most commonly associated with religious, philosophical and scientific text collections, where they often feature as marginal notations or annotations.[249] The only fully French text in the Geraardsbergen codex (text 3) is one of these diagram texts:

[246] Govers *et al.* 1994: 26.
[247] Lievens (1996: 160) also notes that a different member of the De Croÿ family was at one point during the sixteenth century the owner of Paris, BA, ms. 5070, the manuscript produced by Guillebert de Mets, depicted in Figure 3. On the De Croÿ family, see Cools 2001: 149-154, 278-291.
[248] See Govers *et al.* 1994: 22-24.
[249] See on these diagrams Even-Ezra 2021. Examples of branching diagrams in medieval poetry are discussed in Bourgain 1989: 277.

boute
ne doubte
Fol est qui fol attrayt
se fait
castie
marie

Et encore est plus fol
Qui sa fille donne au fol.

The first part of the text (the root) is presented at the left, followed by six branches leading to different verbs (the nodes) that help complete different sentences.[250] Crucial to the root is the dual use of the word 'Fol', once as an adverb (foolish) and once as a noun (a fool). The text thus reads as six sentences from top to bottom, each explaining how someone is foolish when he beats a fool ('boute'), does not doubt a fool ('ne doubte'), is attracted to a fool ('attrayt'), interacts with a fool ('se fait'), criticizes a fool ('castie', from the French 'châtier') or marries a fool ('marie'). Whilst the list of verbs appears somewhat random, one possible characteristic that could unite them is a connection with the themes of love and sex. This theme is instantly recognizable in the verbs 'attrayt' and 'marie', but can also be spotted in the other verbs, although sometimes more convincingly than in other cases. 'Boute' and 'se fait', for instance, can both be construed as synonyms for sexual intercourse, whilst 'castie' in addition to 'criticize' can also bear the sexual connotation of 'punishing someone'.[251] 'Ne doubte' is the most neutral of the verbs, though this may perhaps be understood in the context of questioning the true intentions of fools in love, who may often rush head over heels into love.[252] What pleads for this reading are the final two lines of the text, which lean into the theme of marriage and form a contrast with the earlier lines: 'Et encore est plus fol qui sa fille donne au fol' (Even more foolish is the person who gives away his daughter to a fool). In this light, the text begins with six instances of someone acting foolishly in love, only for the closing lines to emphasize that even more foolish than all these acts is a father who marries his daughter to a fool.

What strikes me most about the text is its diagrammic presentation which adds a degree of playfulness to the text and invites us to consider what the different nodes may have in common. In order to appreciate the playful nature of this text, however, it goes without saying that one must understand French, since no translation of the text is given at any point. Did this mean the text was solely meant for a monolingual French audience, or did the text also interest bilingual readers and listeners for whom a Dutch translation was unnecessary? Looking at the text in the context of the Geraardsbergen codex, we can spot numerous reasons why the same people that would appreciate text 3 would also be interested in various texts in the codex that are written in Dutch.

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250 This terminology is presented by Even-Ezra 2021: 15-16. Since the nodes in text 3 are also the end of the sentence (also know as the 'trail'), they are technically 'terminal nodes'.

251 I thank Cécile de Morrée and Rosanne Versendaal for their helpful comments on this text.

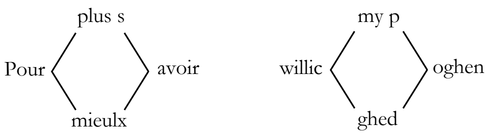
252 Indeed, one of the worries during the Middle Ages was that young people – in particular women – would be tempted to engage in a physical relationship before marriage or would follow their desires to get intimate with someone who was not befitting their social standing. On medieval marriage in the later Middle Ages, see McCarthy 2004 and Seidel Menchi 2016. For descriptions of marriage and marital life in literature, see Cartlidge 1997 and Green 2009.

First, whilst the compositional structure of the codex does not betray a grand design, it is evident that many texts can be clustered together based on their theme, form or functionality. For instance:

- *Thematic*: Text 8 lists 'vele wijsheden' (many wisdoms), text 9 'vele daesheden' (many follies); texts 10 and 11 both praise wine; texts 70-72 are philosophical texts; texts 80-82 centre around the Virgin Mary.[253]
- *Structural*: Texts 18-22 are all written as horizontal branching diagrams; texts 23-45 are all inscription texts with descriptive headings.
- *Instructional*: Texts 47, 48 and 50 deal with the Mass (text 49, given its small size and position at the bottom of fol. 117r, was likely added as page filler); texts 73-78 can be understood as instructions for priests on how to take someone's confession; texts 84-88 are calendars and lists of good and bad days.

Text 3 seems to be part of such a cluster, as it is found at the beginning of the manuscript surrounded by shorter texts (texts 1-7), each described by the scribe as a 'gheraetsel' (a riddle). Whilst the French text is not a riddle, and accordingly lacks the heading 'gheraetsel', it was evidently not added as page filler and was thus probably intended to be viewed in the same playful light as the riddle texts, all of which are written in Dutch. Furthermore, if the text is indeed meant as a play on the themes of love and marriage, it can be argued that various other texts in the first half of the manuscript share similar themes. In its list of mistakes made by various people, text 12 includes both young women too occupied with sex, as well as young male students who only show affection towards women for brief periods of time (i.e., only during intercourse). Sex is also referenced in text 18, whilst the more serious issue of adultery is present in both texts 14 and 15. Finally, the diagram structure of text 3 is echoed in the aforementioned cluster of texts from 18 to 22.[254] It therefore appears that the French diagram text fits in seamlessly with the surrounding Dutch texts at the start of the manuscript.

French also features in a second branching diagram text (text 20), found among the cluster of diagrams mentioned above:



[253] In text 80 we find a letter-poem similar to that of Jan Praet's *Leeringhe* (see Chapter 3, pp. 56-57), where each letter of the word 'vvijf' ('wijf', woman) stands for a Latin quality of the Virgin Mary, which is then translated and elaborated in Dutch. Whilst it speaks the status of Dutch as a literary language that this traditionally Latin procedure is applied to a Dutch word, it is probably the religious connection to Mary that enabled this. We also know of another poem, *Het cleet van liden* in the Gruuthuse codex (III.4), where a different Dutch word (*liden*) is used for a similar purpose, and here too a strong religious connection is apparent (this time to Jesus Christ).

[254] Outside of this cluster, other branching diagrams are found in texts 49, 53, 54, 60 and 65. Of these, texts 53 and 54 occupy a full folio (fol. 118r).

This diagram consists of two trees, each with their own roots ('pour' and 'willic') and two branches that connect to two nodes which then converge in the terminal nodes ('avoir' and 'oghen'). The playful nature of this text relies not only on its diagram structure but also the way it forces the reader to construct different words through the inclusion of the starting letters of the terminal nodes.[255] The presentation as a whole leads to two trails, both of which are bilingual:

> *Pour plus savoir* willic my poghen.
> *Pour mieulx avoir* willic ghedoghen.
>
> In order to know more, I want to put in more effort.
> In order to have better things, I want to endure more.

In this instance, only readers who understood both French and Dutch would be able to fully appreciate this text. Considering that these texts were intended to be distributed separately from the others in the Geraardsbergen codex – they are, after all, discrete samples of the unknown scribe's repetoire – it means that text 20 was aimed at bilingual readers in Geraardsbergen. Given this observation and the contextual embedment of text 3 among its surrounding Dutch texts, it is very plausible that, despite its fully French form, text 3 was considered to be of interest to the same people who were interested in the manuscript's Dutch content (texts 1-22).

There is, however, also an instance in the codex that perhaps indicates an intended audience of at least one of the texts could be either Dutch-speaking or French-speaking. Text 29 is among the cluster of inscription texts, but stands out as the only text to contain a bilingual description: 'A mettre aux aisemens / An de heimelicheden' (On the toilet). The text to which it refers is written in Latin and consists of a dialogue between a devil and a priest, while the latter is using the toilet.[256] Two aspects of this texts are of particular interest. Firstly, the heading, like all others in the codex, was most likely added by the scribe, meaning the Dutch and French description was not integral to the text but instead supplemented by the scribe while he copied his exemplar. Secondly, these descriptions were meant as compositional markers, probably as a means of easily identifying each of the descriptions, and *not* to be included in the inscription itself when the product is complete. Accordingly, adding both the French and Dutch titles can be viewed in three ways. It is possible the bilingual nature of the heading is without meaning and rather an unintentional act resulting from the multilingual background of the scribe himself. In this context we must also consider the possibility that these headings may perhaps have been only intended to be seen by the scribe of the manuscript, not by those for whom he may have copied the texts themselves. Alternatively, the scribe could have first written the heading in French out of habit by accident, after which he added the Dutch translation as a correction, although the need for this may be put into question if we consider that the Augustine-heading of text 31 was also written in French unless this too was an accident. A third option is that the bilingual heading is the result of an active decision made by this scribe to make the text more accessible to Dutch and French readers, as opposed to bilingual

[255] This practice is also present in text 60, where the final word of the sentence is repeated for both lines of the text with a different starting letter.

[256] The dialogue structure is lost in the Geraardsbergen codex, but can be reconstructed using variants of the text in other manuscripts (see Govers 1996: 128-129).

readers for whom just one language of the two would have sufficed.[257] In this latter case, the Geraardsbergen codex tells us not only something about the individual multilingualism of the scribe, but also informs us about the multilingual interest of readers and listeners in Geraardsbergen on a societal level.

Sticking with these inscription texts, we are also able to say more about the Latin content of the codex and its functionality, since the majority of the inscriptions are written in Latin. Of the 23 texts in this cluster, only five do not contain any Latin. Thanks to the headings added by the scribe, it is possible to detect a different emphasis in the Dutch texts and the Latin ones, which in turn might point to a difference in readership.

The first three texts in this cluster (excluding text 24, which is a misplaced exact copy of text 8) are all written in Dutch and all conform to urban, courtly and rural settings: text 23 is was intended to be written on the walls of the city hall ('Te scrivener up der stadt huus') – something we know also actually happened – whilst text 25 mentions a small house or room and text 26 stables.[258] Amidst several Latin texts, text 35 consists of just one verse: 'An eenen spieghel scrijft . kent v selven' (On a mirror, write 'know yourself'). This vernacular proverb is rooted in the classics rather than religious scripture – it was originally associated with the seven sages of Rome – but in the Geraardsbergen codex it is completely devoid of any literary context.[259] As a result, it appears to be aimed simply at anyone who owns a mirror.[260]

Two texts that contain both Dutch and Latin also fit in this broader non-religious context. Text 27 gives both the Dutch and Latin names of the four winds, which could be painted onto objects such as a compass or perhaps a weather vane. Text 37 is a Latin text of two lines that lists which French regions are duchies and which are counties.[261] The Latin text, however, is followed by a Dutch section which functions as a mnemotechnical reading aid, resolving some of the more complicated abbreviations in the Latin text (e.g. 'Aqui' into 'Acquitanien') and further dividing the list among secular and episcopal rulers. The rulers in question are the twelve *pairs* of France, which links this text to a ducal or comital context.[262]

Turning to the Latin texts, we see a majority of headings that point firmly in the direction of religious objects, settings and functions.[263] In some cases, the connection lies not in where the

[257] Given the earlier discussion on the scribe's inclusion of French, it is worth pointing out here that the French description comes before the Dutch one, despite all other inscriptions featuring a Dutch title.

[258] See Van Anrooij 1992 and Reynaert 2017: 174-175. Another example, outside of the inscription cluster, is text 14 *Van dinghen die selden gheschien*, which was found (surviving in parts) on the beams of a medieval home in Deventer (Van Anrooij 1997a: 100-101). These instances provide notable examples of the craft's potential variety; scribal work was not confined to books.

[259] On the classical roots of most medieval Dutch proverbs, see Brinkman 1994: 230-231.

[260] For other examples of inscriptions on objects, see Blaschitz 2000.

[261] Noteworthy, this text is also found in a Latin-French variation in Guillebert's *Description de la ville de Paris*, presenting another link between the Geraardsbergen codex and Guillebert not listed in Lievens 1996.

[262] Govers 1996: 134-135. It is possible, though certainly not necessary, that this text was also intended to be written in or on a municipal courthouse or administrative court – something we know to have happened on multiple occasions, for instance with works of Guillebert de Mets (See Gierts 1997: 93 and Vanwijnsberghe & Verroken 2017, II: A9, A12, A18 and A29). That said, if it were the case here, it was most likely solely the Latin text and not the Dutch that had been inscribed. This is further evidenced by the fact that the Latin sentences in question also circulated outside of the Geraardsbergen codex in other manuscripts without the Dutch commentary.

[263] There are also texts with more practical purposes. A notable example is text 30, which is focused on hygiene: it explains that eating 'vipa' (bread drenched in wine, eaten on the first day after Lent) is good for your teeth (Govers 1996: 129). Also focusing on hygiene is text 34, which is meant to be placed near a sink and reads: 'Si uis esse sanus

inscriptions should be placed, but rather where they were initially seen. Text 43, for instance, is written in golden letters on the cathedral in Aachen, whilst text 45 was found in an Augustinian church in London. Other inscriptions are intended to be written on or near certain religious objects, such as an altar (texts 32, 38 and 39), an aspersorium (text 42), or a statue of the Virgin Mary (text 33) or Saint Christopher (texts 40 and 44). Saint Christopher was a patron saint for pilgrims, and therefore no doubt a well-known saint in Geraardsbergen which, as identified above, was frequently visited by pilgrims.[264] Text 36, which lists the names of the Nine Worthies – including Bertrand du Guesclin (1320-1380), the commander of the French armies during the Hundred Years' War – should also be understood in the context of pilgrimages: another Latin description of the Nine Worthies found in The Hague, KB, MS 73 G 8 was believed to have been inscribed on the grave of Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the First Crusade and himself one of the Nine Worthies.[265] This is supported by *Die peregrinatie van Jherusalem* (The Pilgrimage to Jerusalem), an anonymous Dutch pilgrim text from 1458, which references this very example in its description of Godfrey's grave.[266]

This connection between Latin texts and the learned discourses of religion and medicine is in line with the traditional diglossic status of Latin in Western Europe, and is in keeping with the other Latin works in the manuscript. But does this also mean the Latin texts were exclusively useful to those clerics who had mastered Latin? As was the case for the texts containing French, it is easy to imagine the Latin texts would also appeal to people outside the religious domain, especially those inscribed on or near common objects like toilets, tables and buildings. Additionally, it is also worth considering that the status of Latin made these inscriptions attractive decorations even for those who themselves did not understand Latin beyond a few pithy sayings. Here, the Dutch headings would have functioned as a linguistic bridge between text and audience. Perhaps with these inscription texts we are looking at the medieval counterpart of the famous example of people tattooing Chinese words onto their bodies without actually knowing Chinese themselves. As long as the Dutch headings – and in the case of text 37, elaborate explanations – were able to explain what the Latin inscriptions said, anyone with an interest could acquire the text and communicate its content verbally from then onward.[267]

Returning to my initial question, we can conclude that whilst fully French and Latin texts were only accessible to those who knew each language, the various contents of the manuscript catered to monolingual, bilingual and trilingual readers, either by presenting similar texts in different

sepe leuato manus' ('If you wish to be healthy, wash your hands often'). This presents another, rather amusing, example of a scribal error: 'leuato' (raise) should read 'lauato' (wash).

264 Saint Christopher is also listed in both of the manuscript's calendars (texts 87 and 88, on his feast day, July 25th). We also know of small wax statues made for pilgrims of patron saints in Geraardsbergen, which nicely fits with the inscription headings found in the Geraardsbergen codex. See Vanwijnsberghe & Verokken 2017, I: 54-55; the reference to these 'beeldemakers van wasse' is found in Brussels, AR/CdC, MS No. 35248, f.40, dated 1419-1420. Cf. Sonnemans 1996b: 116-118.

265 There are other Latin lists of the Nine Worthies. For instance, in a tweet posted on December 25th, 2021, Dirk Schoenaers referenced Graz, UB, Cod. 530, which contains a flyleaf with a Dutch prayer on one side and a list of the Nine Worthies in Latin on the other (https://twitter.com/DirkSchoenaers/status/1474665701449285634). The manuscript is of Thomas Walleis' *Commentarius in Augustini libri De civitate Dei* from c. 1400, produced in Northern France or the Low Countries.

266 Van Anrooij 1997b: 103. On the inclusion of Bertrand du Guesclin, who is particularly prominent in the French Nine Worthies tradition, see Van Anrooij 1997b: 97-102 and, more generally, Guenée 2008.

267 Such a communicative context is also evident for the riddle texts at the start of the Geraardsbergen codex (texts 1-7), since none of the riddles contain their solution. It is expected that the owner of the codex knew the answers and only told these to people after 'performing' the riddle himself, or alternatively, after someone interested in the text had purchased a copy of it from him.

languages or by including Dutch headings, translations or explanations to grant readers access to texts in a language unknown to them. It also appears that diglossic relationships between the vernacular and Latin are reflected in the Geraardsbergen codex. Latin texts by and large deal with religious, medical or philosophical matters, whilst texts containing French are more playful in their branching diagram presentation and thematically aligned with worldly topics such as love, marriage and wealth. The end result is a trilingual manuscript with a broad reach in terms of content, functionality and language, catering to any and all who inhabited Geraardsbergen or happened to travel through it on their journey through the County of Flanders.

4.5 Conclusion

In the years following the death of Geraardsbergen's most famous scribe, another scribe – perhaps an admirer of Guillebert de Mets, perhaps one of his former apprentices or colleagues or perhaps none of the above – produced two manuscripts that despite their glaring differences stayed together from their point of creation until some hundred years later when they were combined into the codex that we now know as Brussels, KBR, MS 837-845. Based on the analysis of Guillebert's life and work and the multilingual aspects of the Geraardsbergen codex, two very different expressions of multilingualism in the city's literary milieu can be reconstructed.

Guillebert's work is carried out in the context of a large socio-political network, with his books travelling across Flanders and beyond to the aristocratic elite of the Burgundian Netherlands. Working primarily for the social elite of the Burgundian courts, many of Guillebert's manuscripts were luxury items, lavishly illustrated and of high quality, and ranked among the prized possessions of dukes and other noblemen.[268] At his inn in Geraardsbergen he was not only able to produce books for these Burgundian noblemen, but also able to attract buyers from the local market who, as evidenced by Guillebert's inventory list, were interested in Dutch, French and Latin literature. Throughout his many years as a *libraire* in Paris and Geraardsbergen, Guillebert managed to master Dutch, French and Latin, giving preference to the production of vernacular works (mostly French).

Much less is known about the anonymous scribe of MS 837-845, but he too most likely knew French and Latin, be it to a much lesser degree than Guillebert. Like Guillebert, he too was likely active as a commercial scribe, but his clientele was probably found among the urban population residing in or travelling through Geraardsbergen. His texts are primarily aimed at Dutch readers, although there was also plenty on offer for those interested in Latin works and a handful of playful French texts. These texts were of a practical nature, intended to be copied outside the codex on separate leaflets or to be inscribed on everyday objects or buildings commonly found in cities like Geraardsbergen. As such, they form an important counterpart to Guillebert's corpus, with the latter proving the multilingual literary interests of the elite Burgundian community and the former revealing the comparable, although more practical, interests of the urban middle class of Flanders.

My analysis of the work of these two scribes has shown three things. Firstly, the differences between Guillebert and his anonymous colleague underline the diverse implementations of

[268] Cf. Croenen 2006: 6 and Fianu 2006: 41. Cf. Wijsman 2010 and Falmagne & Van den Abeele 2016 on illustrated manuscripts at the Burgundian courts.

multilingualism in the literary activities of a small city like Geraardsbergen, and, consequently, the range of individual multilingualism in the County of Flanders during the late Middle Ages. Secondly, the texts produced by both scribes illustrate the extensive and varied collection of texts circulating in Geraardsbergen during the fifteenth century and, considering the commercial motivations behind both their works, form proof of a multilingual interest among their readers in the broadest sense of the word. Thirdly, the activities and works of scribes like Guillebert and the anonymous figure behind MS 837-845 present us with an image of the multilingual diversity in the Flemish literary domain that is, more often than not, absent in the works of authors themselves. Consequently, this chapter serves as a reminder that alongside the specific multilingual works discussed in my dissertation, which are limited in number, there existed a diverse multilingual literary culture in medieval Flanders which helped shape the conditions under which multilingual texts and manuscripts were produced and consumed.

5 Trilingualism in the *artes* text collection Hattem C5

5.1 Hattem C5, a trilingual medical manuscript

Within the medieval Dutch literary tradition there is a group of texts that is not primarily characterized by a desire to entertain, educate or illuminate. Rather, they have a practical, utilitarian aim as a guide or manual. In Dutch scholarship, these texts are known as "*artes* literature", referring to the medieval categorization of scientific fields into different groups, or "*artes*": the *artes liberales* (further divided into the *trivium* and *quadrivium*); the *artes mechanicae* (subdivided by Hugh of Saint Victor into seven categories: craftsmanship, warfare, seafaring, agriculture, hunting, courtly sports and medicine); and the *artes magicae* (also known as the *artes incertae*, consisting of black magic, divination and alchemy).[269] In the medieval Dutch literary tradition, based on the surviving material, *artes* literature may have made up roughly 15 percent of literature, with nearly 900 manuscripts still in existence.[270] Among these manuscripts is a highly interesting, yet little studied, multilingual manuscript from the fifteenth century known as "Hattem C5".[271]

Hattem C5 can be considered a collection of medical recipes and treatises on a large variety of medical topics, supplemented with several specialized texts on surgery, cosmetics, metal treatment and alchemy.[272] As *artes* expert Erwin Huizenga notes, the codex is generally believed to have been made by and for a medical practitioner:

> Collectively, the composition of the manuscript points towards a doctor or surgeon as user (however: more likely a doctor than surgeon), but one who had an interest that far extended the traditional boundaries of his regular field of work.[273]

[269] Jansen-Sieben 1974: 24. On this classification, see Weisheipl 1965 and Voigts 1989: 347. Cf. the references in Huizenga 2003a: 20 to studies on the German equivalents *Fachliteratur*, *Fachprosa* or *Sachliteratur*.

[270] Lie & Veltman 2008: 14. A majority of the Dutch *artes* literature is catalogued by Ria Jansen-Sieben (1989), whilst a substantial number of *artes* texts have been edited by Willy Braekman (e.g., Braekman 1963, 1966, 1970 and 1975). For an overview of publications on *artes* literature with an emphasis on medieval Dutch scholarship, see Huizenga 2001 as well as the website of WEMAL, the scholarly collective devoted to Dutch *artes* literature: https://wemal.nl/overzicht-wemal-publicaties/.

[271] The manuscript's name originates from the small Dutch town Hattem in the province of Gelderland, where this manuscript as well as two others (Hattem C3 and C4) were held in the museum of the Stichting Oud-Hattem. Hattem C5 is currently held at Utrecht University's library on loan (Utrecht, UB, MS Hattem C5). My citations of the texts in Hattem C5 refer to WEMAL's digital edition found at https://hattem.huygens.knaw.nl/.

[272] On medical literature in the medieval Low Countries and Flanders specifically, see especially Van Herwaarden 1983, Jansen-Sieben 1990 and 2006.

[273] 'Alles tezamen wijst de samenstelling van het handschrift op een arts of chirurg als gebruiker (echter: eerder een arts dan een chirurg), maar dan wel één met een belangstelling waarmee hij ver buiten de gebaande paden van zijn reguliere vakgebied trad' (Huizenga 2003a: 173). Cf. Huizenga 1997: 61 and Lie 1996: 149.

Whilst little else is known of this user (who was probably also its maker), what is clear from the manuscript's content is that he had mastered Dutch, French and Latin. Hattem C5 comprises roughly 560 written paper pages, of which seven are in Latin and 86 are in French (combined, roughly 17 percent of the entire codex).[274] This occurrence of trilingualism is extraordinary in the Dutch *artes* tradition, which largely consists of monolingual manuscripts or manuscripts that contain Dutch texts alongside Latin ones. French texts, on the other hand, only feature alongside Dutch *artes* texts very rarely.[275] Add to this the fact that one of the French texts in Hattem C5 is an alchemical treatise on the workings of the philosopher's stone, and we can see why the manuscript is by all means a *unicum* in the medieval Dutch literary tradition as we know it.

Unlike the other case studies in this dissertation, however, the localisation of Hattem C5 in Flanders is less certain. The codex consists of a collection of texts from different regions, resulting in a mixture of dialects that does not point to any specific region but rather to the Southern Low Countries in general. This by no means uncommon for medical user manuscripts, as these books often consist of texts gathered from different places.[276] In the case of Hattem C5, there is no evidence is found in either the codex as a whole nor any of its individual texts that helps identify its maker with certainty. Nevertheless, several arguments can be made that Flanders is the most probable place for the manuscript to be located, something both Willy Braekman and Erwin Huizenga appear to lean towards as well.[277] We can point at texts that are written in the (West) Flemish dialect, such as the prose *Secretum secretorum* (pp. 3-65, 77-78), as well as texts that reference Flanders (something that happens only for Flanders in the entire manuscript).[278] In one such text on the costs and characteristics of specific metals, the author notes prices for Troyes, Paris and Cologne, before closing the section with a separate mention of prices in Flanders (p. 133). Also telling is the description of a herb (the unidentified 'eltrusijn' or 'esurenie') on p. 425, which specifically notes that this herb cannot be found in Flanders and is unknown to the Flemish people. At the very least, these references suggest some of the texts in Hattem C5 were originally written for a Flemish audience and for what it is worth the scribe did not take actions to remove these references.

Perhaps a similar Flemish audience can be detected for the so-called "secret" recipes of Hattem C5 (pp. 134-140), which alongside the prose *Secretum secretorum* and a surgical treatise are the only texts to have received scholarly attention.[279] What makes these recipes unique are their peculiar references to literary figures as the authoritative sources of the medicinal ingredients and products described therein. Whilst these figures include common characters such as Tristan and Isolde, as well as unknown figures such as one 'Gobert den Voghelair', the majority are characters from Arthurian romances and *chansons de geste*, two genres intimately associated with the County of

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[274] Note that this manuscript is paginated, rather than foliated. There is another Latin text found on p. 563, but this was added later by a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century author.
[275] Of the roughly 900 manuscripts listed by Jansen-Sieben (1989), only two other manuscripts are said to contain one or more fully French texts, of which only one is from the fifteenth century (discussed below), though we should entertain the option that more exist, or existed.
[276] Cf. Huizenga 1996: 56-60, where a comparable situation is found for another medical manuscript from the Southern Low Countries. See also Huizenga 2003: 483-516, which lists a number of surgical manuscripts from outside Flanders that are based on ledgers from the County or the Southern Low Countries.
[277] Braekman 1983: 303 and Huizenga 2003: 512.
[278] On this text, see Lie 1996.
[279] See Braekman 1987, Janssens 1991 and Lie 1992 & 2002. The surgical treatise, *Trisoer vander surgien* (pp. 150-167), is discussed in Huizenga 2003a: 172-175.

Flanders. Here, however, we should remain mindful of the mobility of texts during the later Middle Ages.[280]

More affirming are several texts in Hattem C5 that show close parallels with other Flemish medical manuscripts. Notably, Braekman has pointed out that both the *Herbarijs* (pp. 188-300) and *Liber Magistri Avicenne* (pp. 304-342) show close, at times literal, similarities with Brussels, KBR, MS 15624-41, a Flemish Dutch-Latin *artes* manuscript from 1351 that was written by the surgeon Jan van Aalter for his own use.[281] The same can also be said for the 3-page treatise *Van Morfea* which, as will be shown below, together with the other two texts makes up the entirety of the sixth codicological unit of Hattem C5, suggesting the scribe may have used the Brussels manuscript as an exemplar for this unit or a Flemish manuscript similar to it.[282] In this context it is also worth pointing out that the only other trilingual *artes* manuscript, Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 9136, is a Flemish medical manuscript produced around the same time as Hattem C5 (second half of the fifteenth century) that was owned by the aforementioned Flemish noble Louis de Bruges. Strikingly, the only Dutch text in this manuscript is a Dutch translation of the *Letter of Prague*, a plague treatise that is also found in both French and Dutch variants in Hattem C5.

Whereas none of these elements definitively point at Flanders as the place where Hattem C5 was produced and used, I would argue that collectively they do suggest this County was the most probable location for the manuscript's origin and initial use. This and its extraordinary occurrence of multilingualism in the *artes* genre make it an ideal case study for my research. Given the complete absence of any study on this multilingual aspect of the manuscript in current scholarship, the foremost aim of this chapter is to describe the presentation and function of the Latin and French texts in Hattem C5 and their relation to the surrounding Dutch material. This description starts in §5.2 with a codicological overview of the manuscript in which particular attention is paid to the position of French and Latin texts and their integration into the largely Dutch codex. Next, the degree of multilingualism in the manuscript is examined, first through an inquiry into the uses of Latin in most of the Dutch texts in the book (§5.3), followed by a critical analysis of the French and Latin texts of Hattem C5 in relation to its Dutch content (§5.4). The chapter ends with a synthesis of the multilingual dynamics of Hattem C5, bringing together insights from each of the three previous sections (§5.5).

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[280] These references are to *Madelghijs*, *Renout van Montalbaen*, *Ogier van Denemerken* and to 'Basin', a figure associated with a French source of the Dutch *chanson de geste Karel ende Elegast*. From what we can tell, these specific texts were both produced as well as largely transmitted within Flanders (Caers 2011). One recipe also mentions 'Waluweinen den milden ridder', a staple figure of the Arthurian romance who is given this epithet in several Dutch texts, but most recognizably in the Flemish *Roman van Walewein* (see Uyttersprot 2004: 127-137). In this light it is also interesting that another recipe presents a way to walk across a sword without getting cut, perhaps referencing the Sword Bridge famously described in *Le chevalier de la charrette* and the *Lancelot-Graal* that also featured in the *Roman van Walewein* (see Janssens 1982: 90 and Besamusca 1993: 62).

[281] Braekman 1983: 316. On this manuscript, see also Biemans 1999.

[282] *Van Morfea* also shows similarities with Jan Yperman's *Chirurgie* as found in Cambridge, SJC, MS A 19, a fifteenth-century manuscript from West Flanders. References to the Flemish surgeon Yperman are also found on two occasions in Hattem C5 (see p. 102).

5.2 Codicological features of Hattem C5

The entirety of Hattem C5 is written by a single scribe and believed to have been produced in several phases across a longer period of time.[283] Since this scribe is thought to have also been the manuscript's primary user, it is safe to assume that he was responsible for which texts were compiled in the codex. To then consider how this scribe-compiler structured his book, we must look at the codicological units that comprise it. As explained in Chapter 1, this term devised by Peter Gumbert refers to discrete quires created during a single production period, containing one or more complete texts. The only in-depth codicological description of Hattem C5 that includes an analysis of codicological units is given by Roel van den Assem, a student of codicology and book history at the University of Amsterdam, in his 2013 unpublished Master's thesis on the codicological features of Hattem C5.[284] What follows here is largely based on his work and, where needed, supplemented by findings from my own analysis of the manuscript.[285]

Hattem C5 contains eleven codicological units. Most of these can be discerned with relative ease using quire signatures and general observations of the condition of the manuscript's paper. There are, however, some striking features of the overall layout of Hattem C5 that also come into play. The first of these concerns the different script types used by the scribe. Whilst the entire manuscript is written by a single scribe, he was able to write in three different script types. The vast majority of the manuscript is written in a cursive hand, which Van den Assem refers to as 'type A'. Within the first 140 pages of the manuscript, the scribe changes from type A into a second, different cursive hand (type A*) twice, and twice again into a hybrid hand (type A**).[286] The ease and expertise with which the transitions between these scripts take place, sometimes on the same page using the same ink, point to a well-trained and experienced scribe.[287]

Secondly, the scribe made use of three different styles of frame ruling. From the beginning of the manuscript up to page 434, the textblocks are written in a single column with two distinct layouts. The first type is found on pp. 1-77 and 343-390, and is characterized by a vertical bounding lines bordering each side of the textblock and stretching the length of the page (type *a*); the second type is found on pp. 78-342 and 391-434, and can be discerned from the first type through the presence of a horizontal bounding lines at the top and bottom on the textblock which run the

[283] This 'phased genesis' is presented by Lie 2002: 200 and can be further supported by the consideration that the single scribe's hand shows minor evolutions throughout the manuscript within the same script type. On the evolution of individual Dutch scribes' hands, see, e.g. Burger 1995: 77-99 and Samara 2020: 308-309. I thank Jenneka Janzen for this consideration.

[284] Van den Assem 2013. Findings from Van den Assem's work were also used for the codicological description of the manuscript in the online edition by WEMAL. The thesis itself was supervised by codicologist Jos Biemans (University of Amsterdam) and literary historian Orlanda Lie (Utrecht University). The only other codicological description of Hattem C5 is that of Braekman (1983: 302-303), which is both limited and at points erroneous.

[285] My own consultations of Hattem C5 took place on July 7th, 2021 and March 23rd, 2022 at the Utrecht university library. I am grateful to my colleague Jenneka Janzen, who aided in my analysis of the manuscript and whose expertise as a codicologist was immensely valuable.

[286] Van den Assem unfortunately made a typographical error in his thesis when first introducing the reader to these three script types, referring to both the second cursive hand and the hybrid hand with A** (p. 38). To further complicate matters, the hybrid hand (A**) actually occurs in the manuscript prior to the second cursive (A*). To facilitate the use of my findings alongside those of Van den Assem, I have retained his description of the three script types according to his intended (and not erroneous) typology.

[287] Cf. Van den Assem 2013: 74.

width of the page, and no vertical lines (type *b*).[288] From page 435 up to the end of the manuscript, the text is written in two columns, with both horizontal and vertical bounding lines enclosing the textblock (type *c*).

The difference between the two single-column frame ruling types plays an important role in the identification of the first two codicological units and helps make sense of what at first seems somewhat confusing. The first unit starts at p. 1 and runs until p. 80, but appears to display an error. The unit consists of five quires, each consisting of four bifolios (i.e., eight folios or 16 pages), but one of these bifolios is misplaced. The text found on pp. 77-78 actually belongs after p. 64, whereas the text of p. 79 contains the last part of the Latin text that runs from pp. 70-76. Normally, the misplacement of a bifolio would not constitute a divide into separate codicological units, but closer inspection makes it clear that here the bifolio in question is not the original misplaced bifolio. Most importantly, pp. 77-80 are written in ink that is different from that of the rest of the first codicological unit and are ruled in the second single-column, horizontal-line style (type *b*). This means pp. 77-80 were probably written at a different production stage than pp. 1-76, despite their textual coherency. What seems to have happened here was that the original bifolio was damaged or contained scribal errors, and was thus replaced with a new bifolio which was, however, then inserted at an incorrect location in the manuscript. Given the codicological evidence, pp. 1-76 and pp. 77-80 are two distinct codicological units, with the latter dependent on the former.[289]

These misbound pages are not the only point in the manuscript where the compositional structure may cause some confusion. A second confounding point in the manuscript's structure is found at pp. 199-200. The folio containing pp. 199-200 is the final leaf of the first quire (which consists of three bifolios) of the sixth codicological unit, and it appears that both pages (i.e., the recto and verso side of this leaf) were left blank during their initial production phase. This quire is also missing an unknown number of leaves at the front. Based on the content of the unit as a whole, it is clear this missing text was part of the *Herbarijs*, an alphabetical herbarium that runs from p. 189 all the way to p. 300. The beginning of the abovementioned quire, however, is not the only place in this unit lacking text. Between pp. 200 and 201 we can still spot the remnants of a written page that was the first leaf of the second quire, which runs from p. 201 to p. 214 and consisted of four bifolios. Whatever had been written on this missing leaf was rewritten on the originally blank p. 200. Seemingly, this text directly continues the list of herbs: the ending of p. 198 informs us that the next herb to be discussed is chamomille which, following the blank p. 199, is discussed on p. 200 and continued on p. 201. Strikingly, the first lines of p. 201 repeat the final lines of p. 200, meaning that the scribe probably miscalculated the number of lines needed on p. 200 and then crossed out the duplicate opening on p. 201 to accommodate the reader.[290]

What is important to gather from this analysis is that, unlike the situation described above for pp. 77-80, there is no need to speak of different codicological units here, since both p. 200 and 201 were – as indicated by the aspect of the script, ink, pen nib and rubrication – written

288 Additionally, there are also minor differences between the dimensions of the two types. The height and width of type *a*'s textblock is 160-165 × 80-90 mm, and type *b*'s is 157-160 × 83-85 mm. (The dimensions of type *c*'s textblock are 102 × 130 mm, where each text column has a width of roughly 45 mm with a 12 mm margin in between the two columns).

289 See Gumbert 2004: 36 on dependent codicological units.

290 This thought process also explains why the missing text starts halfway down p. 200 and not at the top of p. 199, since this would have left a page-and-a-half gap in the text.

continuously and contain parts of the same longer text that is spread over a total of eight quires. The codicological evidence suggests that the pages were written at the same production moment and that there was no extended period of time between the loss or intentional removal of the first leaf of the second quire and the replacement of its text on p. 200.[291]

Taking these two points of disruption into consideration, we arrive at the codicological description found in my Appendix III. What can be deduced from the structure of Hattem C5 with regard to the multilingual nature of the codex is that there is no "foreign" language bubble of French and Latin texts separated from the Dutch content. In fact, apart from the short French plague treatise found on pp. 79-80, which is encircled by a Latin and a French text, all other French texts as well as the single Latin one are found alongside Dutch works. Considering the codicological structure of the second unit, it is, however, quite likely that this French plague text was only added to fill the remaining space on the inserted bifolio.

It is also clear that none of the units containing multilingual texts were intended to be read as a cluster, since there are over 300 pages between the first two French texts and the last two – though here we must remember that the order of units as found in the current binding does not necessarily reflect the original order.[292] As such, when it comes to the presentation of the manuscript as a whole, the French and Latin works blend in with the greater number of Dutch texts.

We can also consider the codicological units that are themselves multilingual and the relationship between the Dutch and non-Dutch works there. When we do this, we see that both of the largest French texts – the alchemical treatise on the philosopher stone (pp. 81-96) and herbal recipe collection (pp. 435-490) – deviate visually from their surrounding texts. Both are found at the beginning of a new codicological unit (likely due to their large size) and are written in a different language than the majority of the manuscript. Furthermore, both texts introduce a new layout to the manuscript (again, read in the order we have it today). The philosopher's stone treatise is the first text to be written in script type A**, which outside of this French text we only find on three other pages in the entire manuscript (pp. 117-119, which also contain alchemical recipes), while the French herbal recipe collection is the first text in the manuscript to be presented in two columns.

In the case of the philosopher's stone treatise, it is possible to go one step further. It is written in a different type of ink than that of the preceding text, but strikingly also from the next text in the unit, which begins on the same page as the French text ends (p. 96). Additionally, the French text takes up almost the entirety of the quire, which is also the only quire in the manuscript to consist of five bifolios. Considering these deviations from the surrounding texts, both inside and outside of the codicological unit, it is possible that the philosopher's stone text could have functioned as a separate usage unit (Dutch: *gebruikseenheid*), meaning that the quire could have functioned as an independent manuscript or booklet at some point before being bound together in the present Hattem C5 binding.[293] If this was the case, it would mean that the Dutch texts on

[291] This, unfortunately, does not explain why pp. 199-200 were initially left blank, though it is not the only place in the manuscript where this occurs (cf. pp. 395, 408 and 418). Page 116 was also initially left blank and only later filled with a technical recipe by a sixteenth-century owner. It is possible the empty spaces were intended for just that: to fill in at a later date with other useful texts.
[292] I have no indications as to whether the original order of the units was altered, though at a first glance it does appear that the first and final unit of the manuscript were written in the same ink, suggesting perhaps these units were at least produced around the same time despite being apart from each other in the current codex.
[293] On usage units, see Kwakkel 2002.

pp. 96-98 were possibly added as filler and that only when the scribe intended to add another text (a medical handbook, pp. 98-115) did he decide to add a second quire to the unit. As there are no other physical arguments to support this suggestion (for instance, discolouration of the outer leaves of the quire) nor any other obvious usage units I could detect elsewhere in the manuscript, this remains, and may well stay, only a hypothesis.[294]

From a codicological perspective the French, Dutch and Latin texts intentionally coexist in Hattem C5 (that is, that they were collected together by the user/maker, and not assembled haphazardly), and none of the structural distinctions in the manuscript (e.g., codicological units, quire arrangements, script types and ruling layouts) manufactured an isolation of either French or Latin texts from their Dutch textual surroundings. With regard to the French texts, however, it is plausible that the short text on pp. 79-80 was added as filler whereas the two longer texts were deliberately selected to be included in the manuscript and, in the case of the philosopher's stone treatise, may have initially functioned as separate booklets before.

5.3 LATIN ELEMENTS IN THE DUTCH CONTENT OF HATTEM C5

The next question to consider is whether the intended coexistence of languages that we see on a codicological level is also reflected on a textual level. To answer this question, I first turn to the instances of multilingualism within the Dutch content of Hattem C5. Nearly every individual Dutch text in the medical manuscript contains Latin, ranging from single Latin terms to full passages. This is by no means unusual among vernacular medical manuscripts, which were commonly laced with Latin, either on a textual level or on a paratextual level in the form of glosses and commentaries. As a case in point, in Linda Ehrsam Voigts' survey of 178 scientific and medical manuscripts and booklets made in medieval England during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 75 manuscripts (42.1 percent) contained Latin and English, and 11 (6.2 percent) Latin, English and French.[295] In a later study, Voigts analyzed the multilingualism within these bilingual and trilingual manuscripts, focusing on the interaction between texts written in different languages from a sociolinguistic perspective.[296] In 2000, Tony Hunt published another article on multilingualism in medical manuscripts, looking at the formal and functional aspects of codeswitches occurring within individual texts, and showing how Latin and vernacular elements would comment on one another to improve the transfer of Latin medical knowledge into a new vernacular readership.[297] Codeswitching in medical texts is also central to a 2003 article by Païvi Pahta, who analyzed structural and syntactical aspects of linguistic switches in English texts; she demonstrated that switches from the vernacular to Latin often occurred at the boundaries between different categories or levels of text, thus contributing to the textual organization of the texts as a whole.[298] This is also the case for Dutch manuscripts including Hattem C5, as Erwin Huizenga, the only scholar to

[294] It is also possible that the unit as a whole functioned as a usage unit, since p. 116, the final page of the second quire, was initially left blank and does show some discolouration.
[295] Voigts 1989. For a general discussion on the intertwinement of Latin and the vernaculars in learned literature, see Hunt *et al.* 2005: 364-383 and Peersman 2013: 641-643.
[296] Voigts 1996.
[297] Hunt 2000. Cf. Hunt 2013 which also offers an excellent overview of the languages used in medical literature in medieval England.
[298] Pahta 2003: 200.

discuss multilingualism in Dutch *artes* texts, succinctly outlines: 'Latin appears to have been used a lot in the fringe areas of the vernacular *artes*-texts: at the beginning and end of tracts, in incipits and explicits, in chapter headings, and in owner's notes'.[299]

What becomes evident from these studies is that throughout the Middle Ages vernacular works in the medical sphere remained under heavy influence from the Latin intellectual tradition, resulting in a mixture of traditional Latin knowledge and vernacular descriptions and applications of real-life practices.[300] Hattem C5 is no exception to this rule, though, as is illustrated below, simultaneously appears to move away from the authoritative dependency on Latin on occasion.

Firstly, we can note that one connection to the Latin scholarly tradition in Hattem C5 is the inclusion of translations of Latin works.[301] These include: a treatise on eye care, the *Practica oculorum* by Benevenutus Grapheus (pp. 170-188); a Dutch medical handbook based on the *Liber magistri Avicenne* (pp. 301-342); an *aqua vitae* (water of life) recipe by Italian doctor and professor of medicine at the University of Bologna, Taddeo Alderotti (pp. 392-394); a list of medicines entitled *Viatike*, attributed to the physician and translator Constantine the African (pp. 504-514); and a translation of *De urinus* by Maurus of Salerno (pp. 516-519).[302] Another interesting inclusion is the aforementioned prose translation of the *Secretum secretorum*, since we know this text was already translated into Dutch verse by Jacob van Maerlant in the thirteenth century. Orlanda Lie's comparison between these two translations and the Latin source text illustrated that the earlier verse translation left out more of the *artes*-related topics or described them in less detail, whereas the prose version in Hattem C5 is a more precise representation of its Latin source.[303] What this translation, as well as those listed above, makes evident is that although the original user of the manuscript understood Latin well, in practice he more often than not chose to make use of Dutch translations of Latin authoritative works, either deliberately or due to material necessity.

In addition to the translations of Latin works there are also references found to Latin medical authorities, whose works form the basis for several texts. Notably, in the introduction of a description of the humours on p. 399, the author lists the most respected and renowned medical *auctores* of the Middle Ages to date:

> Hier bij moghedij kennen den mensche van wat humoren dat hij sij alzoe ons bescrijft lancfranc Ende alsoe oerkont die oude meister ypocras galien Auicenna rasis ende vele andere.
>
> Here you can learn of the humours that humans consist of, as Lanfranc informs us, as well as the old masters Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Rhazes and many others.[304]

A similar list of authorities is found at the beginning of the aforementioned translation of the *aqua vitae* recipe by Taddeo Alderotti:

[299] Huizenga 2003b: 66. Huizenga (2003b: 59 n. 11) mentions a paper presented by Orlanda Lie at 1998's International Medieval Congress in Leeds on the relationship between Dutch and Latin in *artes* literature and its European context, but this paper remains unpublished.
[300] This mixture is described at length in Huizenga 2003a.
[301] For a more general discussion on the translation of scientific works in the Middle Ages, see Goyens, De Leemans & Smets 2008 and Hunt 2019.
[302] There are other texts that do not give the name of their Latin source, but do state they are translating from Latin (see, for example, the introduction of the cosmetics text on p. 429).
[303] On the *Secretum* tradition, see Williams 2003 and Forster 2006. On the Dutch *Secretum* texts, see Lie 1996.
[304] A similar summary is found in the *Trisoer vander surgien* (p. 150).

> Ende aristotiles / ende ypocras / ende galienes / ende ypermannus / ende lanffrancus / ende rogerus / ende heinricus / ende euecennus / ende rasis die meesters waren jnder natueren seghen dat dit water pleecht te makene een natuerlic wijsdom van zinnen.
>
> And Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Yperman, Lanfranc, Roger, Heinric, Avicenna and Rhazes, who were masters of medicine, say that this water will make one wise without any education.

This passage is one of two in Hattem C5 that references Jan Yperman, a well-known fourteenth-century Flemish surgeon, whose medical texts – in particular his *Cyrurgia* – influenced the development of vernacular medical literature in the Low Countries.[305] What makes this specific reference special, however, is not only that it places Yperman alongside exalted authorities like Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen – something further emphasized by the rare Latinization of his name – but also that the inclusion of Yperman and those listed after him is unique to Hattem C5: an earlier variant of this text features only Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen.[306] It therefore forms a beautiful example of the intersection of the vernacular and Latin traditions during the later Middle Ages, and supports a broader theme in Hattem C5: there was ample room in the medical sphere for both ancient Latin and more recent Dutch authorities.

One such authoritative figure is not only named but also cited in Latin. The last pages of the *Trisoer vander surgien*, a surgical treatise found only in Hattem C5, are devoted to a discussion of various medicinal herbs and spices based on the *Antidotarium Nicolai* and the works of Lanfranc of Milan.[307] On pp. 166-167, Lanfranc is cited in Latin and then directly translated into Dutch:

> Ende hier of spreect onse groote meister lancfranc van melanen *Quando […] est laudabile tunc tu debes consolidari* / dats te verstaen als dat etter is louelic dan moechstu coenlic toe helen of dan bistu schuldich te helen ende anders niet.[308]
>
> And on this speaks our exceptional master Lanfranc of Milan: *Quando […] est laudabile tunc tu debes consolidari*, which means that when the pus is in a good condition, you can cure it with confidence and only then are you required to cure it.

Direct translation is very common in Hattem C5, especially with respect to single Latin terms or phrases. Illustrative is the large *Herbarijs* text (pp. 189-300) which lists and describes over 200 different herbs alphabetically by their Latin names, which are immediately followed by their Dutch synonym. For every other text that consists of a summary of items, whether herbs, medicine, medicinal waters or disease names, the scribe first lists the Latin term and then continues to write

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305 On Yperman, see Blondeau 2000 & 2005 and Huizenga 2003a: 133-143.
306 For this variant, see Braekman 1975: 212-213 (text no. 668).
307 The *Antidotarium Nicolai* is one of the most prominent pharmaceutical texts of the Middle Ages and a standard work for any medieval apothecary, surgeon or physician. It was also translated into many languages, including Dutch. See Daems 1961 and Braekman & Keil 1971 on these Dutch translations.
308 The […] here represents an incomplete lemma in the sentence that contained at least one word, namely a Latin term for 'etter' (one of which is the same in both English and Latin: pus). It is unclear why this space was left open – it looks to be deliberate and not in any way linked to the material quality of the paper – since the original quotation itself must have contained the relatively uncomplicated Latin term.

in Dutch.[309] The reason for listing both the Latin and Dutch versions is twofold. Writers of medical handbooks took great effort to present their works as clearly and completely as possible, rather writing too much (or the same thing multiple times across the manuscript) than too little.[310] Additionally, knowing which herb or ingredient to collect or purchase was of vital importance, making it a worthy investment of time and memory for medical practitioners to learn both the Latin terms of the old authorities and the current vernacular ones that might be used in their everyday communication with other physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and most importantly, patients. Apparently, for the user of Hattem C5 there was a need for both Latin and Dutch.

The authoritative status of Latin is also apparent in the so-called "efficacy phrases", formulas usually written at the end of Latin recipes to emphasize the truthfulness or efficiency of the medicine.[311] Examples include 'sanabitur' (to be healed), 'videbis mirabilia' (you will see wonders) and most commonly 'probatum est' (it is proven). In Hattem C5 we see the latter phrase in two recipes, one offering a cure against stomach aches and diarrhea (p. 69), the other presenting a solution against a swollen throat (p. 70). The use of these efficacy phrases in Hattem C5, however, seems to be somewhat random. The two recipes containing the efficacy phrases are part of a larger collection of recipes consisting of other Dutch recipes as well as some Latin ones, none of which end with 'probatum est' or similar phrases. Additionally, the "secret" recipes mentioned in §5.1 illustrate that authors had alternatives to Latin efficacy phrases to demonstrate the validity of their recipes, such as references to literary figures. As such, whilst Latin could be used to increase the authority of a recipe, it was certainly not required.

There are also a handful of texts in the codex that contain longer sections of Latin. Here, the relationship between Dutch and Latin is complex and best explained through a difference in functionality. For example, pp. 149-150 present a short balm recipe, in which the description of the balm is written in Dutch, but the actual application of it to painful parts of the body is explained in Latin. In another instance, the difference in language coincides with a difference in scientific disciplines. On pp. 141-146 we find a treatise on phlebotomy in which instructions are found on how to draw blood.[312] The text begins in Dutch, explaining the benefits of bloodletting and describing how to detect the correct veins. The text then ends in Latin, where the author notes which veins can best be selected for which people based on their zodiac signs. There is no clear break between the Dutch text and its Latin ending; they are two parts of the same text, in which the medical part is written in Dutch and the astrological part is presented in Latin. We should, however, be cautious with such distinctive descriptions: firstly, astrology was often used by medical practitioners during their craft; and secondly, even within Hattem C5 we can point to astrological texts that are not written in Latin but in Dutch.[313] Therefore, it is better to argue that within certain texts in Hattem C5, different approaches to a single topic or treatment are presented in different

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[309] This practice is very common in vernacular medical and scientific texts and known as *.i.-periphrasis*, where the *.i.* stands for the Latin *id est* (that is). See Huizenga 2003b: 66, which also lists examples of *.i.-periphrasis* in other Dutch *artes* works (pp. 67-70). For an example in medieval English medical works, see Wallner 1987.
[310] See Huizenga 1996: 162-163 and the many references in notes 65-67 there.
[311] On these phrases, see Jones 1998.
[312] On medieval phlebotomy, see Gil-Sotres 1994 and Huizenga 1998.
[313] Examples include the manuscript's first two texts (pp. 1-2) about 'evil' days (Reynaert 2004). On the connection between astrology and medicine, see, e.g., Huizenga 1997: 22-26, O'Boyle 2005 and Chardonnens & Kienhorst 2018. For astrological influences on bloodletting, see in particular Müller-Jahncke 1985: 135-175.

languages. This will become even more apparent in the discussion of the fully Latin text of the codex in §5.4.

One final text group in Hattem C5 containing Latin and Dutch is also noteworthy here. This selection, on pp. 67-69, consists of eight recipes that vary wildly in their content. The first recipe is in Dutch and aims at curing diarrhea. The second is in Latin and is not actually a recipe, but instead instructions on how to free oneself when restrained or locked up by repeating a Latin *sententia* by Saint Peter, which is underlined with red ink to separate it from the surrounding Latin text (*Fig. 6*). The third is also written in Latin and presents a recipe for a brew that will make you look younger. The fourth recipe is introduced in Latin as one used to make ink.[314] The recipe itself, however, is in Dutch, as are the fifth, sixth and seventh recipes. The fifth recipe is for relieving cramps, the sixth diarrhea and belly aches, and the seventh a swollen throat. The eighth and final recipe is in Latin, and like the first Latin recipe is not actually a recipe but rather a group of *memento mori* poems, one of which is also found in Jan Praet's *Leeringhe*.[315]

As was the case for the phlebotomy treatise, here too there appears to be a clear divide between Dutch recipes on the one hand, which are al medical treatments, with the exception of the mixed Latin-Dutch ink recipe, and Latin recipes on the other hand, which do not concern medical issues and in some cases are not even true recipes. This collection as a whole is an example of Latin and vernacular knowledge coexisting in a single textual framework, resembling the similar mixture of languages seen on a material level. Yet, it also suggests certain languages were more readily used for certain types of texts and subjects. It is possible that astrology and topics from the *artes magicae* (such as the phlebotomy treatise) were more often written in Latin due to their theoretical nature and basis in traditional Latin learned discourse. Moreover, it is probable that these types of information were specifically translated or written down in Latin to either bar the content from certain readers, or to give these perhaps unproven scientific recipes more authority. The former option may also be applicable to the Latin parts of the short balm recipe, where the benefits of the balm are explained in Dutch but the implementation, which would likely hurt, is only accessible to those who read Latin – in this case the medical practitioner applying the balm.

Additional examples of Latin elements in the Dutch content of Hattem C5 can be found, but I believe the discussion presented thus far convincingly demonstrates that the vernacular texts in the medical handbook were deeply rooted in the learned Latin tradition. This is sometimes manifested through the inclusion of Latin scientific terms, and at other times makes a more concerted effort to increase the authority and validity of the Dutch texts by citing classical authorities or Latin canonical works. Also evident, however, is that Hattem C5 overall strives to be a vernacular medical handbook: most of its texts are in Dutch; nearly all shorter insertions of Latin are immediately translated into Dutch; and the presence of a single fully Latin text is overshadowed both by the wealth of Dutch texts and the longer French works. In one sense, this emphasis on the vernacular demonstrates that this language already enjoyed the status of learned language for the book's maker and owner. At the same time, the inclusion of Latin elements tells us that he did

[314] Remarkably, the ink described here, which is made of oak gall, amber and copper, looks to be the same type of ink used for the latter part of the manuscript (pp. 515 and onward). I thank Jenneka Janzen for this observation.

[315] *Leeringhe der Salichede*, ll. 996-999 (ed. Bormans 1872, fol. 40b). The four lines in the *Leeringhe* are presented as two in Hattem C5. Considering the content of the Latin passage as well as the various paraphs found in front of the poems on p. 69 to separate them, it can be assumed that the Latin lines are not a single coherent text but rather a collection of short poems and *sententiae*.

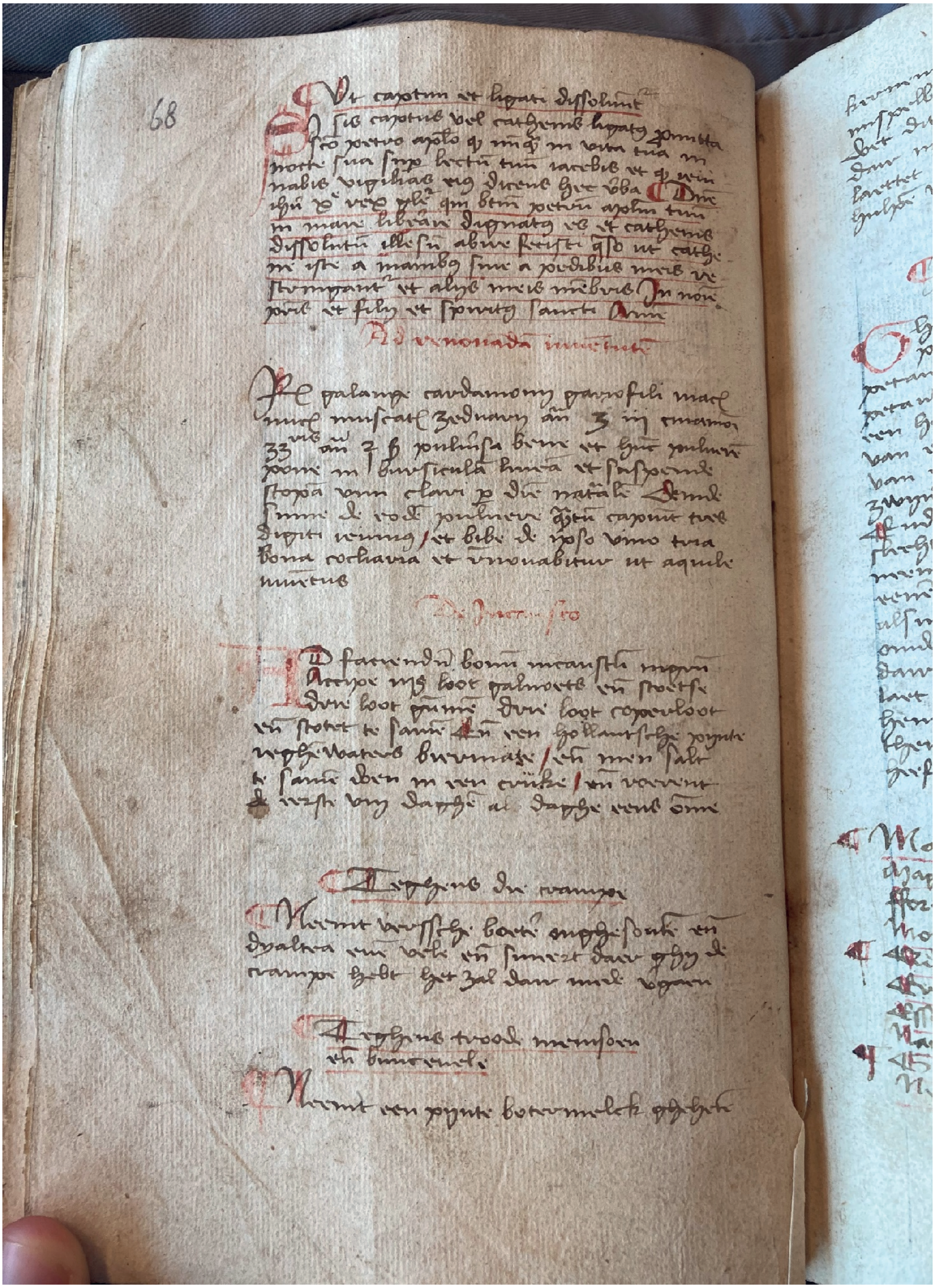

Figure 6. Latin recipe with quotation by Saint Peter, underlined with red ink (MS Utrecht, UB, Hattem C5, p. 68). Source: Jelmar Hugen.

not restrict himself to vernacular channels of knowledge and instead placed more value on the content of a text than the language in which it was written. This observation is further supported by the dynamics of the fully French and Latin works found in the codex.

5.4 THE MULTILINGUAL DYNAMICS OF THE HATTEM CODEX

In exploring the multilingual dynamics of Hattem C5, the first text I consider is the single fully Latin one, which is a treatise on the plague. This devastating disease first surfaced in Europe between 1348-1351 in an epidemic that is now known as the Black Death, and constituted a continuous threat throughout the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period.[316] Whilst earlier historical studies assessed the Low Countries as relatively unharmed by the plague, articles by Wim Blockmans and more recently Joris Roosen and Daniel Curtis have demonstrated that regions such as Flanders, Holland and Brabant were also hit substantially by the pandemic.[317] It is, therefore, unsurprising that the disease features prominently in literature and art from the later Middle Ages, and that it is one of the most commonly discussed diseases in medical texts, including those found in manuscripts like Hattem C5.[318]

Aside from the Latin text, entitled *De pestilencia* (About the plague), treatments for the plague are found sporadically in several other recipes collected in the codex. The abovementioned treatise on phlebotomy, for instance, devotes a special section instructing one on how to draw blood from someone who is suffering from the plague (p. 142).[319] There are four other texts that are fully devoted to treatment of the plague, two of which are written in Dutch (pp. 66-67 and pp. 147-149) and two in French (pp. 79-80 and pp. 491-504). We thus find a multilingual interest in the plague in Hattem C5, leading us to question the precise relationship between these four texts and the Latin treatise. Were they intended to be read collectively or did each text offer a particular insight into plague treatments? And if the latter is true, can we establish a meaningful connection between the content of these treatment texts and the language in which they are presented? To answer these questions, I here delay my analysis of the Latin plague text and first discuss the vernacular ones, the first of which is also the first to be found in the current arrangement of Hattem C5.

This first text is a two-page type of plague treatise, written in Dutch, known as the *Letter of Prague*. The name 'Letter of Prague' (Dutch: *Praagse brief*) refers to a Latin tract written in 1371, which was believed to have been written by Gallus of Prague and was thus called the *Prager Sendbrief*.[320] It was also known by some as the *Missum imperatori*, since its opening lines refer to the

[316] There are many studies devoted to the plague. Seminal studies include Biraben 1975-1976, Gottfried 1983 and Benedictow 2004. For a more recent study on the plague during the fifteenth century, see Clark & Rawcliffe 2013.
[317] Blockmans 1980 and Roosen & Curtis 2019. See also Benedictow 2004: 110-117 and Rommes 2015. Cf. for Flanders in particular Van Werveke 1950, Maréchal 1980, Jansen-Sieben 1999 and Vandeburie 2010. With regard to mortality rates, chronicle sources indicate that during the outbreak of 1439, 20 percent of the inhabitants of Bruges either died or had fled the city due to poverty or fear of contamination (Blockmans 1980: 856).
[318] For medical plague treatises, see Sudhoff 1925 and Nockels Fabbri 2006. Neither of these studies contain any Dutch treatises, for which we can turn to Braekman & Dogaer 1972. On the influence of the plague on non-medical literature, see, e.g., Grigsby 2003 and Jost 2016.
[319] Cf. Huizenga 2003a: 203.
[320] See Keil 1991.

text as a letter once sent by the pope to the King of France (pp. 66-67). This Latin tract became widespread and known in various versions, including several Dutch translations and adaptations.[321]

Besides its heading and original context, the *Letter of Prague* does not actually read as a letter, but instead as a regular plague treatise. In Hattem C5, it consists of four recipes, two of which are aimed at curing the plague, the other two at reducing the pain induced by plague boils. Accordingly, these recipes are concerned with the bubonic form of the plague, which was its primary and most common variant.[322] All four recipes make use of regular ingredients and herbs, such as white wine, berries, elderberry leaves and mustard seeds. Additionally, one of the recipes to cure the plague makes use of 'triakle' (theriac), which was considered to be a miraculous medical substance that could cure just about any illness.[323]

The second Dutch treatise (pp. 147-149) is only slightly longer than the first one, and is entitled simply *In die pestulencie tijt* (In times of the plague). Whilst, like the previous Dutch text, this treatise contains recipes to assist against the pain caused by the plague (one including theriac and one described as a 'heymelike medicijn', i.e., a secret medicine, containing, among other ingredients, a unicorn's horn), its emphasis lies more on prevention of the disease. It explains how one should avoid infected cities and apply wine-vinegar to his or her face. Both of these instructions are concerned with the pneumonic form of the plague, which is the variant of the disease that moved through contaminated air ('miasma'). Many people fled contaminated areas and larger cities in the hope of finding clean air in lesser populated regions. Those who chose to stay and remain in contact with ill people protected themselves with a mask over their face or by applying vinegar mixtures near their mouth, nose and ears to shield them from the contagious air.[324] Interestingly, the text pays particular attention to children, explaining how they can eat theriac, but should by no means be subjected to phlebotomy procedures (p. 148).

These two Dutch texts show different approaches to treatment of the plague. The first text focuses on the bubonic variant of the disease, aims primarily at treating infected people and builds upon the authoritative function of the *Letter of Prague* context to validate its claims. The second text lacks an authoritative framework and focuses on the interaction between people, including children, centres around the pneumonic variant of the plague and advises how one can best avoid infection altogether. These differences between the two texts serve as a first hint that language did not necessarily dictate the nature of the content itself.

Given the extreme difficulty for medical practitioners in combating the plague, it is unsurprising that different tracts focus on different forms of the disease and how to cure it, nor is it odd that some of these texts refer to unorthodox ingredients like unicorn's horn or wonder

[321] Jansen-Sieben 1989 lists six other manuscripts containing a Dutch variation of the *Letter of Prague*: Ghent, UB, MS 3806; Lincoln, CCL, MS 127; London, BL, Add MS 4897; Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 9136; Utrecht, UB, MS 1037, and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 576 Helmstadt.

[322] See Gottfriend 1983: 3 for a concise description of the effects of the bubonic form. A contemporary description of the disease is also given by surgeon Guy de Chauliac in his *Chirurgia magna* (see Jansen-Sieben 1999: 179). On the variants of the plague, see also Park 1993: 612.

[323] Theriac is a *composita* concoction, consisting of many different components depending on the recipe (in Yperman's work more than 90, ranging from traditional herbs to tree resin and a beaver's testicles), and is also known as 'treacle' in English. On the use of theriac to treat the plague, see Nockels Fabbri 2007. Cf. Parojcic, Stupar & Mirica 2003 and Calvet 2003. In the remainder of this study, unless citing a medieval source, I refer to the ingredient as theriac.

[324] See Bazin-Tachella 2001. On fleeing from the plague, see also Dormeier 1992. The application of vinegar was inspired by humoural pathology: vinegar was by nature dry and cold, and therefore the ideal counterpart against corrupted air, which was warm and wet.

products like theriac.[325] Such a last-resort cure is also found in the first French plague text, found on pp. 79-80 where it was probably added as page filler on the inserted bifolio that constitutes the second codicological unit of Hattem C5. The tract explains how to relieve pain caused by plague boils by pressing a living pigeon whose chest has been cut open against the boils for two hours. Based on descriptions of similar procedures from the seventeenth century, it can be deduced that the idea behind the practice was to extract the venomous elements from the boils through the heat emanating from the dying pigeon, which would then restore the humoural balance in the patient's body.[326]

No other recipe in Hattem C5 resembles this French recipe, and given its position at the end of the second codicological unit, it is easy to imagine that this text was added as an afterthought – though deliberately included nonetheless. As unusual as the text may be, its intention, namely to cure someone from a terrible illness, clearly justified its inclusion to the compiler of the codex. Perhaps this last-minute addition to the manuscript drives home most of all that the expected functionality of the texts outweighed any possible hesitation or difficulty associated with its content or language.

More traditional is the second French plague treatise, which is longer than either of the Dutch works or the French tract, and consists of several cures for the plague divided into three parts (pp. 491-504). The first part opens with generic warnings to stay away from infected people, followed by several recipes intended to be used when one is required to interact with plague patients. Among these recipes we again find the miracle medicine theriac on several occasions, as well as a particular focus on children. In all of these aspects the text resembles the second Dutch treatise. The majority of the first part, however, deals with the four humours and which medicine can be used to restore balance when one is in too high or too low a volume. Whilst humoural pathology was commonly known during the Middle Ages by practitioners of all levels of medicine, the detailed description in combination with references to both classical authorities like Galen as well as contemporary experts such as the well-known scholar Avicenna (980-1037) and John of Saint Amand, a professor of medicine at the University of Paris (c. 1230-1303), betrays a closer connection to the learned discourse on the plague of the educated *doctores medicinae*. Unlike the previous tracts, this French text arguably takes a more learned and theoretical stance.

Briefly skipping over the second part, the sophisticated nature of this text is also visible in its third part, where three recipes for different pills are described. What sets these recipes apart from the others found in Hattem C5 is their meticulous description of both the components of the pills and their effects (and accordingly how to adjust the dose of the medicine based on the patient's reaction). One recipe even notes that the pill should be kept in a cool place similar to where one would store meat and that one should not remove it from this place more than two or three times (p. 502b). Even more telling is the second recipe, which except for its French title is completely in Latin (p. 503). This recipe is much more precise than the previous Dutch recipes on

[325] Even someone like Antonio Guaineri, a fifteenth-century professor at the University of Pavia and physician of the Duke of Savoy, would use alchemical ingredients and unconventional medicine to combat diseases such as the plague (Jacquart 1988 and 1990: 151).

[326] The early modern examples of the *English Huswife Handbook* (1615) and *London Pharmocopoeia* (1618) are discussed by Alun Whitey in a blog post from June 30th, 2016 (https://dralun.wordpress.com/2016/06/30/fowl-medicine-the-early-modern-pigeon-cure/). See also Heinrichs 2017, which deals with the same application in medieval and early modern medicine, except with live chickens. Heinrichs argues the treatment itself originates in Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine* (1025).

plague pills, listing exact measurements at every step of the procedure. Based on both the first and final part of the French treatise, it seems we are dealing with a text that is rooted in the learned Latin medical tradition.

There is, then, the second part of the text, which is particularly noteworthy in the context of Hattem C5. As the opening lines of this part illustrate, we are once again dealing with a *Letter of Prague*, this time in French: 'Ceste recepte sont envoie roi de France par nostre Saint Père le Pape par le conseil de tous les milleurs phisiciens' (p. 498: These recipes were sent to the King of France by our Holy father the Pope on the advice of his best physicians). This version of the *Letter* is, however, very different from the manuscript's previous Dutch variant. In the Dutch *Letter*, the focus lies exclusively on medicinal recipes against the bubonic variant of the plague Furthermore, these medicine are both simplistic in nature and prone to wonderous ingredients such as the *composita* theriac and the unicorn's horn. The French text is far more intellectual and theoretical in its approach. It centres around the three major parts of the human body, the heart, the brain and the liver, and their different emunctories ('emontoires'). 'Emunctories' refers to the bodily organs which dispose of waste products, which in the case of the plague also includes poisonous material that (supposedly) entered the body. The author of the French tract explains how plagued air enters the body, mixes with the blood and from there begins to destroy the body from within. Rather than present the reader with recipes to combat these poisonous infections, the author explains in great detail how one can restore the balance within the blood through bloodletting. Depending on where the plague has manifested, usually in the form of boils or festers, specific veins in the body must be tapped, each linked to the three major parts of the body and their main emunctories (for the brains these are the ears, for the heart the armpits, and for the liver the digestive system starting at the throat). Like the other parts of the French text, this part too is more detailed than any of the other recipes found in the manuscript.

We thus see two very different approaches, not just between the two French texts but also between the two variations of the *Letter of Prague*. Most strikingly, this longer French tract pays more attention to the theoretical than the practical aspects of plague treatment and in doing so provides more medical detail than the other tracts. This more learned stance is also found in the Latin treatise, which more than any of the other works reads as a coherent whole. It begins with a traditional introduction asking for God to aid mankind, and ends in a similar explicit. Like the French tract, it focuses on the practice of phlebotomy and the three core parts of the human body, although in lesser detail. Also similar to the French treatise, and contrary to the Dutch texts, is a general absence of recipes. The Latin tract lists just one recipe, towards the end of the text, for a balm to apply to plague boils. Aside from this medical recipe, the text's practical application limits itself largely to preventive actions against the pneumonic variant of the disease. In addition to the standard advice to avoid plague hotspots and to drive away any foul-smelling air,[327] the author recommends that people atone for their sins. This advice is in line with the medieval assumption

[327] Specifically, the author advises readers to eat certain mushrooms with a particularly strong scent. Interestingly, all the names of these mushrooms are written in Dutch (p. 73: 'lauberen', 'wachelen' and 'beren'). It is possible these were local mushrooms for which no Latin name was known, or alternatively that the scribe or author intentionally translated the original text's Latin names into Dutch to accommodate the language a physician would use with his patients.

that the plague was a God-sent punishment for the all-encompassing sin of Pride, to which mankind as a whole had fallen victim.[328]

The author of the Latin tract refers to authoritative works by authors like Avicenna (in particular the fourth book of his *Canon medicinae*), anonymous 'medicorum magis auctenticorum' (p. 70: authoritative masters of medicine) and the 'distinctus medicus' (p. 71: distinguished doctor). Moreover, he also aligns himself with these learned men in his approach to the plague and in the way he structures his arguments.[329] He opens the treatise by listing seven signs that announce that a plague epidemic is coming. Aside from one (an increased number of flies in the air), all of these signs are of an astrological nature and linked to the pneumonic plague. Next, he theorizes on the causes of the plague, which he believes are both of a divine nature – a punishment by God – and a human nature – an infection of the air caused by the high number of dead bodies resulting from wars. From prediction and causation he then moves to implementation, explaining in detail how the intrusion of poisonous air leads to fevers, ulcers, heart failure and an overall unbalance in the body's humours. Finally, before turning to the preventive measures described above, the author considers two medical-philosophical questions: why do certain people die and others survive, and why do so many die rather than only a few? Whilst his answers are by no means original, pointing to the constellations and the spread of diseases by miasma, the questions themselves relate to a learned discourse on the plague that was commonly reserved to educated medical practitioners and masters of medicine at universities.[330] This four-step methodological approach to understanding and explaining the character of the plague stands in stark contrast with the vernacular treatises, barring the longer French tract, that put more focus on the treatment than the disease itself.

Looking at these plague treatises in Hattem C5 as a group, we can therefore draw several conclusions. Whilst each of these texts deal with the plague, they differ significantly not only in terms of their content, but also in their form, structure, utility and focus. Combined with their spread-out presentation in the manuscript, it is highly likely that the texts were not intended to be read in direct relation to one another or in succession. Rather, they were probably collected from a variety of sources for the different types of knowledge they contained. Accordingly, these texts do not represent different chapters of the same book, but rather separate volumes that each offer particular insights with potential value in different situations.

What we can see, in addition, is that the traditional triglossic relationship between Dutch, French and Latin in the learned medical domain is, by and large, reflected in the plague text selection of Hattem C5. Both the longer French treatise and the Latin text make more references to authorities, offer more specific medical knowledge and in general focus more on the humoural and astrological context of the disease than do the two Dutch texts and shorter French work. It is therefore plausible that although knowledge of plague treatments were widely accessible in

[328] See Amundsen 1996: 187-188. In addition to this supernatural cause, it was also believed that astrological constellations were to blame for the severity of the plague epidemic. For example, the initial outbreak of the Black Death was generally understood to be influenced by the positions of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars in the house of Aquarius on March 23rd, 1345. See Biraben 1975-1976: 131-134, Arrizabalaga 1994: 252-254, and Jansen-Sieben 1989a: 136-139 and 1999: 92-95, 130-131. Cf. Van den Abeele 1998: 68.

[329] Aside from Avicenna, the only other medical practitioner named is 'magister Iacobus in monte pessulano', a probable reference to Petrus Jacobus of Monte Pessulano (c. 1270-1347), who was also known as Pierre Jacobi or Pierre Jame d'Aurillac. Worth noting is that the author actually disagrees with Jacobus, who argues that one should avoid sick people; the author believes that one can still visit patients as long as you first dab your face with vinegar-soaked bread or sponges (p. 73).

[330] Cf. Arrizabalaga 1994.

different languages, those texts that dealt with the more theoretical and philosophical aspects of the disease were more likely to be written in the traditional languages of knowledge, Latin and French.

The plague treatises in Hattem C5 also illustrate that different aspects of the same topic or disease can be treated in different languages within a single manuscript. Clearly for the trilingual owner and user of the manuscript, this diversity did not lead to disfunction. Is this, then, also the case for the two longest French texts included in the codex, one of which centres around the philosopher's stone (pp. 81-96) and the other on various herbs and medical recipes (pp. 435-490)? As we may recall, both of these French texts deviate visually to some extent from their surrounding texts, with the astrological treatise introducing a new script type and the herbal recipe collection presenting a different ruling layout. Was this visual distinction further echoed by a distinction on the level of content?

In the case of the herbarium-medicine collection, the answer seems to point firmly in the direction of inclusion and integration rather than separation or isolation. Its recipes are structured in the same manner as most of the Dutch recipes found in Hattem C5, that is, a brief rubric explains what the recipe is intended for, after which the recipe follows in the imperative mood: 'Neme' in Dutch, 'Preng' or 'Prendre' in French. Content-wise, the recipes deal with similar illnesses as seen in Dutch medical handbooks, whilst the herbs used for these recipes are also mentioned in the *Herbarijs* text and similar Dutch *herbaria*.[331] As such, nothing points to the French text introducing new material, exclusive medical procedures or a wealth of recipes unavailable in Dutch. Rather, like most of the texts in the codex, they were added as a source of useful knowledge, regardless of whether or not they tread on familiar grounds. This can be explained through the functionality of the codex, since in times when medical care was far from streamlined or uniform, medical practitioners would actively combine as much knowledge as possible so that when one medicine did not work, a recipe for a second option was well within reach. Importantly, the user of Hattem C5 did not mind if this information was presented in Dutch, French or Latin.

The place of the philosopher's stone treatise in Hattem C5 is more difficult to determine at face value. Previous studies of Hattem C5 have been quick to point out how the inclusion of this alchemical text proved the user's broad interests. We may recall the quotation of Erwin Huizenga presented at the opening of this chapter, which notes that the user of the manuscript was likely a medical practitioner with interests that "far extended the traditional boundaries of his regular field of work".[332] My understanding after reading the texts in Hattem C5 is that this characterization misses the point slightly. I see the manuscript's user (and probable maker) as a medical practitioner with an interest in (and perhaps need for) all types of medical knowledge concerning the general well-being and healthcare of people. Whilst this indeed means he had a broad interest, the characterization falls short in positing that these unorthodox or auxiliary interests were somehow disconnected from the medical core of the manuscript. Previously in this

[331] As an example, pp. 445b-446b contain two French recipes to help with a toothache, which is also addressed on pp. 98-103 in a Dutch medical handbook. A comparison of the herbs in this French text with the *Herbarijs* in Hattem C5 (pp. 189-300) and the *herbarium* in Brussels, KBR, MS 15624-41 (ed. Vandewiele 1965, I), a Flemish fourteenth-century manuscript (Biemans 1999), shows that all three texts share a large selection of herbs with similar descriptions, though none of the lists contain the exact same selection. Compared to the Brussels manuscript, for instance, Hattem C5's *Herbarijs* includes slightly more metals, whilst the French *herbarium* comparatively contains more flowers.

[332] See p. 103.

chapter I explained why the inclusion of the astrological texts in the manuscript was both appropriate and meaningful, and below I outline why this is likewise the case for the French alchemical work.

First, there is the work's author, who is named in the explicit: 'Explicit li nouuius testamens mestre ernaut de ville nueue' (p. 96: Here ends the *Novum testamentum* by Master Arnaldus of Villanova). Arnaldus of Villanova (1238/40-1311) was a physician, philosopher, theologian and alchemist who was born in Valencia and studied Latin, Arabic, theology and medicine in Naples, Paris and Montpellier.[333] His medical knowledge earned him various influential positions, such as that of the personal physician of the Kings of Aragon in 1281 and eventually even the pope. In 1291 he also became professor of medicine in Montpellier and began composing a great number of texts in Latin and Catalan, with even more works falsely attributed to him in later centuries. Among these were a large number of alchemical texts, ranging from letters to colleagues to complex recipes and philosophical treatises.[334] One such treatise is the *Novum testamentum*, sometimes also referred to as the *Liber investigatione de lapis*, of which a French translation found its way into Hattem C5.[335]

The *Novum testamentum* is a three-part treatise on the philosopher's stone, originally written at the behest of Philip IV, King of France (1268-1314).[336] In the first part, Arnaldus explains the origins of the philosopher's stone from a religious perspective.[337] He considers the stone, as well as its prime component *elixir*, a gift to mankind by God, who instilled within nature a wonderful component just like how the human body was instilled with the soul. This component, however, is locked away in the metals of the world and only accessible to learned philosophers who know how to extract it. This extraction process is explained in the second part.

In a very dense piece of literature, Arnaldus outlines how to purify metal, in particular mercury, so that it changes into quicksilver which, when further distilled and cleansed, turns into *elixir*.[338] *Elixir* was primarily known as the component that allowed the philosopher's stone to transmute base metals into precious ones, but it was also considered to be important for the medicinal qualities of the stone. This marriage of the two aspects is visible in a description of the philosopher's stone in the *Testamentum* of Pseudo-Llull, the most renowned tract of the Middle Ages on the subject:

> This is the greatest stone kept hidden from the unlearned people by all ancient philosophers, yet revealed to you. It transmutes every base and imperfect metal into an agent that can produce an infinite quantity of gold and silver. Moreover, we say that it has more efficacious virtue than all other remedies, and that it is capable of healing all illnesses that affect the human body – illnesses of hot as well as of cold nature. […] It treats in

333 On Arnaldus of Villanova, see Paniagua 1994, Burns 2005 and Nebbiai 2014.

334 On the question of Arnaldus' authorship of these texts, see Calvet 2005 and 2011a. The *Novum testamentum* is one of the works that is believed with a relative degree of certainty to have been composed by Arnaldus (Calvet 2005: 450). Examples of other known alchemical works by Arnaldus are the *Rosarius philosophorum*, *Novum lumen* and *Flos florum*.

335 At least one other French translation of the text is known to exist. A fifteenth-century manuscript (Oxford, BL, MS Digby 164) contains various Latin and French treatises on alchemy, one of which is a translation of the *Novum testamentum* (fols 98r-101r). On this manuscript and its alchemical content, see Hunt 2010. On other alchemical works in Anglo-Norman, see Derrien & Hunt 2009. Cf. Pereira 1999 on the use of the vernacular for alchemical treatises.

336 A dedication to Philip IV of France is found in Palermo, BC, MS 4º Qq A 10, fols 328-331v, which is dated to 1323.

337 Cf. Matus 2012 on the connection between alchemy and religion, and Ziegler 1998 for this connection in Arnaldus' work specifically.

338 This description is roughly comparable to that of Pseudo-Geber's *Summa perfectionis magisterii* (c. 1310), which was considered a 'Bible for medieval alchemists' and used well into the seventeenth century (cf. Hunt 2010: 91-92 and 112).

> one day an illness dating from one month, in twelve days a one-year one; should the illness be more ancient, it would be treated in one month. Therefore do not wonder if this remedy was sought for more eagerly than any other, because in it all other remedies are encompassed.[339]

The medicinal qualities described by Pseudo-Llull are also highlighted in the final section of the second part. By combining the stone with other medicinal components, such as animal blood or herbs like basil, one can make three medicines: 'virtu', 'lunatike' and 'saponette' (pp. 90-91). All three of these medicines conform to the generally accepted medicinal uses of the philosopher's stone and its *elixir*, namely to restore vitality to the body and prolong life ('virtu') and to cure illnesses of the body ('saponette') and mind ('lunatike').[340] What the inclusion of these three medicines, and the emphasis on the medical qualities of the philosopher's stone illustrates, is that alchemy was certainly connected to medieval medicine and healthcare. Notably, this stance is also reflected in the work of Arnaldus as a whole, to whom the discipline of alchemy was an auxiliary field of knowledge beneficial to any medical practitioner.[341]

This view seems to have been largely adopted by the medical community during the later Middle Ages, possibly thanks to Arnaldus' influence as an authority on both medicine and alchemy during this period.[342] Illustrative in this light is an article by Danielle Jacquart that compares the works of three fifteenth-century physicians, all of whom were university professors and appointed physicians at European courts: Antonio Guaineri, Jacques Despars and Michele Savonarola. Each make use of alchemical knowledge and consider it a reliable art, in particular when it comes to the medicinal possibilities of the philosopher's stone and *elixir*.[343]

For these physicians, alchemical medicines appear to have been used in the same way as theriac, in that both were considered miracle products that could cure just about any disease, and consequently were used as last-ditch efforts when no other traditional medicine proved effective.[344] Perhaps this is also the best way to explain the inclusion of the French translation of Arnaldus' *Novum testamentum* in Hattem C5, as it falls perfectly in line with the general composition of the codex as a collection of various medical works as well as those of auxiliary sciences. This mixture of content shows the manuscript's owner as a well-read and intensely committed physician, who collected as much sources as he could find to help his patients and to prepare himself for whenever his traditional medicines would not yield the expected or desired result. In a sense, rather than categorizing him as someone with a broad interest in fields far outside traditional medicine, we can consider him someone for whom traditional medicine was intimately connected to useful supplementary sources of knowledge, such as astronomy and alchemy.

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[339] Cited in translation from Pereira 2016: 84. Cf. Pereira 2003.

[340] Arnaldus does not explain what the medicines are used for, giving his intended readers – likely fellow learned practitioners – only their names as a reference to the treated disease: 'virtu' relating to the strength and vitality of the body, 'saponette' to the removal of toxins and poisons within he body, and 'lunatike' to illnesses of the mind, specifically epilepsy and madness which were believed to be caused by the moon (see Riva *et al.* 2011).

[341] See Calvet 2011b: 180.

[342] On the fame and reputation of Arnaldus, see Calvet 2011b: 185-190 and Giralt 2013. Cf. Crisciani 2005 on Arnaldus as an authority on medicine and alchemy in the fifteenth century. Authors who reference Arnaldus include Giovanni d'Andrea, John of Rupescissa, (the fictional) Bernard of Trèviso, Nicolas of Cusa, Geoffrey Chaucer and Christine de Pisan. Furthermore, he is believed by some to have been the tutor of Ramon Llull, one of the most celebrated Catalan intellectuals of the Middle Ages.

[343] Jacquart 1990: 153-154. Other examples can be found in the still-impressive overview study on magic and experimental science by Lynn Thorndyke from 1934 (parts III and IV are on the later Middle Ages).

[344] For a connection between theriac and *elixir* in the works of medieval physicians, see Calvet 2003.

Seen in this light, we can also point out a more thorough integration of the alchemy tract into the codex as a whole, for whilst the third codicological unit that is largely made up of the French text contains no further alchemical works, the fourth codicological unit does. It consists of three texts. The first is a collection of alchemical recipes (pp. 117-125), part of which is written in the same script type as the French tract (type A*). The second is a highly technical and specialized treatise on the alloy of precious metals 'unique in Middle Dutch *artes* literature' (pp. 126-133).[345] The third text is the collection of "secret" recipes, known for its unorthodox content which includes in its first two recipes instructions on turning objects into gold and silver – the quintessential property of the philosopher's stone (p. 134). As such, this fourth codicological unit forms a thematic continuation of the alchemical treatise in the third unit and further emphasizes the integration of the French works within the Dutch context of Hattem C5, marrying the textual analysis with the material.

We can thus conclude that, as was the case for the use of Latin in Dutch texts and for the multilingual collection of plague texts, the French texts, despite their distinct presentation, were fully integrated into the codex's contents. Further, their inclusion is in line with the compiler's overall intention of composing a large medical handbook with a variety of different texts to help him cure his patients from a diverse array of illnesses and diseases.

5.5 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter I emphasized the extraordinary position that Hattem C5 holds within the medieval Dutch *artes* tradition as one of the few manuscripts to contain three different languages. The analysis presented here highlights that it is not just the presence of Dutch, French and Latin that sets the codex apart, but also the diverse use of these languages and their interrelations. The collection of Dutch texts is heavily rooted in the learned Latin tradition, whilst simultaneously a perfect example of the capacity of vernacular languages to engage in scholarly matters like medicine. This is especially clear in the manuscript's plague treatises, where each language fills in its own niche, whilst they collectively present a broad and inclusive display of knowledge on one of the Middle Ages' most fearsome diseases. The authoritative value of languages like Latin and French may have also played a role when it came to texts or recipes that were less orthodox or not considered part of mainstream medicine, such as a spell used to untie oneself or a treatise on the uses of injured pigeons to cure plague boils. As such, Hattem C5 shows an interesting glimpse into the development of the vernacular as a learned language, where the triglossic relationship between Dutch, French and Latin becomes both more blurry – each can now be used in the learned sphere – and more compartmentalized – the authoritative values of Latin and French are deployed for specific texts that primarily concern theoretical approaches, as opposed to practical applications, which are generally found in Dutch.

What draws further interest to this matter is the material context of Hattem C5. The manuscript is somewhat of a polyglottic centipede, mixing different languages over the breadth of eleven different codicological units written by a single scribe in three different script types using three ruling layouts. Whilst a more extensive analysis of the codex and its material features will no

[345] Braekman 1983: 312-313.

doubt offer new insights into the manuscript's functionality and origins, my analysis of its multilingual aspects shows how the scribe worked to create a large collection with occasional thematic clusters regardless of the language in which texts were written. As such, my analysis is evidence that the mere presence of different languages does not necessarily result in textual inconsistencies or structural incoherence. As stated on multiple occasions in this chapter, for the medical practitioner who used the Hattem C5 codex, content triumphed over any other aspect or restriction. This point is driven home even more when we consider the possibility that the French philosopher stone text originally may have functioned as a separate manuscript that was later deliberately integrated into a predominantly Dutch codex.

Given the scarcity of multilingual vernacular *artes* manuscripts it is impossible to say to what extent Hattem C5 and its user were truly unique. What can be stated, however, is that the multilingual diversity expressed in the codex and the multilingual competency of its user illustrate what was linguistically possible for a single book or person in the multilingual literary culture of the Southern Low Countries, possibly Flanders, during the fifteenth century.

PART IV. TRANSLATIONAL DIMENSIONS

6

THE MULTILINGUAL DIVERSITY OF FLEMISH PARALLEL TEXTS

6.1 TWO AS ONE: THE DIVERSE PRESENTATIONS OF TRANSLATION

The books that people used to teach themselves new languages are among the most important and telling types of literary sources to inform us about multilingualism during the Middle Ages. Language manuals, dictionaries, glossaries, dialogue phrasebooks and other types of bilingual works containing near-identical texts in multiple languages existed as early as the ninth century, when they began to be produced in response to the linguistic demands of traders, travellers, envoys and courtly administrators, and were continuously produced throughout the later Middle Ages.[346] These works are not just evidence of multilingual communication in regions like medieval Flanders, where a substantial number of bilingual manuscripts were produced, but are also valuable multilingual sources that in their bilingual presentation and composition show great diversity.[347]

Based on the manuscripts which have come down to us, the most common presentation used by authors and scribes was that of the parallel structure, where two texts, (near) identical in terms of their content but in different languages, are placed alongside one another in two separate columns. These columns could be placed on the same page, as can be seen in Brussels, KBR, MS IV 636 (3) (*Fig. 7*), or on facing folios in an opening (i.e., the verso of one folio facing the recto of the other), which is the case for The Hague, GA, MS 36, fols 123v-138r (*Fig. 8*). This Hague manuscript also adds red lines to connect the two texts, inviting its users to read the work line by line horizontally across the opening rather than vertically down each folio separately. The texts in both of these manuscripts are actually the same, thus proving that even in the same multilingual presentation of the same text, medieval authors and scribes felt free to alter the exact ways in which they positioned their translations.[348]

An alternative format in which to present text and translation was to alternate the two languages in a single text column. Here, too, we encounter literary diversity. An Italian-Dutch conversation book from around 1500 (London, BL, Add MS 10802), for instance, contains examples of letters, proverbs and dialogues, in which Italian and Dutch alternate line-for-line.

[346] See Penzl 1984.
[347] Cf. Sumillera 2014: 68. On diversity in bilingual presentations in printed works, see Henkel 1995 and Armstrong 2020a.
[348] The lines on the Brussels fragment (fol. 1v) correlate nearly word-for-word with the texts from fols 127v-128r in the Hague manuscript (starting from l. 8 onwards). For an edition of both fragments, see Van Loey 1935. This scribal freedom takes on an extreme form in a fifteenth-century Hebrew manuscript (Munich, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 270, fols 72a-112a), in which a Latin version of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* is not only translated into Hebrew, but the actual Latin translation is itself a 'transliteration' written down in Hebrew characters. On this manuscript and other comparable works of Latin-Hebrew translation-transliterations, see Freudenthal 2013 and Bos 2016.

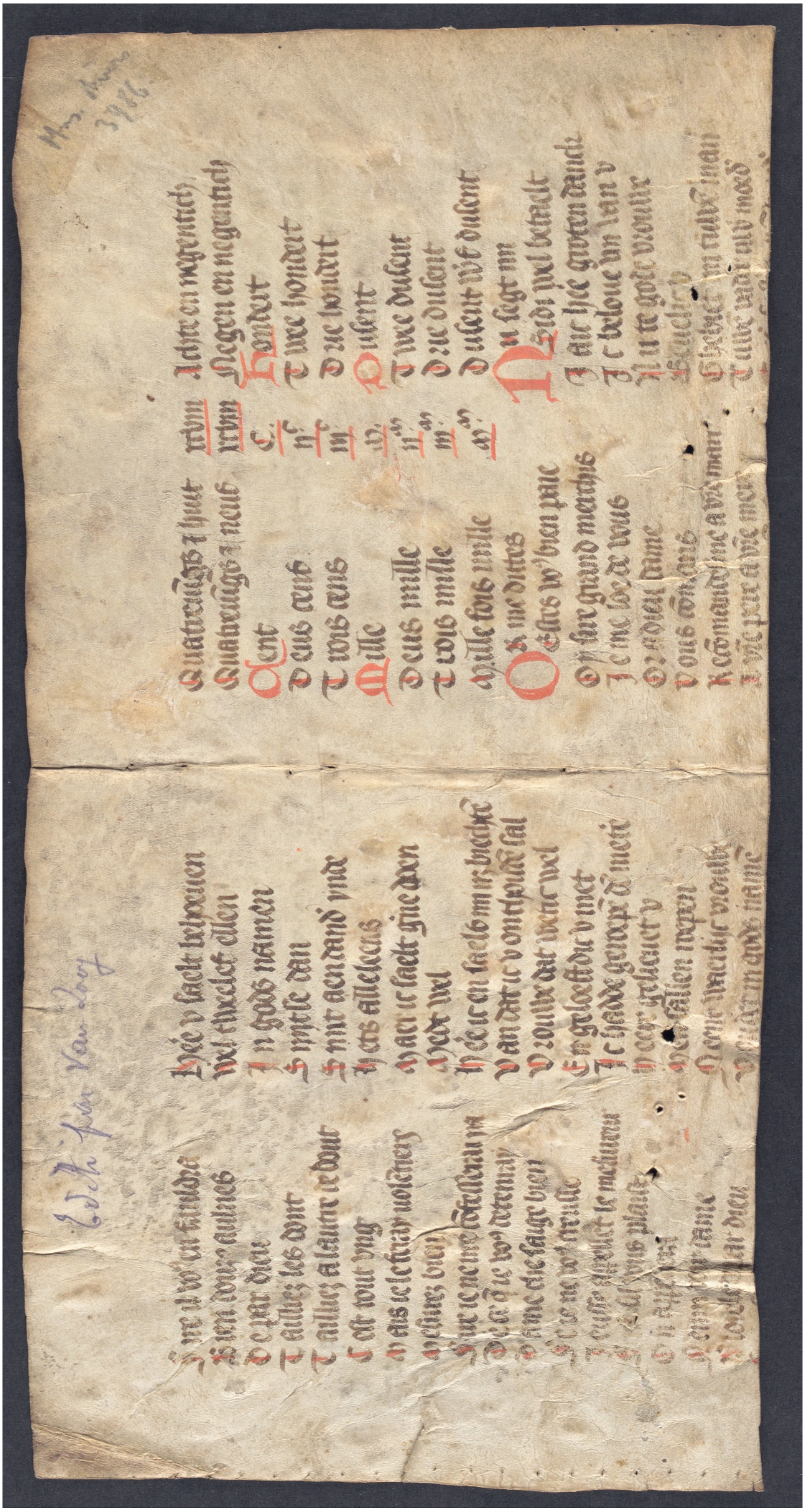

Figure 7. Fragment of a French-Dutch conversation work from c. 1400 in the style of the *Livre des mestiers* (Brussels, KBR, MS IV 636 (3), fol. 1v (olim Brussels, AR, 3986). Source: KBR.

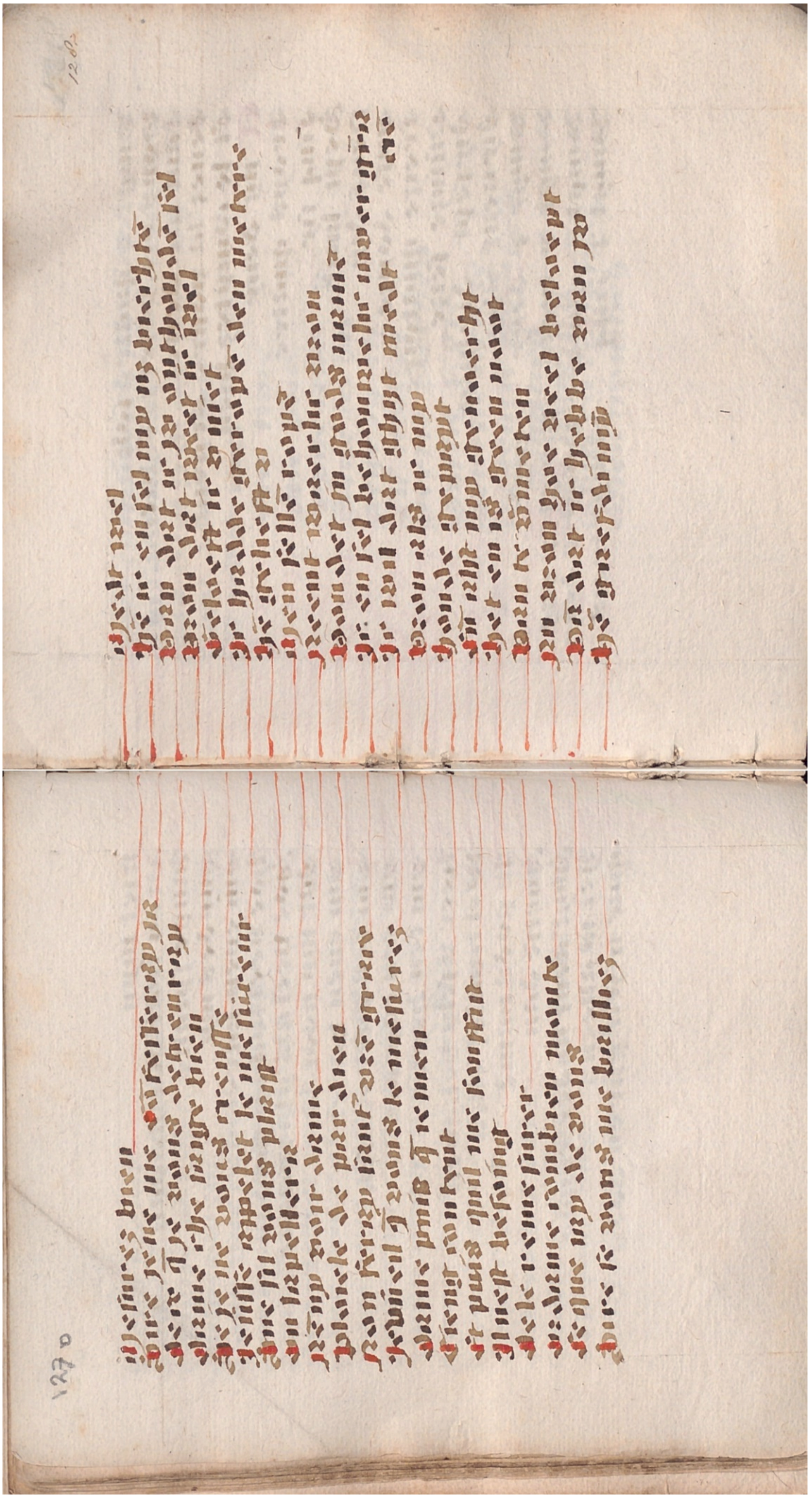

Figure 8. French-Dutch conversation work in the style of the *Livre des mestiers*, found in a 16th-century manuscript (The Hague, GA, MS 36, fols 127v-128r (olim The Hague, SB, MS Ad 9). Source: Haags Gemeentearchief.

Alternatively, in a fifteenth-century Prague manuscript containing the *Tractatus de penitencia* by Stephanus of Kolín every complete chapter is first presented in Latin and then followed by a German translation or rephrasing.[349] Another example is the fifteenth-century trilingual word-for-word translation of *La Somme le roi* in French, English and Latin (Oxford, MC, MS Lat. 188).[350] Here, too, no single register or pattern was employed by all text producers.

The questions addressed in this chapter are how these parallel texts produced in medieval Flanders differed in their multilingual presentation, and how these presentations related to the content and function of their texts and the manuscripts they are found in.[351] To answer these questions, three different texts are analyzed through the lens of the descriptive translational approach championed by scholars such as José Lambert and Gideon Toury.[352] Developed as a reaction to the prescriptive notions of what a translation *should* look like and the associated weight placed on the "literalness" of translations in their scholarly and literary evaluation, the descriptive translational approach sets out to describe not what a translation *should* be, but instead what they actually *are*. The approach considers literary translations in their sociocultural and material contexts, and uses these contexts to produce meaningful interpretations of the choices and decisions made by translators. As such, it is an attractive framework for the study of medieval parallel texts and their broader contexts.

The first text discussed is arguably the most well-known and studied language manual from medieval Flanders, namely the *Livre des mestiers*, the lively description of Bruges of which was cited at the beginning of this dissertation. Due to its popularity, it has become a staple of the parallel column presentation, and as such is a good place to start my discussion. In §6.2, therefore, I examine the relationship between the content and function of the *Livre des mestiers* and its multilingual presentation. Next, a different manuscript using the parallel column structure is discussed, namely the Flemish *Leere van hoveschede*. Despite a similarity in their multilingual presentation, however, this work and the *Livre* have few things in common. As I describe in §6.3, this second text could well have served as a language manual (be it in a context wildly different from the *Livre*) but may also have a different explanation for its parallel structure that brings with it an entirely new function. Finally, an extraordinary example of a bilingual text using an alternating multilingual presentation is discussed in §6.4. This text consists of the three Dutch *Martijn* dialogues written by Flemish author Jacob van Maerlant and an accompanying Latin translation by Flemish priest Jan Bukelare. As I argue, Bukelare's appreciation for Maerlant's work not only influenced his translation decisions, but likely also the multilingual presentation of his text in one particular manuscript. Combined, these texts present three distinct literary voices in the multilingual literary landscape of Flemish parallel texts, which in turn shed more light on the place of these works in the literary culture of Flanders as a whole. Some preliminary conclusions on the role of parallel texts in late medieval Flanders, based on a comparison between my findings from the three case studies, are presented in the closing section of this chapter (§6.5).

349 On the Italian-Dutch language manual, see De Bruijn-Van der Helm *et al.* 2001. On the Prague manuscript, Prague, NK, MS III.D.16 (fol. 8r-71v), see Doležalová 2015: 168. The prologue of this particular text version hints at its bilingual composition, although separate Latin versions of the *Tractatus* have also been transmitted.
350 On this manuscript, see Nissille 2014.
351 'Parallel text' is used here to denote works in which a near-identical text is presented in multiple languages within a single textual framework (as opposed to spread apart across a manuscript or different codicological units).
352 Lambert & Van Gorp 1985 and Toury 1995. Cf. Hermans 1999 and Assis Rosa 2010. Recent studies on medieval Dutch translation using this methodological framework include Reynders 2014 and 2018.

6.2 THE VARIED USES OF THE *LIVRE DES MESTIERS*

The *Livre* is the earliest example of a vernacular conversation book from the Low Countries, and possibly from all of Europe. The text is dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, though a primitive version of the work may even date back to the first decade of the fourteenth century.[353] Based on the surviving material, it is thought to have been very influential, spawning derivatives that copy the content and structure of the *Livre* but (often) altering the languages that the work aims to teach. For example, in addition to the The Hague manuscript and Brussels fragment mentioned above, Cologne, HA, MS W* 121 is a *Gesprächbuchlein* from 1420 which contains a French-German text dating back to the fourteenth century; all three were directly influenced by the *Livre*. The *Livre* also shaped several printed works, including the *Vocabulair pour aprendre romain et flaming* (before 1501) by the Antwerp printer Roland van den Dorpe and the 1483 print *Ryght good lernyng for to lerne shortly frenssh and englyssh* by William Caxton.[354]

The *Livre* itself is only transmitted in a single manuscript (now Paris, BnF, ms. néerl. 16) produced around 1370.[355] It consists of six quires (280 × 180 mm), totaling 24 folios, each of which contains two columns of 38 lines, which make it a typical medium-sized single-text manuscript.[356] The left columnof each folio presents the text in the Picardian dialect, whereas the Dutch text is Flemish, solidly placing the languages of the text in the region of the Southern Low Countries and Northern France.[357] Most likely, the text's author was also active in these regions. Some clues in the text suggest that the author was himself a Picardian Frenchman who was living in or near Bruges, and that accordingly the French text formed the basis for the content of the *Livre*.[358] This hypothesis is also supported by the translational analysis by the editor of the *Livre*, Jan Gessler, which highlighted several errors and inconsistencies that would only occur if one was translating from French into Dutch, rather than the other way around (some of which are discussed in more detail below).[359] The text itself, however, was probably intended to allow for language acquisition of both French and Dutch, since the prologue of the work directly states its goal is to make the reader understand both 'romans et flamenc/ Walsch ende Vlaemsch' (fol. 1r).

The *Livre* can be divided into two parts. In the first, the reader is presented with basic instructions for everyday activities, such as waking up in the morning, greeting people on the street and buying food at the market. Each instruction is followed by a list of terms which could be used for the specific activity, ranging from names for religious and secular persons to summaries of countries and places in Flanders and Brabant. Of these terms, a majority is devoted to '"trading

[353] Initially, the *Livre* was dated around 1340 (See Gessler 1931: 17), but based on the coins listed in the text, Grierson (1957: 780) has argued that the earliest possible date of the text's conception is 1367. See also Grierson 1957: 781 for the dating of a possible primitive version of the text.
[354] On these derivatives, see Gessler 1931, Bischoff 1961 and Cotman 2004.
[355] See Van der Have 2002: 48 and Cotman 2004: 56.
[356] See Biemans 1999: 72. According to the corpus of manuscripts collected in the database of the *Multilingual Dynamics of the Literary Culture of Medieval Flanders (ca 1200-ca 1500)*, the average height of a Flemish manuscript is 270 mm, which more or less confirms Biemans' assessment of its rather typical size.
[357] On the dialects of the *Livre*, see Riemens 1924. See also Lusignan 2012 and Schoenaers 2021: 29-30 on the use of the Picard dialect during the Middle Ages.
[358] Cf. Demets & Hugen 2020: 241-242.
[359] Gessler 1931: 15-16. References to the *Livre* are to this edition.

materials": beers and other beverages, animals (birds, insects, fish, meat and dairy products), fruit, vegetables, spices, and crafted objects. Towards the end of this first part, the text informs us specifically that these are all terms 'qui sont necessaire a chescun ouvrier/die sijn noosakelic elken weercman' (fol. 8v: which are necessary for every craftsman). The second part of the work presents a long list of such craftsmen, all given their own name and quirks. Through this array of characters, such as Lievin the hatmaker, Riquaerd the messenger and Silvester the swineherd, more terms are introduced to the reader, all of which are useful in an artisan context.

The *Livre* aims to teach French or Dutch to its readers through a communicative approach (small conversations and basic instructions) centred around practical language situations (commercial vocabulary and everyday situations as examples) and suited for a specific community (the urban mercantile class).[360] More specifically, these readers are believed to have been children.[361] Arguments for this view can be found both in the text itself and in the broader educational context of medieval Bruges. Beginning with the text itself, several of the lessons taught in the first part of the *Livre* are described specifically as useful for children. For example, on fol. 2r-v a number of activities around the house are taught, such as cleaning the windows and making the beds, which are said to be subjects that 'li enfant le puissant aprendre et bien retenir/ de kindren moghen leeren ende wel onthouden' (the children can learn and remember correctly). No specification is given as to what kind of children (e.g., what age, gender, or social class) the book was aimed towards. As the Paris manuscript suggests, however, it was possible that the text was not only used in urban school classes for children from a socially lower class but also by children with wealthier upbringings in private tutelage settings (*Fig. 9*). Either way, the text was probably not directly owned by children, but instead handled by adults tasked with their instruction, such as private tutors, school teachers and perhaps, in some cases, parents.[362] This *modus operandi*, too, is made clear by the text itself (fol. 24v):

Chest livre sera nommeis	Desen bouc werd gheheeten	This book is called
Le livre des mestiers,	De bouc vanden ambachten	The Book of Crafts,
Lequel est mout proufitable	Dewelke es harde profitelec	Which is very useful
A tous enfans aprendere,	allen kindren te leerne,	To teach all children,
si vous commans	sodat ic u bevele	as I order
Et enjoing, comme maistre.	Ende lade, als meestre.[363]	And instruct you as master.

It was up to these tutors to weave the examples from the *Livre* into concise translation exercises as well as to teach the children how to pronounce these words (something for which the *Livre* gives zero assistance).[364] In medieval Bruges, these lessons would have probably taken place in one of

360 Cotman 2004. Cf. Rheinfelder 1937: 181 and Jeannin 1990.
361 See Rheinfelder 1937: 178 and 186, Van der Have 2002: 48 and Cotman 2004: 58. On the education and upbringing of merchants and traders during the Middle Ages, see Favier 1987 and De Bruijn-Van der Helm *et al.* 2001: 58-84.
362 See Van Buuren 1995: 232 and Van Oostrom 1989: 17 on the use of books by teachers, Van Buuren 1994a: 15; Van Oostrom 2013: 524 on the possibility that the *Livre* was used for homeschooling; and Lusignan 2012: 205-209 and Sumillera 2014: 62 on the role of private tutors in medieval language education.
363 It is up to debate whether 'maistre/meestre' refers specifically to 'ic', the writer of the *Livre*, or in a more general sense to anyone who wishes 'to teach all children'.
364 There are also examples of surviving manuscripts that emphasize instruction, for example, the fifteenth-century *Liber Donati* (see Merrilees & Sitartz-Fitzpatrick 1993 and Rothwell 2001: 12) and Leiden, UB, MS VUL 93 B, a sixteenth-century manuscript which contains a short treatise on how to pronounce certain French words (see Van der

the French schools. As 'side schools' to the traditional monastic schools where students of the social elite or those destined for a clerical profession would learn to read and write Latin, French schools were city schools that offered a curriculum more catered to the needs and demands of middle class laymen.[365] As described in a 1503 regulation by the city council of Amsterdam, these schools were intended 'om kinderen, jong en oud, en alle personen te leren lezen, schrijven, rekenen, ende cijferen ende oick walsche te leren' (to teach children, young and old, and all people how to read, write, do math, calculate and learn French).[366] Conversation books like the *Livre* would no doubt be welcome support tools for such language education.

Whether the *Livre* was actually used by schools is unclear, as there are no surviving booklists from these French schools to tell us what they held in their libraries. There are, however, comparable works that share a parallel structure that are known to have featured in medieval classrooms. Although later, the *Vocabulare* (1527) by Noël Berlaimont was a derivative of the *Livre* that was used by both adult traders and merchants, as well as schools.[367] Language manuals from medieval England also commonly featured a parallel multilingual presentation and here, too, several manuscripts are known to have had educational purposes, such as a thirteenth-century *Tretiz de langage* by Walter of Bibbesworth (found in Oxford, ASC, MS 182) and several books of the *Nominale sive verbale*, a loose adaptation of the *Tretiz*.[368] Although the *Livre* may have preceded some (or even all) of these works, their potential similarities are not limited to their form and content, but also include their function.

If we then consider the *Livre* as a school text intended to teach Dutch or French to urban children to prepare them for a profession in the commercial sector, we may next wonder how the formal aspects of the *Livre*, including its multilingual presentation, facilitated this purpose. Here an analysis of the translational principles can offer some initial insights. The Dutch and French text in the *Livre* provides very faithful translations. What small deviations can be found are limited to the spelling of certain names (e.g., the French 'Baudins' becomes Dutch 'Boudene'; the French 'Mahaut' becomes Dutch 'Machtilt') and terms that are heavily rooted in either one of the two languages. Examples of the latter include 'pourpointier' (Fr), which is translated as 'pourpointstickere' (fol. 14r) and conversely 'hoppenbiers' (NL), which in French reads as 'hopembier' (fol. 22r). Additionally, while the Paris manuscript contains various scribal errors, translational errors that are inherent to the text itself are very rare.[369] This authentic and precise translation makes it especially suitable as a translation exercise, since users of the text would be able to use their knowledge of one of the languages to carefully dissect the other language, both on

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Have 2002: 56). We also know some language manuals expected their readers to already have a basic grasp of the second language (see Iglesias-Rabade 1995: 186).

365 On French schools in the Low Countries, see Post 1954: 113-115; Van Buuren 1995: 226 and Willemsen 2008: 22-28. See also the excellent overview of French schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Van de Haar 2019: 143-193. Cf. for medieval schooling in general Stuip & Vellekoop 1995 and Sheffler 2015.

366 See Post 1954: 65. Although this French school was located in Amsterdam, the regulation notice mentions that its teacher is one Mr. Jacob van Schoonhoven from Bruges, signalling that educational practices were comparable.

367 Van der Sijs 2002: 30.

368 I thank Thomas Hinton for these examples (via e-mail: 25-10-2021). Cf. Rothwell 1968.

369 A non-exhaustive list of scribal errors in the *Livre* is presented in Gessler 1931: 19-23. An example of a translation error is also mentioned by Gessler (1931: 16 n. 3): on fol. 7r: the French adverb 'ore' (now, at this moment) is mistakenly read as 'or' (gold), resulting in the Dutch translation 'guldin'. This error is, however, debatable considering the sentence is part of a longer sequence on haggling in which 'or' in the sense of gold features many times (for example, on fol. 7v).

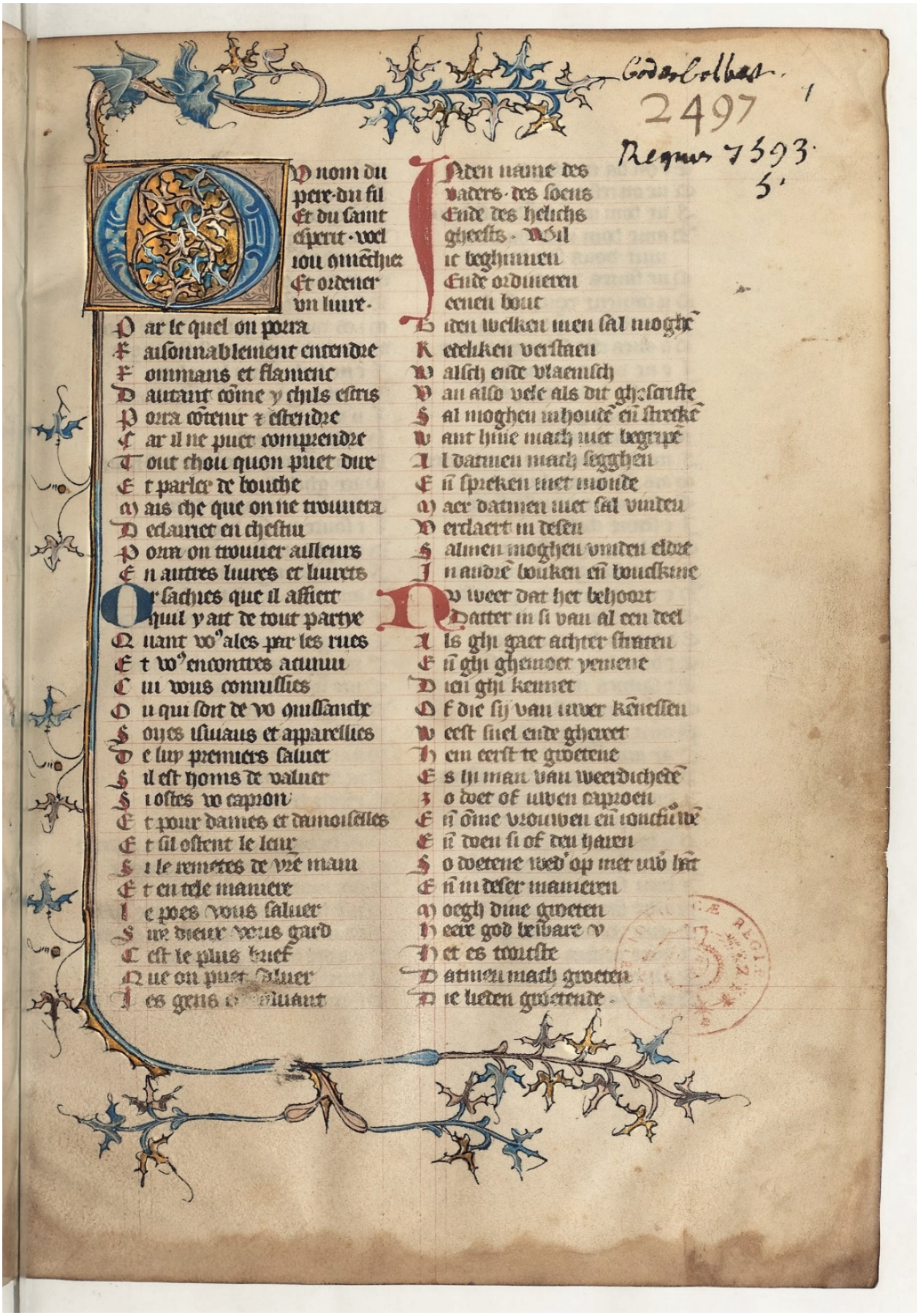

Figure 9. Beautifully decorated opening folio of the Paris *Livre des mestiers* (Paris, BnF, ms. néerl. 16, fol. 1r). Source: BnF.

a lexical and syntactical level. Such exercises, in turn, are aided by the parallel column structure, as it eases comparison between both texts on a line-by-line basis.[370]

A second formal aspect of the *Livre*'s structure that plays into its functionality as a students' manual is the alphabetical composition in the second part of the work. All the artisans listed by names given to them in the first part of the book (e.g., the aforementioned Silvester the swineherd) are ordered alphabetically by their first name. This aspect grants a structural framework that adds a sense of enjoyment and liveliness to what may otherwise have been a dry summary of terms and standard phrases. Moreover, the alphabetization serves as a mnemonic tool. Memorization was a core element of medieval education and students were taught a variety of tools and tricks to improve their memory and ability to learn entire texts by heart.[371] In the *Livre*, the alphabetical structure helps readers remember and connect different blocks of information. Humour also plays an important role here, as it is not the learned words and terms that are alphabetically ordered, but instead the fictitious figures whose jobs associate them with these terms. In several instances, these figures are described in a comic manner, or find themselves in comical situations. One example is Karl the beer brewer, who is said to make so much beer that he is unable to sell all of it, which has led to his beer having the reputation of tasting horrible. As a result, Karl is forced to drink most of the beer himself and feed what is left to the pigs. These type of descriptions make it easier for one to remember the figures in the work and consequently the terms associated with them.[372] Combined with the parallel structure, this aspect makes the *Livre* an excellent example of a medieval language manual, and the utility of its pedagogic principles are demonstrated by their ongoing use today.

There is, then, a third aspect associated with the parallel presentation of this bilingual text, which whilst useful in an educational context could perhaps point to the *Livre*'s use in another potential context. This aspect is the ease and rapidity with which users of the *Livre* were able to consult information in either French or Dutch with the manual in hand. One advantage of parallel texts that follow each text line-by-line have over alternating presentations is that the reader is not forced to search for the necessary information in a block of text, but instead can quickly identify precisely the word or sentence that he or she is in need of during a specific communicative event. This need to quickly find the word one is looking for is less immediate in a classroom setting, nor is it required for the translation exercises for which the text may have been used. It is, however, easy to imagine that such a need would exist in some of the adult trade situations for which the *Livre* prepares its readers. This observation brings to the fore the question of whether the *Livre* may have also been intended for use by merchants.

While there is rich potential for these scenarios, no evidence exists that the *Livre* was ever used by adults. What arguments we do have to support this theory are thus suggestive in their nature. They are, however, compelling. For example, among the English language manuals listed above are a number that were used by adult traders, merchants, tourists and businessmen.[373] For these adult readers, the *Livre* may have functioned less as a gateway to the French or Dutch language and more as a means to extend their vocabulary, which in turn could increase their ability as

[370] Cf. Sumillera 2014: 68.
[371] See Post 1954: 141, Van Buuren 1995: 231 and Riché 2016. On memorization techniques in Dutch literature, see Van Gijsen 2019.
[372] On the connection between humour, education and information retention, see Banas *et al.* 2011. For humour in the *Livre*, see also Rheinfelder 1937: 185.
[373] See Rothwell 1968 & 2001.

merchants and traders to connect, bond and negotiate with colleagues and clients.[374] For them, then, parallel structure would align more with the way modern travel guides serve to offer the reader ready-to-use practical sentences and words rather than full access to the host language.[375]

Another adult group that may have made use of the *Livre* is pilgrims, whose travels across Europe and beyond were likely aided by some knowledge of French. Interesting, then, is one of the later elements of the *Livre*. Following the alphabetical list of artisans is a text that appears to be travel descriptions for pilgrims on how to journey to the Holy Land, Rome and Aachen, as well as to various churches in France.[376] This description begins with the author-narrator describing himself in the first person as someone who has travelled a long distance, whilst addressing readers as 'Tres boine gent/Harde goede lieden' (fol. 23r: very good people) and further down as 'signeurs/ghi heeren' (fol. 24r: gentlemen). The inclusion of this address can be juxtaposed against the address used further down the same folio to signal the closing remarks, which reads 'Chiers enfans/lieve kindren' (fol. 24r: dear children). Perhaps what these addresses signal is that this travel description was not aimed at children like the rest of the book, but for adult pilgrims. Further indirect evidence to support this suggestion is found in the The Hague manuscript containing a derivative of the *Livre*. Here, the language manual features alongside several texts associated with indulgences through pilgrimages.[377] In this context, the *Livre* would function more like a modern day travel guide, with the added bonus that the alphabetical structure of the work aids the user's memorization, turning the list of crafts into an index of sorts.

My analysis of the *Livre* and its multilingual presentation shows two themes that resurface in the sections that follow. Firstly, that the choice of a specific presentation of a parallel text, like the choice of presentation of any form of textual multilingualism, was not dictated by happenstance, but instead informed by the function of the text and the context in which the manuscript holding it was used. The parallel structure of the *Livre* grants its user the ability to quickly and easily compare Dutch and French words or sentences, and to move between the two as an educational exercise. Secondly, it demonstrates that a single compositional layout can be used differently in different user contexts. What is perhaps most important about this second conclusion is that it means we must be wary of simplifying the multilingual presentation of parallel texts and instead consider the ways this presentation may influence a text's possible functions.

6.3 REVALUATING PARALLEL TEXT IN THE *LEERE VAN HOVESCHEDE*

As an educational work, the *Livre* places emphasis on the acquisition of an extensive vocabulary in a secondary language. Other educational works from the Middle Ages, even those designed to teach secondary languages like Latin, focus less on teaching correct grammar or linguistic proficiency and

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374 See Sumillera 2014: 73. This social functionality of language manuals was also forwarded by Thomas Hinton (see n. 349).

375 Cf. Biemans 1999: 71, who has also argued that language manuals may have been used by merchants and travellers as a guide book filled with useful terms and information.

376 This passage is somewhat reminiscent of text 69 of the Geraardsbergen codex, where a list of pilgrim locations including Aachen and Cologne ends with directions to Geraardsbergen. See Chapter 4, p. 80.

377 For the manuscript's content, see https://bnm-i.huygens.knaw.nl/tekstdragers/TDRA000000008348.

more on instilling in its readers morals, ethics and values.[378] Another French-Dutch language manual using a parallel text presentation, but which is considerably different from the *Livre* in a number of respects, appears to share this same goal, as evidenced by its very name: the *Leere van hoveschede* (Treatise on courtliness).

As the title suggests, the *Leere* intends to teach its readers how to behave in a courtly manner. Whereas 'courtly' in this context includes a wide range of moral and ethical virtues, not all of which apply directly or exclusively to an aristocratic milieu, most of the lessons do seem to centre around core elements of courtliness (Dutch: *hoofsheid*), such as social awareness, self-restraint and moderation, all of which were associated with aristocratic social values.[379] Before turning to the text and its languages, I first discuss the material transmission of the *Leere*.

The text is transmitted in three manuscripts, all of which are incomplete: Brussels, KBR, MS 21362; Leiden, UB, MS Ltk. 326; and Oxford, BL, MS Can. Misc. 278. All three of these manuscripts are situated in the fifteenth century in Flanders and as such demonstrate the interest in (and need for) this bilingual type of work in the region. Two of these manuscripts (Brussels and Leiden) are fragmentary, whilst the third manuscript (Oxford) is much larger and, whilst also lacking at least one quire at its end, represents a more complete version of the text. The two fragmented manuscripts closely correspond with the text in the Oxford manuscript, showing nearly identical sentences with minimal deviation in terms of word choice or sentence structure. The Leiden manuscript is a small fragment of a single folio which coincides with fols 130v-132v of the Oxford version and details how to start the day with a prayer.[380] The Brussels copy contains instructions on how to serve fruit at the table, and correlates with fols 147v-149v of the Oxford manuscript.[381] This Oxford manuscript is a composite manuscript comprising four codicological units bound together at a later date, of which the *Leere* is the last (fols 129-176).[382] Written around 1470, it contains 48 parchment folios written by a single scribe in a Burgundian cursive.[383]

Our understanding of the content of the *Leere* is largely informed by the Oxford manuscript, where it consists of three parts. The first part is a traditional conversation manual made up of prayers, mock conversations and instructions (fols 129r-154r). Influence from the *Livre* seems likely; it also includes, for example, a list of fish and meats (fols 140v-141r) which resembles the various lists of crafted objects and products in the *Livre*. Another comparable example is that of a young person haggling for lower prices on the market (*Leere*: fols 143r-144; *Livre*: fols 6v-7r). In terms of its content, this part of the *Leere* is also similar to contemporary texts on courtly behaviour. For example, the dinner instructions that also feature in the Brussels fragment, highlighting in detail

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378 Due to their emphasis on moral instruction, the traditional canon of medieval school texts, which included, for example, the *Disticha Catonis*, *Ecloga Theoduli* and the fables of Aesop, was known as the *auctores octo morales*. See Ruhe 1968, Hunt 1991, Orme 1999 and Baldzuhn 2006. On the use of Dutch translations of these works in education, see Meder 1992: 322 and Van Buuren 1995: 230. Cf. Resoort 1989: 91 for the educational use of these Dutch texts in later printed books.

379 Jaeger 1985 and Gerritsen 2001.

380 Ed. Ribbius 1947.

381 Ed. Stallaert 1855.

382 For a codicological description of this manuscript, see Mertens 1978: 43-53. On the later ownership of the four manuscripts as a collection, see Kienhorst 1999 and Mitchell 1969.

383 The Oxford manuscript has two sets of foliation: one added at the bottom centre of each recto believed to have been added by its eighteenth-century owner, and another on the top recto corner which was probably added by the nineteenth-century bibliographer of the Bodleian Library, H.O. Coxe (See Mertens 1978: 44-45). Reference to the *Leere* will be to the edition of this Oxford manuscript (ed. De Vreese 1933) which follows the older foliation.

how to serve food as well as how to behave when eating, bear strong resemblances to several French and English lessons in courtliness.[384]

Part one also gives us a first impression of the intended audience of the work, since these instructions, whilst useful for people of all ages, are particularly well-tuned to children. Like in the *Livre*, children are directly referenced as readers or audience members at the beginning of the work (fol. 130r). The instructions in the *Leere* do not point to a readership of future merchants and traders, however, but rather to servants. Whereas the *Livre*'s primary concern is to prepare urban middle class children for a profession in trade and commerce, the *Leere* functions as a manual for children in a support function so that they may succeed in their abilities to serve their (future) employers. Emphasis lies much less on teaching vocabulary or the names of a large variety of trade goods, but on social aspects that are associated with the everyday activities of servants. It is probable that the social (upper class) context of these activities made knowledge of French desirable. Children are taught how to courteously greet guests, how to care for their employer's horse, how to politely deliver a message to someone on their behalf and what to do when the person the message is meant for is unavailable.

Among these tasks were also those concerned with their employer's finances. Examples of instructions and lessons from the first part show that future servants were expected to responsibly handle the money and finances of their lords. On fols 143v-145r, the instructor takes great care to explain how to discuss the price of wares, how to actually pay for said wares and lastly how to inform your employer exactly how much money you spent. Furthermore, these servants were expected to keep track of household expenditures, made evident by the last instruction of the first section where the servant is told to keep track of the costs for an overnight stay in an inn for both him or herself and his or her master (fol. 154r). In line with these instructions and needs, we can also understand the place of the second part of the *Leere* in the longer work. It counts only three pages and consists of a list of cardinal numerals (fols 154r-155v). The list is identical to a summary of numbers found in the Hague manuscript described at the start of this chapter (there on fols 128v-134r), though there are many other examples with minor deviations found in several other merchant manuals (Dutch: *rekenboeken*).[385] The transition between the first and second parts is seamless (*Fig. 10*).

The third and final part of the *Leere* consists of a thirteenth-century French translation of the Latin *Disticha Catonis* by Adam de Suel, of which a selection has been translated into Dutch (fols 155v-176v).[386] The *Disticha Catonis* was commonly used during the Middle Ages to teach writing and reading.[387] Its name is derived from the form of the text, which consists of two-line hexameters (*disticha*, distichs), and its author, originally thought to have been the Roman writer and

[384] See, for example, Sponsler 2001 and Kosta-Théfaine 2004, and the further references made in these works. Cf. Mitchell 2014: 347.
[385] For various examples of medieval manuscripts and incunabulae containing Dutch number lists, see Jansen-Sieben 1989: 157-158.
[386] This was but one of the French *Cato* translations. For instance, the unit of Oxford, BL, MS Can. Misc. 278 contains a French translation of the *Cato* made by Jehan le Fevre. On Adam de Suel and the work's other translators, see Ruhe 1968. An edition of Suel's translation can be found in Ulrich 1904 which, as pointed out by Boas 1935, is far from perfect but, alas, remains the only edition of the text.
[387] The vernacular translations of the work probably served a similar function in the education of laymen. See Van Buuren 1994b: 84-85 and 1998: 21-25. Cf. Meder 1992 and 1994 for a comparable use of the Dutch *Boec van Seden*, a translation of the *Facetus* which itself was an appendix to the *Disticha*. Furthermore, see Henkel 1988 on the use of the *Facetus* and its translation in medieval education.

politician Marcus Porcius Cato or Cato Censorius (234-149 BCE).[388] The Latin text consisted of four books which totalled 144 *distichae*, compiled without any clear order or thematic clustering. The work originally contained a prologue known as the *Epistola* or *Prologus*, which functioned as a letter addressed by the author to his son, for whom the work was intended.
During the medieval period, this prologue was understood to relate to the first book alone, resulting in later authors adding three more prologues to the remaining books (the so called *Praefationes*). Medieval writers also added commentaries, such as the *Preambula in Catonem* by Remigius of Auxerre (c. 841-908), which, as shown by Richard Hazelton, were instrumental to the cultural transfer of the classical Cato text into medieval Christian education.[389] As a result, the medieval *Disticha* was an amalgamation of classical and medieval voices. Translators like Adam de Suel actively played around with this *Disticha* compilation, excluding lessons that were of little use to their specific audience and including aspects from their own time and culture.[390] An interesting example of this can be found in Suel's translation in the Oxford *Leere*, where an addition made by Suel is actually made visible to modern readers through a scribal error:

Je te commande que	Ic beuele dij dat	I command you
Tu ne le croies	Du niet en gheloofs	Not to believe it
Car ce nest pas	Want te nes niet	For it is not
Tout euangille	Al evangille	All gospel
Ce quon chante	Dat men zincht	That the people sing
Avant la ville	*Achter* de stede (fol. 173v)	*Before/Behind* the city.

'Avant' (before) and 'Achter' (behind) are polar opposites, and as such seeing them presented as translations of one another is intriguing to say the least. The passage itself is a translation of *Disticha* II.20: 'Nolito quaedam referenti credere saepe: exigua est tribuenda fides, qui multa loquuntur' (Do not believe things that are often referred to: little faith should be given to those who speak a lot).[391] Suel, however, did not offer a faithful translation of this Latin, but instead replaced the final part of the *disticha* with a French proverb, in which we find not 'avant la ville' but 'aval la ville': 'Car il n'est pas tout evangile, quanque l'en *aval* la ville'.[392] Thus, the scribe erroneously replaced 'aval' with 'avant', but stuck to the original translation, resulting in an incorrect presentation.[393]

Focusing briefly on this scribe, we must conclude that the text in the Oxford manuscript suffered from his many errors. Despite his expert script, the scribe was prone to copy sloppily, hastily and, as a result, inconsistently and inaccurately. Throughout the text, he uses 'et' instead of 'ende' in the Dutch columns – perhaps an indicator that his native language was some form of French. On fol. 153a, he accidentally wrote a Dutch word in the French sentence ('crebbe', manger)

[388] See Van Buuren 1998: 12. On the *Disticha* and its Dutch translations and adaptations, see Van Buuren 1994a. Studies on *Disticha* traditions in other languages include Ruhe 1968 (French), Treharne 2003 and Mann 2006 (English), and Baldzuhn 2009 (German).
[389] Hazelton 1957.
[390] Van Buuren 1994b: 74-78 explains that this adaptive mode of translation is also present in most Dutch translations and adaptations of the *Disticha*.
[391] Edition: Duff & Duff 1934. Translations are my own.
[392] See Boas 1935: 41-42.
[393] Though it is also possible this error was already present in the scribe's exemplar, in which case he failed to correct it in his own transcription.

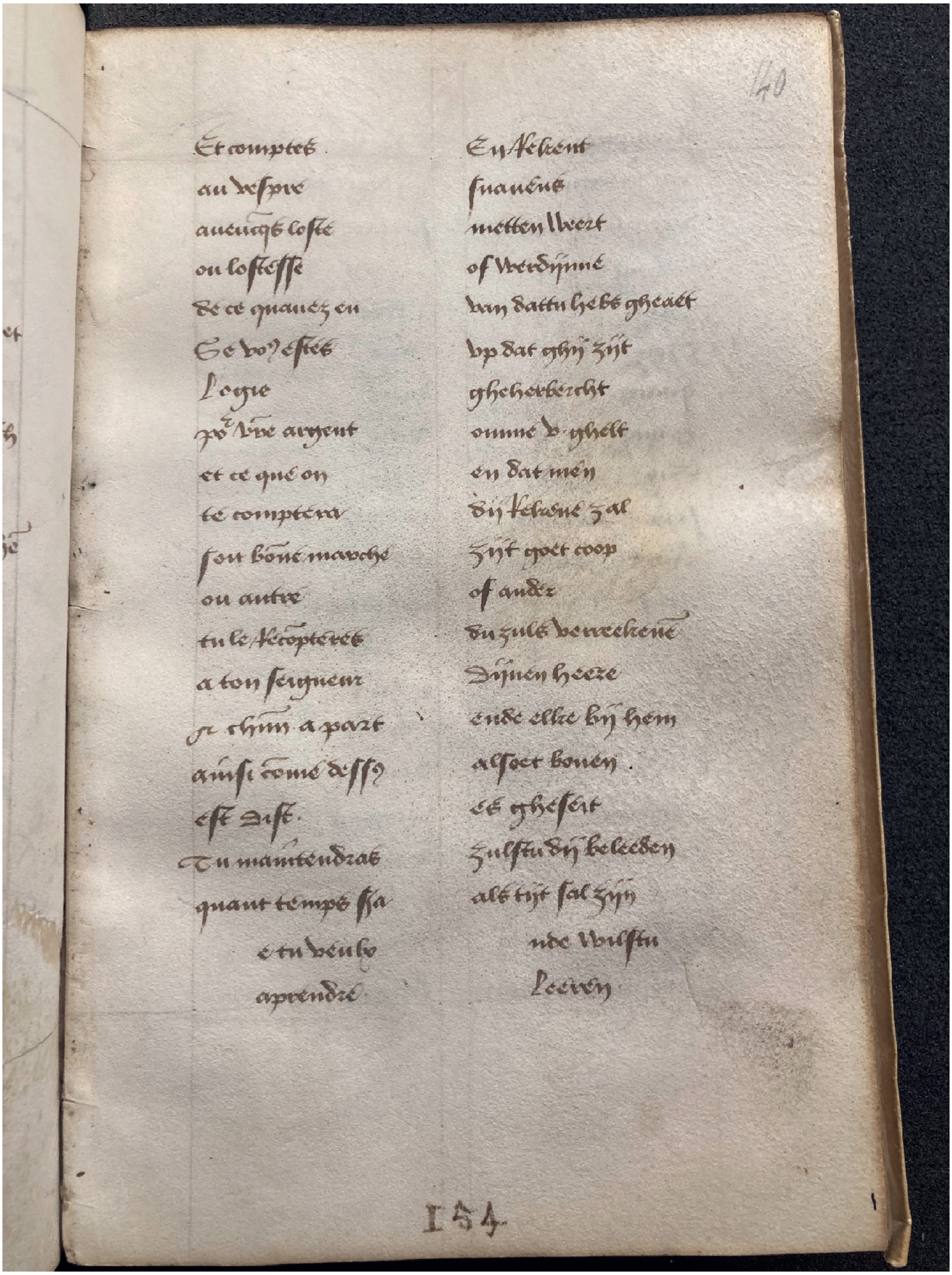

Figure 10. First two lines of the numeral summary in the Oxford *Leere*, with empty space for missing rubricated initials (Oxford, BL, MS Can. Misc. 278, fol. 154r). Source: Jelmar Hugen.

and on fol. 174r he mistakenly wrote nearly the entire Dutch sentence in the French column.[394] On fol. 158v an entire French line is missing whilst the Dutch translation is present, and conversely on fol. 168r only the French sentence is complete whereas the Dutch line is missing a word. Errors such as these put the direct functionality of the text as a didactic language manual into question. Other elements of the text's presentation are also important in this respect. The manuscript lacks any form of rubrication and still contains empty spaces destined for initials, suggesting the manuscript was never actually completed.[395] Furthermore, the text itself contains no reader instructions, mnemotechnical assets or visual aids that communicate to the reader the borders of each *disticha*. These factors all complicate our reading of the Oxford *Leere*, though may not have had a direct impact in the overall composition of the work or which elements from Suel's translation were included.

Return to Suel, although he added elements of his own and often elaborated on the original explanations of the Latin *distichae*, he simultaneously took great care to produce a complete translation of Cato's *Disticha*, copying in full not just the four books but also the complete *Epistola* and elements from Remigius' *Preambula*. This cannot be said of the maker of the Oxford *Leere*, who only included an excerpt of Suel's translation in his text. *Table 3* shows which *distichae* and lessons from the *Epistola* were included alongside the *Preambula* at the start of the text.

Table 3.* Adam de Suel's *Disticha* in the Oxford *Leere

Books	**Fols**	**Elements & *distichae***
Preambula	155v-159r	-
Epistola	159r-167r	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34a, 34b, 35, 36, 37a, 38a, 37b, 38b, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 52, 49, 50, 51, 45.
Transition	167r-167v	-
Book I	167v-172r	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, 21, 25 (1st half only),[396] 24 (2nd half only), 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 40
Book II	172r-174v	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 13, 17, 20, 23, 25, 30
Book III	174v-176v	1,[397] 2, 10, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 24[398]
Book IV	176v	1,[399] 7

A quick glance at this table shows us two things: first, that in general the order of the *distichae* is consistent with that of other versions of Suel's translation and the Latin *Disticha*; and second, that while the *Epistola* is nearly completely included, various *distichae* from the books themselves were excluded – though the fragmented state of book IV does influence this view somewhat. These

394 It appears he discovered his error towards the end of the sentence, as the final Dutch word ('baernd') is only found in the Dutch column.
395 Cf. Besamusca 2017: 28.
396 In his translation, Suel translated I.26 before I.25, which Ulrich did not take note of in his edition. As a result, I.25 as found in the Oxford *Leere* corresponds with I.26 in Ulrich's edition.
397 The reference to III.1 here is in relation to Ulrich's edition. In actuality, as pointed out by Boas (1935: 16 n. 2), this *disticha* is not III.1 but instead a partial rephrasing of the third comment in the *Praefatio* to the third book. The actual III.1 is not included in the Oxford *Leere*.
398 Erroneously presented as III.23 in Ulrich's edition.
399 In Ulrich's edition this *disticha* is considered as the final lines of the prologue to the book (ll. 615-618).

observations suggest that whoever was responsible for the *Leere* in the Oxford manuscript had access to a complete version of Suel's translation, but deliberately included some elements and excluded others. According to the editor of the text, Willem de Vreese, the Oxford *Leere* is an autograph, meaning that this person responsible for the work was both the scribe and translator of Suel's work.[400] De Vreese offers no actual direct arguments to support this claim and based on the aforementioned scribal errors in the 'aval'/'achter' sentence, as well as the very existence of the Brussels and Leiden fragments of the *Leere* of which the latter is certainly produced before the Oxford manuscript, it is more likely that the scribe was not also responsible for the translation.

Pinning down the translation techniques and principles that guided this selection process is, however, difficult. The *Disticha* touches on a wealth of moral and ethical topics, often explained through examples applied to different social groups. As a result, there is much overlap of themes and lessons in all three books, and even the later additions. Accordingly, a reader may wonder why one *disticha* is excluded only for another with a similar message to be included. This is the case, for instance, when we consider the missing lessons from the *Epistola*, of which there are only three: no. 26 ('Libros lege', read books), 27 ('Quae legeris memento', remember what you read) and 32 ('In iudicio adesto', Be present/helpful in the room of law). *Distichae* 26 and 27 both deal with reading and thus we can theorize this common element was the reason for their exclusion. However, *Disticha* 18 from Book III is included and covers exactly the same topics and lessons (fol. 176r). More importantly, *Disticha* III.18 is one of only nine *distichae* included from the 24 found in Book III, which suggests its inclusion was no coincidence.

Nevertheless, when we look at both the included and excluded elements from Suel's translation, a good case can be made that the primary goal of this selection process was to include lessons that were beneficial to young children and to exclude those that were not. The *distichae* that were included seem to focus heavily on social etiquette, modesty and self-control.[401] This focus can mean either that the children reading the text were themselves from the social elite layers of society, or conversely that they were of a (slightly) lower social class and in need of courtly instructions. Meanwhile, if we take a look at the *distichae* excluded from Book III as an example, many of these lessons are concerned with judicial contexts (III.3 and III.16), the struggles of (married) adults (III.9, III.20 and III.23), and property and wealth (III.11 and III.21). On the contrary, one *disticha* that has been included specifically refers to servants (III.10) and puts them in a positive light as bringers of good advice despite their social standing.

Adding this interpretation of selected elements in the translation of Suel's *Disticha* to the lessons in the Oxford manuscript's first part and the list of numerals in the second part, we may conclude that all three point to the use of the *Leere* as an educational work for children working or destined to work as servants in an upper class environment.[402] As in the *Livre*, the parallel text multilingual presentation facilitates this use, allowing quick and effortless comparison between the

[400] De Vreese 1933: 88. This claim is, however, debatable and in my eyes untenable, since De Vreese offers no actual direct arguments to support his claim, nor does he explain the coexistence of the Oxford *Leere* and the Brussels and Leiden fragments, the latter of which is certainly produced before the Oxford manuscript. The aforementioned scribal error in the 'aval'/'achter' translation on fol. 173v rather suggests the scribe was not responsible for the translation.
[401] Examples are plentiful, and include: on social etiquette, I.3, I.4, I.9, I.15, I.30, II.1, II.7 and III.19; on modesty, I.21, I.24, I.29, II.6, II.17 and III.1; and on self-control I.7, I.25, I.36, II.13 and III.14.
[402] Cf. Schoenaers 2021: 114.

French and Dutch text in both directions. It is therefore possible the *Leere* functioned just like the *Livre*: as a study book used by children to move between French and Dutch.

There are, however, also aspects of the Oxford *Leere* in particular that may suggest that this book did not function as a language manual primarily or exclusively. As described above, the scribe made many errors, which would have made the actual use of the *Leere* as a language manual less than ideal, and structurally lacks any interpretive and reading aids. Accordingly, traversing through its at times complex sentences is arguably much more difficult to do than in a language manual like the *Livre*, and these constraints would negatively affect use of the Oxford *Leere* in a similar way. Moreover, they lead one to question if Oxford manuscript was, indeed, a poor language manual but a language manual nonetheless, or if instead this *Leere* may have served a slightly different function. Considering the content of the manuscript, I believe this may have been the case.

The *Leere* can be used to teach morals and manners in combination with certain instructions specifically adapted to the tasks of servants. Some of these instructions we can imagine would be beneficial to know in both French and Dutch, for instance haggling at the market or welcoming someone at the dining table, but we can also wonder if this was truly necessary and expected of children in medieval Flanders. Conversely, I argue, some of the instructions and especially the *Distichae* in the text's third part would not be used to practice aloud or use in dialogues, but rather lessons that one internalizes in order to become a better servant or a gentile member of the courtly household. For these cases, there was no real need for servants to know these lessons in both French and Dutch. This brings to the fore an important observation: whereas readers of the *Livre* were required to read *both* the French and Dutch columns in order to acquire the necessary vocabulary of the target (i.e., new) language, a monolingual reader of the *Leere* could read *either* the French or Dutch column and still absorb most if not all of the useful information the text had to offer and be able to perform the instructions the book teaches him or her.

The aforementioned different ways that these two works seem likely to be read, and the distinct types of information conveyed in them brings me to a proposition which I present alongside, not instead of, our traditional understanding of the *Leere*. That is, the *Leere* was most likely intended as a language manual, but could also have functioned as an instruction manual presented in two languages. Whereas the *Livre* opens with a prologue that specifically informs us about its intended use as a language book to teach French or Dutch, no such reference is found in the *Leere*: the prologue only specifies that the work is intended to teach courtly speech and behaviour (fol. 130v). The strong emphasis on practical implementation and moral instruction meant the *Leere* could have functioned as a standard manual and book of ethics for servants who either already had a vast command of both French and Dutch, or only needed to (or were able to) speak one of these languages in their everyday responsibilities. With these users in mind, the parallel structure of the *Leere* correlates much more with modern instruction manuals, where identical instructions are presented alongside translations in a large number of languages.[403] The intention here is not for the reader to compare all these different versions, but to maximize the

[403] Alternatively, we may think of modern edition-translations of medieval works, in which one page presents the medieval text and the facing page a modern translation. Some readers may be interested solely in the medieval text and in no need of a modern translation, whilst others will only read the modern translation so that they may enjoy the content of a story rather than the complexities and aesthetics of its original language.

audience that could make use of the text's instructions which, in multilingual Flanders, could have been both Dutch-speaking and French-speaking servants.[404]

Like the *Livre*, the multilingual presentation of the *Leere* may be interpretated in two different ways, each of which points to a slightly different audience and user context. As a language manual, the text targeted monolingual children to prepare them for work as servants in multilingual settings that required both a mastery of French and Dutch, and an understanding of the social codes and behaviour associated with these settings. Like in the *Livre*, the facing column structure allowed these children to compare French and Dutch sentences word-for-word and to translate them as a linguistic exercise. Alternatively, the emphasis on the actual instructions rather than the languages in which they were written could mean the book was used as an instruction manual that through its parallel structure granted access to its content to French or Dutch readers, both of whom no doubt could be found in the multilingual region of medieval Flanders.

As stated, presenting the same text side-by-side is the most commonly used form of multilingual presentation found in manuscripts with parallel texts. It is, however, not the only presentation that scribes or translators could decide upon for their text. Choosing to structure one's text in an alternating layout brought with it its own limitations, as well as benefits and stylistic opportunities. Evidence of this is demonstrated in the final case study of this chapter.

6.4 A dialogue within a dialogue: Jan Bukelare's translation of Maerlant's *Martijns*

The *Leere* manuscript is not the only part of the Oxford codex that is worthy of research on parallel texts containing medieval Dutch. The first literary component in this codex, the second codicological unit following the notations found at the beginning of the codex, originates c. 1480 in Flanders and holds two texts.[405] The first of these texts comprises the bulk of the booklet (fols 17-94), and consists of three *Martijn* poems by the Flemish poet Jacob van Maerlant interwoven with a Latin translation by Jan Bukelare, a priest from Bruges who likely translated the text near the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Fig. 11*).[406] The second text is a Latin 'cisioianus' text, a mnemotechnical calendar for saint's days, and only fills one folio (fol. 95).[407] The final folio is left empty. These *Martijn* translations are among the most

[404] It is possible we see something similar happen with the works of the sixteenth-century Brabantian poet Jan van der Noot, who wrote in both Dutch and French; in some cases the Dutch and French versions of his text were published alongside each other. Adrian Armstrong (2020a) notes that this decision allows Van der Noot to promote his skills as a translator but also to maximize his potential audience, meaning the parallel texts in his bilingual printed editions were not meant expressly for language acquisition or translation (although they could arguably be used in such a way) but to reach two linguistically distinct markets with only one product.

[405] For a full codicological description of the codex, see note 382.

[406] Bukelare's place of work is based on the incipit to the text found in the Oxford manuscript (fol. 17r): 'Incipit Wapene Martin teuthonice translatus latine a Iohanne Bukelare, editus Sluse, obnoxius rogante magistros ut, si quid hoc opusculo deviaverit vel minus bene ordinaverit, sibi benigniter sit indultum'. 'Sluse' refers to Sluis, an outer harbour of Bruges on the Zwin estuary (see Serrure 1855: 119-120). His profession as a priest is mentioned in the explicit of the Mons manuscript (Mons, Archives municipals, MS 462, fols 238r-250r). On dating the Latin translation, see Haye 2010: 434.

[407] On the 'cisioianus' see, for instance, Jansen-Sieben 1993.

extraordinary instances of Latin adaptations of Dutch works, and are particularly interesting from a translational and multilingual perspective.

Whereas the *Livre* was a self-contained text and the *Leere* took inspiration from various different texts, Bukelare translated one single work that survives as a separate textual entity in a number of sources. The *Martijns* is the collective name of three stanzaic dialogues on ethical and theological subjects between the eponymous Martijn and a character called Jacob, believed to represent the poet Jacob van Maerlant.[408] The first of these *Martijns*, known as the *Wapene Martijn* (Alas, Martijn) – which is also used occasionally to refer to the collection of *Martijn* poems as a whole, as is the case in the Oxford manuscript – consists of 75 strophes (975 ll.) and is the longest of the three. In a question-and-answer game between two equal speakers, Jacob and Martijn discuss ten issues concerning a wide range of topics, beginning with the poor and corrupt state of the world.[409] The *Second Martijn*, known also as *De anderen merten*, consists of only 26 strophes (338 ll.) and is the shortest of the three. It deals with a single question revolving around a hypothetical dilemma of who one should save in a perilous situation: a woman you love dearly but who has no feelings for you, or a woman you are indifferent to but who is love in with you. The *Third Martijn* is known as *Van der Drievoudecheide* (About the Trinity), counts 39 strophes (507 ll.) and as the title suggests consists of a dialogue about the nature of the Trinity.[410] At this point, Martijn's role as an expert on religious topics has been taken over by Jacob, who largely dominates the *Third Martijn* and acts as Martijn's teacher. In total, these *Martijns*, more often than not as a group of three, are transmitted in seventeen manuscripts and two printed editions, and have spawned imitations such as Jan de Weert's *Wapene Rogier*, the anonymous *Vierde Martijn* and Jan van Boendale's *Jans Teesteye*.[411]

This extensive transmission makes it one of the most popular of Maerlant's works and of the entire medieval Dutch literary tradition. This popularity undoubtedly also played a part in Bukelare's decision to translate this text written in Dutch into Latin, which rarely happened.[412] It may have also played a part in the decision to present Maerlant's Dutch text before Bukelare's Latin translation in the Oxford manuscript, despite Latin being the more authoritative language. Although here the chronological order in which the texts were produced could also have been the deciding factor, especially when we consider both the *Livre* and *Leere* started with the French text, which we think were also most likely written before the Dutch translations. Either way, the decision by Bukelare to translate a Dutch work into Latin and the choice to structurally present this Dutch work in front of its Latin translation by the compiler of the Oxford manuscript both

[408] The term 'dialogue' is given by Maerlant himself in the *First Martijn* poem (I.3) and has led to much research on the relationship between Maerlant's dialogues and the learned disputations from educational institutes (see Axters 1943, Berendrecht 1990 and Kinable 2008). Studies on the *Martijns* themselves include Reynaert 1996 and Warnar 2020. References to the *Martijns* are to the Verdam & Leendertz 1918 edition.

[409] For a summary, see Reynaert 1996: 186-188.

[410] Maerlant's authorship of another *Martijn*, *De Verkeerde Martijn* (Martijn in Reverse), written as a parody of the *First Martijn*, is uncertain. See Van Oostrom 1996: 79.

[411] On the manuscripts of the *Martijns*, see Gruijs & Mertens 1975, Mertens 1978, Pleij 1986, Overgaauw 1996, Bosmans & Sleiderink 2019, Sleiderink, Moors & De Schepper 2020 and Moors (forthcoming). On the printed editions, see Armstrong 2020b: 305. Cf. Besamusca (forthcoming), which lists several booklists that reference the *Wapene Martijn*.

[412] On Latin translations of vernacular works, see Grant 1954. A list of medieval Dutch works translated into Latin is presented in Wackers 1996: 27-29 and Geirnaert 2008: 55-56.

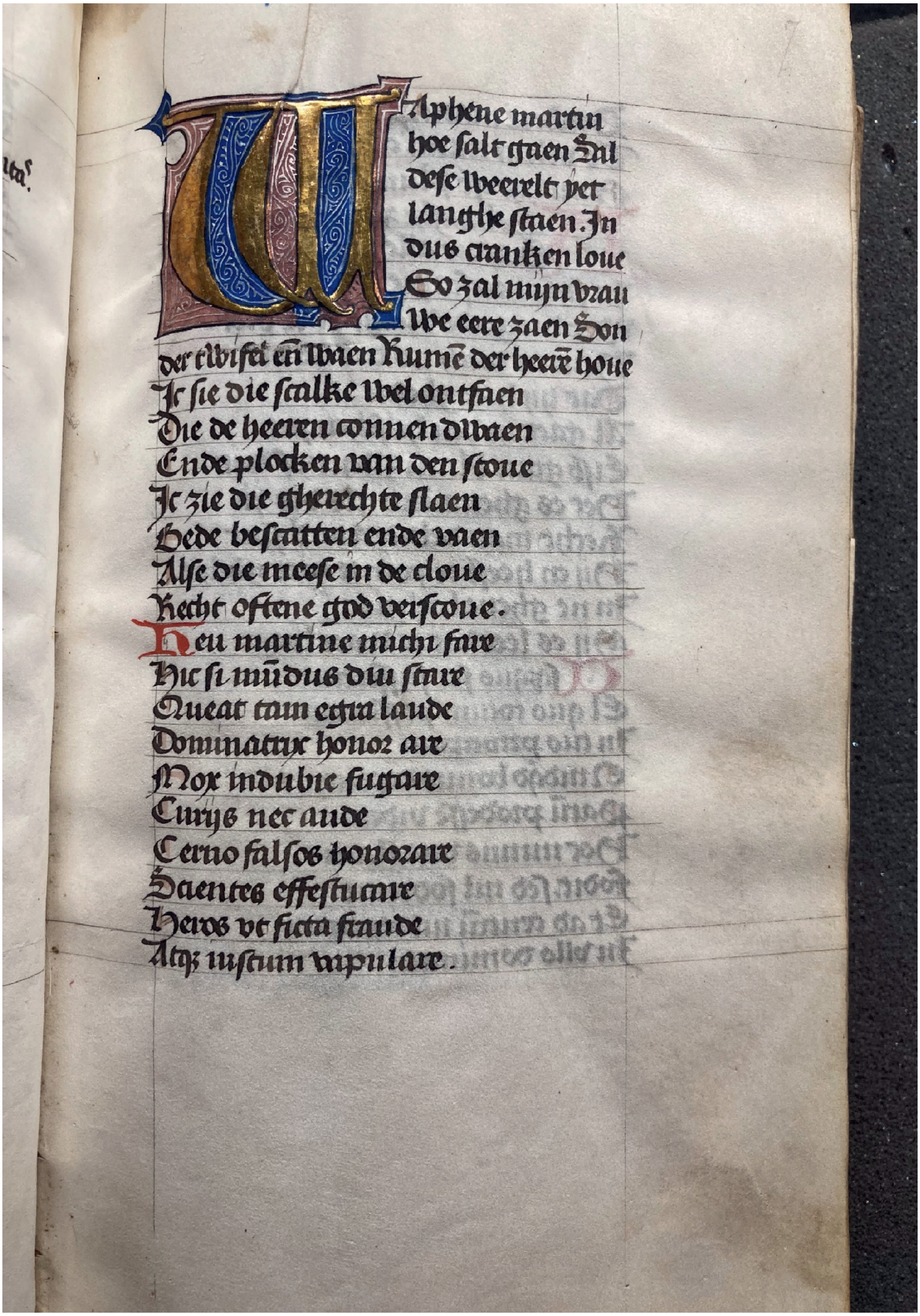

Figure 11. The opening lines of the *First Martijn* in the Oxford manuscript (Oxford, BL, MS Can. Misc. 278, fol. 19r). Source: Jelmar Hugen.

speak to the value that was afforded to Dutch as a literary and learned language by these individuals.

Interestingly, however, the translation by Bukelare itself is also found in one other manuscript where it features without the Dutch *Martijns*. This manuscript, now Mons, Archives municipales, MS 462 (formerly Bibliothèque Centrale, Cod. 121/289), was produced in 1453 in Ghent by Johannes de Loe, a cleric of the Church of Saint James. It features several other Latin texts alongside Bukelare's translation (fols 238r-250r).[413] Around the same time, the *Martijns* were also translated into French. This *Harau Martijn*, was printed between 1477 and 1484 by the printer Johannes Brito from Bruges, and it too was presented without the Dutch original next to it.[414] In his forthcoming article on the Latin and French translations of the *Martijns*, Bart Besamusca notes that it is not a coincidence that both the French print and Bukelare's translation originate from Bruges, Maerlant's home city where he enjoyed much popularity throughout the later Middle Ages.

Interpreters of Bukelare's translation have suggested that the Mons manuscript presents a better version of the text than does the Oxford manuscript, primarily due to omissions found in the latter.[415] This stance is, however, debatable. A more thorough look at the Mons manuscript does show, though, that its version of Bukelare's translation also contains questionable elements and worrying scribal errors.[416] A more detailed comparison of both versions would thus most certainly present interesting findings to help clarify the precise relationship between the two versions and, perhaps, the lost original. Such a comparison may also shed light on one important feature of the text that differs between the two versions, namely the inclusion or exclusion of the Dutch *Martijns*. In one line of reasoning, the translation was originally intended as a separate Latin version of the text and later combined with the Dutch *Martijns*. Another possibility is that the translation may have been intended to have been part of a bilingual copy of the *Martijns*, after which, at least once, in the Mons manuscript, someone decided to present the Latin translation separately. Both of these options offer their own questions concerning the use of the text and the relationship between the translation and the Dutch source texts.

The hypothesis I defend in the remainder of this section is that the Latin translation of Bukelare was intended to feature alongside the Dutch *Martijns* in an alternating fashion (as opposed to both a parallel text presentation and no bilingual setting at all) and, accordingly, that the presentation of the Oxford version of Bukelare's translation more closely resembles the original idea of the translator than the Mons version. As the Mons manuscript shows, Bukelare's translation could function separately as a Latin version of Maerlant's works. My estimation is that its function was just that: a gateway to a popular Dutch work by the most influential author of medieval Flanders for those who could not comprehend the language or wished for a new intellectual

413 See Mertens 1978: 10 and Derolez 2009: 95.

414 On Brito's translation, see Besamusca 2017: 15; Armstrong 2020b and Besamusca (forthcoming). The printed edition can be found under ISTC, im00013500.

415 See Derolez 2009: 95 and Haye 2010: 409. One such omission, however, is incorrectly stated: Derolez (2009: 97) notes that the final prologue is missing in the Oxford manuscript, but it can in fact be found on fol. 18v.

416 For instance, the seventh prologue is placed between I.1 and I.2, rather than in front of the *First Martijn*, making the heading 'Item aluid et melius' meaningless and confusing. Strophe I.9 contains a different final two lines than the Oxford manuscript, with the Oxford verses showing a more clear connection to and rhyming consistency with the preceding lines of the strophe than the Mons version. Notable among the various scribal errors are the two instances where the scribe mistakenly wrote the wrong name of the character being addressed (I.36 reads 'Martine' instead of 'Jacobum', II.7 reads 'Jacobum' instead of 'Martine').

challenge or aesthetic approach when reading an already familiar work. However, various aspects of the translation suggest Bukelare's aim was broader than this, and that he instead wished for readers to compare his translation with the original Dutch text. This theory centres around the observation that Bukelare was not a slavish translator but instead himself a poet who strived in his translation to position himself alongside Jacob van Maerlant as an author as well as alongside Jacob and Martijn as a participant of a learned dialogue, and that the alternating presentation of his Latin translation and Maerlant's Dutch strophes helps facilitate this communicative space for the two to interact and converse on a textual level.[417] To support this theory, I discuss the prologues of Bukelare's translation, some of Bukelare's additions to and omissions from Maerlant's strophes, and lastly the context of the closing sentences added by Bukelare at the end of each strophe.

First, however, it is worth noting that it is most likely that neither the Latin nor French translations of the *Martijns* were produced as language manuals (or were intended with this functionality in mind). This is most obviously the case for the French translation which, as various scholars have pointed out, contains so many errors that it is hard to imagine it would pass as an educational guide on the French language.[418] With regard to the Latin translation, as is shown below, Bukelare's text is a free translation of Maerlant's Dutch verses. Accordingly, any translational exercises between the Dutch and Latin strophes would most likely be unsuccessful. The alternating presentation of both languages also supports the idea that the scribe or text compiler was not aiming for a line-for-line translation (for which facing or parallel column structures would have been more effective). It is possible the Mons version was used by students of Latin, just like the *Martijns* may have been used in educational settings, but considering the highly complex nature of the Latin strophes, resulting from both the already complicated content of Maerlant's strophes and the demanding rhyming and metric structure of the Latin strophes, this is by no means a certainty.[419]

Determining how the translation did function (or was intended to) necessitates an analysis of the prologues of Bukelare's translations, in which the translator explains the motivations behind his effort. Preceding the translation of Maerlant's *Martijns* are seven prologues written by Bukelare in Latin. In the Mons manuscript, these prologues each have their own headings which describe the prologues as 'prohemium', whereas the Oxford version lists all prologues in direct succession preceding the start of the *First Martijn* (fols 17r-18v).[420] Another difference between the two prologue versions concerns the order of the first two prologues: the Mons version offers the supposedly correct order, whilst the Oxford version lists the second prologue before the first and additionally squeezed this first prologue into four lines as opposed to the ten used in the Mons manuscript.[421] Furthermore, the final lines of the first prologue ('Verum dictamen/ Dictare Deus iuvet! Amen'*)* are placed at the end of the third prologue. What caused this deviation is unclear, although at least one of its effects is that the Oxford version now begins immediately with Bukelare himself and his intentions as a translator (fol. 17r):

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[417] On the notion of communicative spaces in dialogues, see Womack 2011: 19.
[418] See Huet 1900: 103; Armstrong 2020b: 308 and Besamusca (forthcoming).
[419] For the suggestion that the *Martijns* may have had an educational purpose, see Van Oostrom 1996: 68-73. Cf. Warnar 2011b: 70 and Warnar (forthcoming), which point out the uses of dialogues in various forms of medieval education.
[420] An edition and translation of these prologues is presented in Derolez 2009.
[421] Cf. Haye 2010: 411-412, who argues the that presentations of the first and second prologues in both the Oxford and Mons version are incorrect and instead the two would have been two parts of a single prologue.

Me delectate scribere	It delights me to write
Martinum metro prosa	The *Martijn* freely in straightforward verse
Cum Merlandino libere	With Maerlant[422]

Bukelare emphasizes three elements in these lines. The first of these is that Bukelare intends to write a free translation, one that still covers the content of Maerlant's verses (thus his own *Martinus*) but does not follow the Dutch source to the letter. This is unusual in a broader context; as Paul Wackers notes, most translations of vernacular works try to stay close to their original source with only minor deviations. It is also noteworthy in the context of Maerlant's *Martijns*, since in the first strophe of the *Third Martijn* Maerlant very clearly states that he does not want anyone to change anything about his text.[423] Bukelare copied these verses faithfully, and added two lines of his own which read: 'Discite vel ruitis in foveam meritis' (Learn this or you will be deservedly ruined). These lines echo the sentiment expressed by Maerlant himself and communicate that Bukelare with his free translation walked a fine line between staying true to his source and reworking the text to his own liking, but he believed himself to walk this line well.[424] His free translation takes liberties but ensures the message and content of Maerlant's work remains intact. In the end, as Bukelare notes at the end of the first prologue, he wrote 'Verum dictamen' (A true translation).[425]

Secondly, this true translation was to be written in metre, i.e., in verse.[426] For Thomas Haye, who in his important article on Bukelare's rendition pays particular attention to the stylistic aspects of the text, this sentiment is essential to Bukelare's self-fashioning as more than just a translator. Rather than translate Maerlant's verses into prose, Bukelare follows the characteristic rhyming scheme of Maerlant's *Martijns* (thirteen lines with as end rhyme 'aab aab aab aabb' and four stresses in the a-rhymed and three in the b-rhymed lines), adding two lines at the end of each strophe that compliment the last two lines from a rhyming perspective ('aabb bb').[427] This emphasis on style is found both further in the second prologue, where Bukelare expresses his desire to combine *gramatica* with *rhetorica*, and in the first prologue, which specifies the rhythmic adaptation as 'Prosam metrum leoninum' (straightforward majestic verse). Importantly, by taking Maerlant's stylistic format as its basis, Bukelare elevates the literary and aesthetic function of Dutch to that of Latin, moving against the general direction where it is the Latin language that sets the standard which the vernacular tries to imitate or emulate.

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422 Since no edition of the Oxford version exists, citations to this text are based on my own transcriptions of the manuscript. Where desirable, comparison has been made with the Mons manuscript via the edition of Serrure (1855). Translations are my own unless stated otherwise. The translation of these three specific lines are up for debate, as will be discussed below.

423 Wackers 1996: 27-28.

424 Early scholars of Bukelare's translation, however, disagree and consider his translation to be of a poor quality (Leendertz 1899: 90 & Verdam & Leendertz 1918: xviii & xxxv). For a more recent reappraisal of Bukelare's skills as a translator, see Haye 2010. I believe Haye to be correct on this matter.

425 The specific translation of *dictamen* as 'translation' is borrowed from Derolez 2009: 99.

426 The use 'prosa' in the opening lines of the poem is confusing, since the text is not written in prose. Haye (2010: 412) interprets 'prosa' to mean rhythmic ('Rhythmen'), which would remove this confusion but is itself not a standard translation of 'prosa' and not consistent with Bukelare's use of 'rithmus' later in the work (III.39, l. 584), whereas Derolez (2009: 99) translated 'metro prosa' as 'Latin verse'. Since neither translation is wholly satisfactory, I have elected to interpret the word as the adjective *prosus* 'straightforward' instead.

427 On the stylistics of this so-called 'Maerlant verse', see Van Driel 2010 & 2011: 7-11. For Bukelare's rhyme scheme, see Derolez 2009: 94-95. In the *Third Martijn*, the rhyming scheme is reversed.

Another way in which Bukelare draws attention to his abilities as a poet is by using allusion in the first lines of some of his prologues. The first prologue starts with 'Scribere Martinum plerisque', believed to be a nod to the *Doctrinale* by French poet Alexander of Villedieu, which opens with 'Scribere clericulis paro Doctrinale novellis', whilst the third prologue opens with 'Stupor mundi', resembling the first lines of the *Poetria nova* by Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 'Papa stupor mundi, si dixero Papa Nocenti'.[428] Through these references and his emphasis on style throughout his translation, Bukelare presents himself not only as a translator, but also (and perhaps primarily) as a poet, eager to prove he is just as good as these masters.[429] Importantly, this desire to invite a comparison with Maerlant and his work also aligns with the text's presentation in a parallel text, since this allows readers to read the Dutch strophes and their Latin translations in succession, and spot the differences and similarities with relative ease.

His comparison with Maerlant is also directly suggested in the third and final element of these first lines, namely in the words 'cum Merlandino'. Haye understood this line to be part of a hyperbaton with 'Martinum' in the previous line, with the words referring to the dialogue between Martijn and Jacob. An alternative reading of both these elements is in my eyes preferable: 'cum Merlandino' relates to Bukelare's desire to write ('scribere') with ('cum') Maerlant. What they then write about together is not Martijn the character, but rather the *Wapene Martijn* as a whole. This translation of 'Martinum' as the title of the complete work is not unusual, as in the explicit of the Mons version the very same thing happens: 'Explicit Martinus, latine translatus a Johanne Bukelare, presbytero'. Through these introductory lines, then, Bukelare does not fashion himself as the voice through which Jacob's *Martijns* are translated into Latin, but rather as an author on the same level of Maerlant – much like Jacob and Martijn themselves are introduced as equals in the *First Martijn* – together with whom he presents the *Wapene Martijn*.

Whilst this suggestion may seem surprising at first, what the remaining prologues show is that Bukelare does exactly as he announces in these opening lines. The first lines of the third prologue open with 'Stupor mundi, Merlandine, qualis quantusque' (How bad and how immense is the senselessness of the world, Maerlant), showing Bukelare directly engaging with Maerlant whilst mimicking the start of the *First Martijn* where it is Jacob who states the same to Martijn.[430] In the fourth and seventh prologue, then, Bukelare addresses Martijn in the same manner, interweaving his own voice as a translator with that of the participants of the actual dialogue. It is a most curious literary technique, though not unique if we recall the similar mixing of narratorial levels in Jan Praet's *Leeringhe*, which is also employed in Bukelare's translation of the *Wapene Martijn* itself.[431]

One such instance of Bukelare inserting himself in the dialogue between Jacob and Martijn is found in III.4. This strophe opens with Jacob citing part of Exodus 19:13, where Moses notes that any animal that touches a mountain must be stoned. Jacob notes how this phrase relates to the text at hand, explaining that the beast represents humans that try to get too close to God. In the Latin translation, something odd seems to happen: Bukelare refers to himself in the third person while talking to a Muse, explaining to her that he does not understand Jacob's citation and wishes for the Muse to point out whether or not he has made a mistake in his translation of it.

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428 See for both references Haye 2010: 414-415. Cf. Hunt 1991: 93.
429 Cf. Derolez 2009: 94, Haye 2010: 416 and Besamusca (forthcoming).
430 Translation by Derolez 2009: 100.
431 See Table 1 (p. 57).

Interestingly, however, to then understand the actual citation, Bukelare turns not to his Muse but to Martijn: 'Hoc quid sit dictu, presul sanctissime, dic tu' (Tell me, most holy bishop, what does this mean).[432] By doing so, Bukelare moves from translator to author and eventually to a narrative figure who engages in the dialogue with one of the other characters.

Another example is found in the final strophe of the entire book, III.39:

Amen iacob merlandinus	Amen. You are Jacob van Maerlant.
Diceris. Ego martinus	I, Martijn,
Te nimis molestavi	have bothered you too much.
Hoc legend sum divinus	When I read this, I am with divinely inspired [and]
Non a fide peregrinus	Will not stray from the righteous path.
Indulge si erravi	Do forgive me if I have erred.
Supplex oro tis vicinus	As your neighbour,
Ne condempner [*contempnar*] iam supinus	I humbly beg you to not now condemn
Hoc qui translatavi	This Latin which I have translated
Ex quo rithmus fit latinus	From what had been rhymed.
Sed suscipiat nos sinus	Instead, let Abraham receive us in [his] bosom
Abrahe quod rogavi	Which I ask
In gloria suam	In His glory.
Amen do suavi modulo prestante sua vi.	Amen I say, in this sweet little verse, whose excellence lies in their own strength.

The strophe begins as any other in the *Martijns* with Martijn speaking to Jacob. However, Bukelare's influence is already apparent. Where the Dutch source strophe refers simply to 'Jacob' as it does everywhere else in the work, the Latin translation alters this to 'iacob merlandinus', speaking, as done in the prologues, directly to Maerlant the author rather than Jacob the character.[433] Halfway through the strophe, Bukelare then refers to his own activities as a translator ('translatavi') and repeats his desire to translate Maerlant's work into Latin in rhythmic verses. Furthermore, the transition from Martijn ('Ego martinus') into Bukelare's own voice occurs smoothly without a specific mention of a change in characters or narrators. As such, this ending too shows us how Bukelare weaved his own voice into the dialogue he was translating and placed his own presence both alongside that of Maerlant the author and Jacob and Martjin the characters. This is part of a broader pattern: on two occasions Maerlant's Dutch text directly specifies that the dialogue between Jacob and Martijn is between two people (I.3 and III.2). In his Latin translation, Bukelare omits both these references, as if to leave room for himself as a third member of the discussion.[434]

This active participation is reflected in the alternating multilingual presentation of the *Martijns* in the Oxford manuscript. Parallel text presentations facilitate direct line-for-line

432 The reference here to Martijn as 'presul sanctissime' has been used by scholars to identify Martijn as a historical Bishop of Utrecht (See Frantzen 1916 and Haye 2010: 434-437). That Martijn as a character was intended to represent or resemble a member of the clergy, versed in theological matters, has been suggested based on his appearance in the *First Martijn* (see, e.g., Reynaert 1996: 182-186).

433 Only one other time in the translation of the entire *Wapene Martijn* does Bukelare change Jacob into Maerlant, namely in strophe II.20 (*merland*). I do not know to what desired effect this change was made. My guess is it is a translation or scribal error in the same vein of those described in the Mons version in note 416. However, its existence should be considered as a possible counterargument to my interpretation of the addition of 'merlandinus' in III.39.

434 See also Haye 2010: 422.

comparisons, but this was probably not Bukelare's goal, since his translation is not line-for-line and manages to reflect the content of the Dutch verses rather than the words' precise distribution across lines.[435] Meanwhile, the alternating presentation in this instance may actually counter one of the more pressing objections against alternating layouts in general, namely that switching between languages after every strophe makes it very difficult for the reader to read the entire text in a single language from beginning to end, instead forcing one to move back and forth between alternating language segments.[436] However, when we consider Bukelare's translation as an active voice in the dialogue, one that comments and reflects on Maerlant's Dutch strophes and occasionally allows him to engage on a narrative level with the discussion, we are reading a dialogue within a dialogue. Accordingly, the alternating presentation of the *Martijns* in the Oxford manuscript can be seen as a reflection of the dialogue genre to which the text itself belongs. The alternation between voices mirrors that of the structure of the *Martijns* themselves, as well as most other medieval dialogue texts. Such a poetic and aesthetic approach also aligns with the type of text and audience Joris Reynaert envisioned for the *Martijns*: poets amongst one another, using their shared texts as a literary forum where different voices could meet.[437] Such an audience is also plausible, or at least intended, for Bukelare's translation.

There is, finally, one more argument that falls in line with this idea of the Bukelare translation as an intellectual game of poetics between intellectuals, and supports the idea that the alternating multilingual presentation was key to its original conception. This argument concerns the most prominent feature of Bukelare's translation, namely the two verses added at the end of each strophe. In general, these lines function as a means for Bukelare to emphasize or comment on Maerlant's Dutch strophes through a brief repetition of their most important message, or via a proverb or *sententia*, although they sometimes allow for more substantial input.[438] Strophe I.72, for example, ends with two lines in which Bukelare introduces the narrative figures Amis and Amelis, hinting at how these two friends deceived women when they took each other's place, which is the exact topic addressed in the main Dutch and Latin strophes.[439]

One of the earliest suggestions for the reasoning behind the addition of these lines, presented by Paul Wackers, was that these two extra lines were part of the poetic competition between Maerlant and Bukelare which, as explained above, appears in a number of aspects of the translation.[440] Perhaps, read in this light, the reference of Amis and Amelis, the two friends switching places, may be a playful nod at Bukelare switching places with Maerlant. More recently, an alternative (supplementary) explanation was offered by Haye. Primarily informed by the metric disposition of the added verses, Haye believes the lines can best be explained as '*Vagantenstrophen*

[435] One way a parallel or alternating structure could have been effective would be if each strophe spanned exactly one page, with one of Maerlant's strophes facing one of Bukelare's translations, since then comparison between both authors' works would be encouraged but not necessarily on a line-by-line basis. However, no such manuscript to our knowledge exists.
[436] See, for example, Besamusca (forthcoming).
[437] Reynaert 1995: 106. Reynaert supports his hypothesis with the suggestion that one of the influences on the dialogue style of the *Martijns* was that of the *jeu-parti*, playful debates between poets and trouvères with a particular interest in the artistic and stylistic aspects of the debate. Cf. Van Mierlo 1946: 96-98 and Besamusca 2017: 12.
[438] Wackers 1996: 28-29, Derolez 2009: 94-95 and Besamusca (forthcoming).
[439] Coincidentally, a Dutch version of this tale was also included in the *Spieghel historiael* by Jacob van Maerlant (Part 3, Book 8, Chapter 75, ed. De Vries & Verwijs 1863).
[440] Wackers 1996: 29.

cum auctoritate'.[441] *Vagantenstrophes* were a particular strophic form used in learned lyrical and poetic works and hymns which was widespread during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and continued to feature in various types of literature during the later Middle Ages.[442] In some instances, these strophes would contain at their ends proverbial wisdom from authoritative learned or religious figures, much like we see in Bukelare's translation. It has also been suggested that Maerlant himself was influenced by the *Vagantendichtung* (and adjacent goliardic poetry) for his *Martijns*, taking inspiration from their use of dialogue, oral presentation of literature between poets, themes such as everyday experiences and questions concerning love and lust.[443] Considering the close attention paid by Bukelare to Maerlant's formal influences and sources, it is very likely Bukelare picked up on these influences and perhaps through them was himself inspired to include the *Vagantenstrophe cum auctoritate* in his translation.

Most interestingly, this *Vagantenstrophe cum auctoritate* was also known to feature in multilingual alternating songs and macaronic poems.[444] In his article on *Vagantenstrophes*, Paul Gerhard Schmidt lists two examples. One of these is the fourteenth-century carol *In dulci iubilo*, a macaronic song originally mixing German with Latin, which during the fifteenth century was adapted by Dutch authors.[445] The second example is a French-Latin drinking song from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, which is categorized as a 'Frenesie' text, much like the Flemish poem *Dit es de Frenesie*, which also contains multilingual elements.[446] If Bukelare was inspired by these kinds of works to include the proverbial wisdom in his translation, it would not be a stretch to assume that he may also have intended for his translation to feature alongside Maerlant's Dutch strophes in an alternating fashion similar to that of these multilingual songs and macaronic poems.

Alternating presentations in parallel texts allow readers to compare the text of the original work with that of the translation. In the case of the Latin translation of Maerlant's *Martijns* by the Flemish priest Bukelare, arguments gathered from the translation itself and its prologues suggest this comparison was at the core of the work's very conception. By imitating Maerlant's style and strophic form, Bukelare aimed to present himself as a poet capable of not only translating a complicated work by the most accomplished writer of Bruges, but of doing so in the learned Latin language in an aesthetic manner worthy of equal praise. Bukelare aims to deepened even further his connection to Maerlant through his attempts to interweave his own comments and literary references with those of Maerlant's dialogue, and his occasional efforts to place his own voice (literally) in line with those of Maerlant, Jacob and Martijn. The result is that the alternating presentation of the Bukelare translation in the Oxford manuscript shows an interconnectivity between the work's form, generic structure and multilingual presentation, providing us with a most fascinating example of multilingual diversity in parallel texts from medieval Flanders.

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441 Haye 2010: 417, italics added.
442 Schmidt 1974: 76.
443 See, for example, Verdam & Leendertz 1918: lxiii and Van Oostrom 1996: 73.
444 The following examples are taken from Schmidt 1974: 86. On macaronic poems, see Wehrle 1933, Wenzel 1994 and more recently Putter 2009 and Schendl 2013.
445 On *In dulci iubilo*, see Kornrumpf 2000. According to the *Nederlandse Liederenbank* there are six manuscripts prior to 1500 that contain a Dutch-Latin version of the song:
http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=27651&actie=incipitnorm&lan=nl.
446 See Väänänen 1946.

6.5 Conclusion

The three parallel texts presented as case studies in this chapter have collectively illustrated the varied use of these multilingual sources in medieval Flanders. These works functioned as school texts for young children, travel guides for adult traders and pilgrims, instruction manuals on courtly behaviour and etiquette, and even as learned dialogues between writers. Parallel texts were not exclusively used in one specific realm of Flemish society, but rather in a multitude of social and literary domains, each of which employed different types of books in different sets of languages (Dutch and French in the context of international trade and courtly affairs, Dutch and Latin in the realm of intellectual debate and theological inquiry).

Furthermore, the case studies illustrate how these parallel texts were not a mere reflection of multilingual communication but also part of it. Whereas the *Livre* was a mostly original work whose influence was felt across Europe, the *Leere* derived its content from a multitude of sources, and Bukelare's translation was based on a single work to which he added his own set of prologues. As such, like other multilingual literary works, these texts were nestled into the literary culture of medieval Flanders. They did not exist in a vacuum, but instead took inspiration from other works and the world around them. This inspiration no doubt also informed the choice behind the multilingual presentation of some of these works. Yet here, too, we encounter diversity. The parallel columns encountered in the *Livre* and *Leere* could be used for translation exercises to facilitate the acquisition of a vocabulary and syntax, but may also have been chosen for its accessibility as an easy reference in real life communicative affairs, or as an efficient way to present the same text to two linguistically different audiences. Meanwhile, the alternating presentation of Bukelare's translation of Maerlant's *Martijns* simulates the dialogue structure of the texts themselves whilst promoting comparison between the Dutch and Latin verses on narrative and formal levels, rather than a line-for-line grammatical level that would be better served by a parallel structure.

Above all else, these parallel texts as a genre functioned like bridges in the multilingual culture of medieval Flanders. They offered readers the necessary tools to communicate with like-minded people in different languages, brought urban children in contact with the culture and etiquette of the social elite, and formed the locus point for learned discourse between intellectuals and poets. Accordingly, as much as this chapter has emphasized the diverse ways in which parallel texts were used and structured, so too do they foreground the diverse functions of multilingualism in contemporary Flemish society at large.

7

MULTILINGUALISM ON THE MOVE: THE FLEMISH *REYNAERT* TEXTS

7.1 RENART, REYNAERT AND REYNARDUS

No medieval Dutch text has withstood the test of time like the thirteenth-century beast epic *Van den vos Reynaerde* (henceforth: *Reynaert*).[447] It is unquestionably the most famous text from medieval Flanders and the most well-known medieval text in both the modern-day Netherlands and Flanders.[448] What sources we do possess indicate the work had even built up a reputation shortly after its debut during the Middle Ages. Whilst most Dutch Arthurian romances are only transmitted in a single manuscript and *chansons de gestes* only in mere fragments, the *Reynaert* survives more or less complete in two manuscripts (the so-called Comburg manuscript from Ghent and the Dyck manuscript from Holland) and partially in fragments from three different manuscripts (the Darmstadt, Rotterdam and Brussels fragments).[449] Additionally, the text is referenced in a number of other Dutch texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, perhaps the best-known being the *Rijmbijbel* (c. 1271) of Jacob van Maerlant. Here the *Reynaert* is mentioned alongside 'Madocs droom' ('Madoc's dream'), a lost text that was supposedly written by the same author as the *Reynaert*. As a result, this author has become known as 'Willem die madocke maecte' (Willem who made *Madoc*).[450]

Besides these references, the spread of the *Reynaert* story is also demonstrated by two additional sources. The first, *Reynardus vulpes*, is a Latin translation of the Dutch text, probably produced between 1272 and 1279 in Flanders.[451] The second, *Reinaerts historie*, a continuation of the *Reynaert* which incorporates the entirety of the original with minor changes and adds a further 4300 or so lines, was produced between 1373 and 1470 (most likely during the fifteenth century)

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447 Both citations and translations of the text refer to Bouwman & Besamusca 2009. Translation of the *Reynaert* in Bouwman & Besamusca is provided by Thea Summerfield.

448 Though to Dutch and Flemish readers this might be considered obvious, given that most will have learned of the *Reynaert* during their high school education and encountered the text in many modern translations and adaptations, evidence for this statement is provided through a survey handed out by the Society of Dutch Literature (Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) in 2002, asking their members to select what they believed to be the most valuable Dutch texts of all time. In the Netherlands, the *Reynaert* came second after Multatuli's *Max Havelaar*; in Flanders the *Reynaert* was placed above all others. For the results of this survey, see: https://www.dbnl.org/letterkunde/enquete/enquete_dbnlmnl_21062002.php. (consulted: 1-8-2022).

449 Stuttgart, WL, Cod. poet et phil. 2° 22 (Comburg); Münster, UB, N.R. 381 (Dyck); Darmstadt, HLHB, 3321; Rotterdam, GA, 96 B 5; Brussels, KBR, IV 774. On the transmission of the *Reynaert*, see Bouwman & Besamusca 2009: 34-35 and the further references there.

450 Jacob van Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*, ll. 24846-7 (ed. Gysseling 1983). For other references, see Van Oostrom 1983: Appendix III. The sentence 'Willem die madocke maecte' is found in the Dyck manuscript (l. 1). In the Comburg manuscript, 'madocke' has been erased and replaced with 'vele bouke' (many books) – a *rasura*. On 'madocke', see Lagast 2010 and Sleiderink 2017a.

451 On the date and localization of *Reynardus vulpes*, see Jonkers 1997: 24.

near Ypres.[452] Both texts are extraordinary in their own right. *Reynardus vulpes*, like Bukelare's translation of Maerlant's *Martijns*, is among the few Latin translations of Dutch works (usually it is the other way around).[453] *Reinaerts historie* has received considerably less scholarly attention than the *Reynaert*, but served as the foundation for the printed Reynard tradition, both in the Netherlands and abroad (in Germany, France and England).[454] Their value is, in addition, also recognized from both a translational and multilingual perspective. The *Reynaert* is a trilingual text that was first translated wholly into Latin and then adapted into a sequel that continued its multilingualism. Considering translation as a process of cultural transfer in which cultural values, ideologies and authority are transferred from one textual and cultural context to another alongside the text, the choices made in the translation and continuation of multilingual elements from the *Reynaert* helps enlighten the functionality of contemporary language as well as the social aspects of the texts' primary receptions.[455]

For each of these three texts – the *Renart*, *Reynaert* and *Reynardus* – major studies exist alongside an abundance of separate articles.[456] Yet, whilst multilingual elements were mentioned and explained to some degree in these works, it was only recently that Bart Besamusca compared the complete use of multilingualism in the *Reynaert* with the that of *Reynardus vulpes*.[457] Using his work as a basis, this chapter focuses on the movement of multilingualism within the Reynard texts from the *Reynaert* (§7.2) into *Reynardus vulpes* (§7.3) and finally *Reinaerts historie* (§7.4). In each case the multilingual aspects are addressed from a translational standpoint and analyzed with regard to their narrative function. Lastly, I look at how these two aspects relate to the social contexts of the texts' respective primary audiences. The concluding section (§7.5) reflects on the findings of all three texts and considers their uniqueness within the medieval Dutch multilingual corpus as a whole.

7.2 From the *Roman de Renart* to *Van den vos Reynaerde*

The *Reynaert* is traditionally thought to consist of two parts, both of which are greatly influenced by the Old French *Roman de Renart* (henceforth: *Renart*). Rather than a single text, the *Renart* is a collection of 'branches', the first of which – branch II-Va – is said to have been composed by Pierre de Saint-Cloud around 1175. Other authors quickly followed suit, with an additional six branches composed by 1180, another eleven by 1205 and finally ten more during the remainder of the thirteenth century. These branches are found in various selections in the surviving manuscripts of the *Renart*, of which fourteen are largely intact.[458]

452 On the date and localization of *Reinaerts historie*, see Wackers 2002: 328-331 and Berteloot 2021: 14. Cf. Berteloot 1987, 1988 and 1993, which point out the many connections to the County of Holland.
453 Cf. note 412.
454 On this printed tradition, see Wackers 2000a.
455 On 'cultural transfer', see Chapter 1, pp. 27-28.
456 For the *Reynaert*, see (among others) Bouwman 1991 and Van Daele 1994. On *Reynardus vulpes*, see Jonkers 1985. On *Reinaerts historie*, see Wackers 1986.
457 Besamusca 2022. Also valuable is Lusignan 2011, which considers the sociolinguistic context of the *Reynaert*.
458 These manuscripts are grouped into three families (α, β and γ). According to the research by André Bouwman (1991: 39-43), the author of the *Reynaert* had access to at least two manuscripts, one from family α and one from family β, one of which was likely a miscellany containing multiple branches.

Of these branches, branch I, known as *Le Plaid* (or *Le Jugement*), is the primary source text for the first part of the *Reynaert*. In *Le Plaid*, the animals gather at the court of Noble the lion, where Ysengrin the wolf puts forth accusations against Renart the fox who supposedly raped Ysengrin's wife Hersent and pissed over their cubs, blinding them. Brun the bear and Tibert the cat both try to persuade Renart to follow them to court so he can defend himself against these claims, but Renart manages to lure his opponents into traps and escape his awaiting judgement. Only Grinbert the badger, Renart's nephew, manages to take him to court, where he is tried and sentenced to death. Begging to first absolve himself of his sins, Renart is given the opportunity to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Up to this point, the author of the *Reynaert* follows the plot of branch I closely, whilst also adding additional narrative passages and elements of his own.

The second part, however, deviates from the Old French source and adds a new twist to the tale, making it both an adaptation and reworking (*remaniement*).[459] As the gallows are set up for Reynaert, he manages to secure his freedom by devising a ruse surrounding a fake treasure and a made-up conspiracy against the king by Reynaert's deceased father and nephew Grimbeert as well as – conveniently – those animals who now stand against him: Isengrim the wolf, Tybeert the cat and Bruun the bear. Enticed by the promised treasure, king Nobel and his wife Gente decide to spare Reynaert's life and allow him to go on the originally planned pilgrimage. As in the *Renart*, however, this pilgrimage does not actually take place. Reynaert is sent off with Belijn the ram and Cuwaert the hare, with whom he makes way to his castle Malpertuus. Once there, Cuwaert is killed and his head placed in a bag given to Belijn. Thinking the bag contains a letter – which Reynaert convinced Belijn to claim he wrote himself – the ram returns to the court and presents the bag to Nobel. Once the content of the bag is revealed, Nobel realizes he has been deceived by Reynaert and it is only with the help of Firapeel the leopard that "peace" is returned to the court.[460]

The relationship between the Dutch *Reynaert* and the French *Renart* has been most extensively studied by André Bouwman, whose 1991 dissertation centres fully on the translation techniques employed by Willem.[461] With regard to the multilingual passages in the *Reynaert*, Bouwman vitally identifies that none are directly taken from the *Renart*: the Latin citations, single French sentence and reference to speaking French found in the *Reynaert* are all absent in the French source. That said, it certainly seems likely that Willem was inspired by the *Renart* to include multilingual elements. In branch I, two multilingual passages are present, one of which contains Latin and the other Dutch. Both are addressed below, for there is reason to believe they influenced the multilingual passages found in the *Reynaert*. Additionally, in branch II-Va, a tale Willem was also cognizant of, the camel Musart from Lombardy speaks to the court in a confusing mix of French, Latin, Italian and Spanish.[462]

If we consider the multilingualism in these two branches in relation to the *Reynaert*, we may point out three major themes. Firstly, the use of multilingualism is generally linked to social classes: Brun speaks Latin and figures as a priest in *Le Plaid*, as does Musart who functions as the papal

[459] Cf. Bouwman 1991: 381. On the differences between *traduction*, *adaptation* and *remaniement*, see Gerritsen 1967 and Reynders 2000.
[460] On this unorthodox ending, see Hellinga 1999 and De Putter 2000.
[461] Bouwman 1991. See also Bouwman 1990, 1992a and 1992b on the inclusion of branches other than branch I in the *Reynaert*. Cf. Besamusca 1996 and Tudor 2011.
[462] *Roman de Renart*, Branch II-Va, ll. 457-494 (ed. Martin 1973). Further references to the *Renart* are to this edition. On the intertextual influence from branch II-Va on the *Reynaert*, see Bouwman 1991: 239-240 and 1998: 131-136. On Musart's speech, see Lodge & Varty 2001: LXXVII-LXXIX.

legate to the king's court in branch II-Va. Secondly, the use of a different language by a character is often muddled, incoherent or grammatically incorrect. Brun's Latin is a corrupted version of the Trinitarian formula, whereas the monologue of Musart is so incoherent that all one can make out is the simple message that a king should be primarily concerned with upholding justice. Thirdly, the combination of these two aspects often leads to a mixture of comic relief and social critique. Musart is invited to speak as an authoritative ecclesiastical figure, but in reality speaks in such riddles that no one can understand him, let alone heed his message. Such use of incongruity for comedic effect is common in beast epics and is also the primary function attributed to the multilingual passages in the *Reynaert*.[463]

Turning, then, to these multilingual passages, we can discern five in total, four of which are Latin and one of which is French, as well as one monolingual passage in which speaking French is thematically centred.[464] This last passage, coincidentally, is the first of the passages the reader or listener encounters and therefore also the first to be discussed here. It occurs roughly 100 verses into the story, at the court of Nobel the lion where, as stated earlier, animals have gathered to voice their complaints about Reynaert the fox. One of these animals is a dog aptly named Cortoys (Fr. 'courtois'),[465] who unlike the other animals voices his complaint in French:

Doe Ysengrijn dit hadde gesproken,	When Ysingrijn had spoken,
stont up een hondekijn, hiet Cortoys,	a small dog stood up, called Cortoys,
ende claghede den coninc in Francsoys	and complained to the king in French
hoet so arem was wijleneere	how a while ago it had been so poor
dat alles goets en hadde mere	that it had had nothing left
in eenen winter, in eene vorst,	one winter, when there was a frost,
dan alleene eene worst	except for one sausage
ende hem Reynaert, die felle man,	and that Reynaert, that scoundrel,
die selve worst stal ende nam. (ll. 98-106)	had stolen that very sausage from him.

Cortoys is not among the most highly placed nobles at the court – he is not considered one of the 'meeste heren' (l. 1006) – and undoubtedly his decision to speak French should be viewed as an overcompensation to illustrate his elite status (after all, he owned but a single sausage). He alone speaks French, yet from what we can gather, some if not all of the animals present seem to understand him perfectly well. One in particular, Tybeert the cat, shows this by refuting Cortoys' claim. The sausage Cortoys is complaining about was never Cortoys' to begin with: he had stolen it from Tybeert, who himself stole it from a miller (ll. 114-125). As such, a contrast is setup between word and deed, appearance and actuality – a formula central to most beast epics and certainly the *Reynaert*.[466] Furthermore, as many scholars have pointed out, even if the claim were real, it still

463 Besamusca 2022: 177. On humour in beast epics, see also Knapp 1982, Wackers 1990: 210-211 and, more generally, Wilcox 2000: 4-5.

464 A possible seventh passage, where the word 'Dominus' (l. 2065) is shouted, is deliberately excluded since its use suggests the term was not considered a foreign language element but rather a loan word. Similarly, 'Placebo domino (l. 444) is excluded as a reference to the well-known Psalm 116:9, rather than a specific verbal utterance. For a possible comedic use of this verse, however, see Janssens *et al.* 1991: 224.

465 The use of French names is not uncommon in the *Reynaert* and *Reinaerts historie*. Alongside explanatory names such as Crayant and Cantaert – two roosters that crow early in the morning – we also find the ewe Hawy (French: *Ah oui!*), whose name hints at an eagerness to please unbefitting the wife of a chaplain. On names in the *Reynaert*, see Van Daele 1994 and Houthuys 2005.

466 See Wackers 1994 and, for the beast epic in general, Mann 2009: 306-307.

would not be of such importance that one would present it at a court meeting where two other prior complaints concerned possible rape and the blinding of two young children.[467] Cortoys employs the prestige of French as a courtly language to increase the status of both himself and his claim, whilst in reality his claim is ill-founded and poorly timed.

In addition to the cat poking holes in the dog's claim, so too does Grimbeert the badger. Whilst Reynaert himself is absent from the court, his nephew Grimbeert takes it upon himself to refute the claims presented against his uncle in so far as possible (at times employing the same tricks for which Reynaert is known).[468] Hearing Cortoys' claim, Grimbeert uses the same defense as Tybeert (thieves should not complain of theft) and further cements this defense by introducing a Latin *sententia*:

Cortoys claghet om eene worst	Cortoys complains of a sausage
Die hi verloes in eene vorst.	That he lost in a frost.
Die claghe ware bet verholen:	The charge had better not been made:
Ende hoerdi dat so was ghestolen?	Didn't you hear that it had been stolen?
Male quesite male perdite:	*Male quaesita male perdite*:
Over recht wert men qualike quite	It is right to lose in an unlawful way that which had been acquired by unlawful means.
Dat men hevet qualic ghewonnen (ll. 253-259)	

This passage illustrates how Grimbeert uses his knowledge to divert the attention of the animal audience away from Reynaerts wrongdoings.[469] Whilst Grimbeert's quote is sound, it skips over the fact that his uncle still stole from one of the other members of the court.[470] The true value of this passage, I argue, lies in its influence on other elements of both the *Reynaert* and *Reinaerts historie*. In *Reinaerts historie*, as discussed in §7.4, Latin is also used on multiple occasions to derive some form of status or authority and, as in Grimbeert's case, this use of Latin masks the true activities of its speakers. Furthermore, Grimbeert's control of languages becomes important when interpreting the later confession episode (ll. 1359-1786). Additionally, based on this passage we may possibly also conclude that Grimbeert understands French, since the reference to winter ('in eene vorst', l. 254) was not present in Tybeert's Dutch defense, meaning he recalled it from Cortoys' original French complaint. This is, however, perhaps a somewhat forced reading. Before exploring the importance of Grimbeert's trilingualism and the confession episode, however, we first turn to the next multilingual passage, which concerns Bruun the bear.

After all complaints at Nobel's court have been voiced, the king sends out his powerful vassal Bruun to bring Reynaert to justice. Bruun's "quest" turns sour rather quickly when Reynaert subtly mentions a nearby beehive chock-full of honey. Lured by Reynaert to a split tree near a village, Bruun gets caught between the wood and severely beaten by the villagers as a result. He

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467 Cf. Janssens *et al.* 1991: 216, Bouwman 1991: 53 and Van Daele 1994: 383.

468 For this negative depiction of Grimbeert, see Janssens *et al.* 1991: 217.

469 Besamusca & Bouwman (2009: 58) have argued that Grimbeert's Latin here is 'garbled'. They suggest that either 'quaesit' or 'quaesita' would be correct, but that 'quaesite' is not. This difference is minimal and begs the question if we are dealing with a deliberate falsification or instead a sloppy scribe. This issue is further discussed in §7.4.

470 Possibly this crime goes even further, when 'stealing a sausage' is considered as a masked reference to homosexual activities. Whilst farfetched at a first glance, scholars of the *Reynaert* have pointed out several instances in which mundane activities can be construed as references to sexual activities. See for example Van Daele 1993 and Hellinga 1999: 43. On the other ways Grimbeert tries to influence and deceive the animal audience in his defence, see Rombauts 1975.

barely manages to escape with his life by plunging into a nearby river, but is gravely wounded when he finally washes up on a nearby bank. The top of his head and his cheeks are reddened with blood, as are his paws. Seeing Bruun in this state, Reynaert mockingly approaches him:

Siere priester, *dieu vo saut*!	My lord priest, *dieu vos saut*!
Kendi Reynaert, den rybaut?	Do you know the villain Reynaert?
Wildine scauwen,so siettene hier,	If you want to see him, then see him here,
den roden scalc, den fellen ghier.	the red scoundrel, the wicked glutton.
Seght mi priester, soete vrient,	Tell me, priest, dear friend,
bi den Heere dien ghi dient,	by the Lord that you serve,
in wat ordinen wildi hu doen,	which order do you intend to join,
dat ghi draghet roeden capproen?	as you are wearing a red hat?
So weder sidi abd no pryhore?	Are you an abbot or prior?
Hi ghinc u arde na den hore	Whoever gave you this tonsure
die hu dese crune hevet bescoren!	sheared very close to your ears!
Ghi hebt huwen top verloren,	You have lost the hair on your crown,
ghi hebt hu anscoen afghedaen:	you have taken off your gloves:
ic wane ghi wilt zinghen gaen	I take it that you intend to sing
van huwen complete dat ghetijde. (ll. 937-951)	the hour of compline.

Through his wounded appearance, Bruun resembles an abbot or prior, recognizable by their tonsure. By addressing Bruun as a priest, Reynaert creates a stark contrast between how Bruun is approached – honoured and revered – and how he is actually feeling – hurt and humiliated.[471] Reynaert, presenting himself as a nobleman, uses the prestigious tongue of French to accentuate his respected approach, though the fact that he uses French rather than Latin is, in my eyes, important. Were Reynaert's use of language intended to reflect upon the clerical characteristics of his insults, then surely Willem would have used Latin, the language associated with the clergy both within medieval society at large and within the rest of the *Reynaert* itself. Rather, the use of French emphasizes Reynaert's nobility. As such, the effect resembles that of Cortoys' use of French, in that it is not the fictitious audience who is being mocked, but instead the figure of the nobleman speaking French.

Or, to take it one step further, I deem it likely that the true comic effect of this mockery lies in the association to historical reality for the members of the actual audience. Given the nobility of Flanders was largely French-speaking, the notion of highly placed members of society addressing religious practitioners in a prestigious language associated with the court would certainly not be lost on inhabitants of cities such as Ghent, which is generally associated with the production and primary reception of the *Reynaert*. Similarly, the image of the French-speaking Cortoys stealing a sausage might have recalled the practices of French-speaking bailiffs (Dutch: *baljuw*) confiscating goods from Flemish-speaking urban citizens.[472] Without any evidence of the *Reynaert*'s reception, however, such suggestions are doomed to remain speculative. But, the idea that the use of French is intended as a commentary on Reynaert the noble rather than Bruun the priest, can also find some support through a comparison with the *Renart*.

[471] Cf. Van Daele 1994: 415.

[472] I thank Lisa Demets for sharing this suggestion. The position of bailiff was first introduced in Flanders around 1170; by the end of the thirteenth century, twelve major cities had their own bailiff – more than in any other region of the Low Countries. On this function, see Boone 1997. Cf. Lusignan 2012: 190-191.

Whilst the multilingual opening of Reynaert's mockery is not found in the *Renart*, the mockery itself, poking fun at Bruns appearance resembling that of a priest, is there (ll. 692-699).[473] In the *Renart*, this comic passage has an additional layer to it. Unlike Bruun, his counterpart Brun is actually a priest. We learn this at the beginning of the narrative, when the body of Copee the chicken is presented at the court of Noble, after Renart murdered her and her sisters. This body is removed and a funeral is held, where Brun is told to perform his role as a priest:

Mes os parlons d'autre parole.	But let us talk about another affair.
Brun li ors, pernez vostre estole,	Brun the bear, put on your stole,
Si commandes l'ame del cors! (ll. 397-399)	So you can commend the hen's soul to God!

This passage is completely absent from the *Reynaert*, and with it Brun the priest was transformed into the Dutch Bruun whose depiction is first and foremost that of a (failing) knightly vassal. As such, the mockery of Brun's likeness to a priest gains two different levels of meaning alongside the shared incongruity of Brun's miserable state and the manner in which he is addressed. One interpretation of the French passage is that Renart's mockery pokes fun at Brun's supposed innocence: whilst he is believed to be the most suitable candidate to bring in a sinner like Renart, he himself also has, quite literally, blood on his hands and flaws of his own (which the honey passage illustrates). In this reading, the *Renart* comments on the hypocrisy and moral flaws associated with many medieval clergy. The Dutch narrative, on the other hand, presents a different Bruun, more courtly than churchly.[474] In line with this change, Reynaert addressing Bruun in French reflects not just on Reynaert speaking as aristocrats would, but also on the realization that Bruun himself is precisely the type of nobleman who himself would address priests in such a manner. This reading further adds to the notion that the social party addressed in this passage is not less the clergy than it is the nobility, whom Reynaert mockingly depicts for their emphasis on outer appearance and social etiquette.

Since the comic element of the wounded bear resembling a priest was already present in the *Renart*, we can also look for its influences on the other multilingual elements in the *Reynaert*. This search offers no direct results, though one curiosity worth pointing out is that some minor similarities can be found between the French sentence in the *Reynaert* and the single Dutch element in the *Renart*. In both cases, the fox is the bilingual speaker and the vernacular element is introduced at the greeting of one of the animals charged with bringing him in (Bruun in the *Reynaert*, Tibert in branch I of the *Renart*). When Tibert the cat arrives at Renart's home, Renart greets him in Dutch: 'Tybert, ce dist Renart, *welcomme*!' (l. 777).[475] By codeswitching to this Low language, Renart takes

[473] The mockery of Bruun taking off his gloves, however, is not present in the *Renart*. This aspect may have been included to further extend the mockery of religious traditions, as it was customary for religious practitioners ranked abbot and above to wear special episcopal gloves to celebrate the Mass until the offertory, at which points they were removed (see Warr 2019). I thank Jenneka Janzen for suggesting this interpretation.

[474] Bouwman 1991: 128 speaks of a 'secularized Bruun'. As my interpretation of the French sentence illustrates, I do not follow Bouwman's suggestion that the author of branch I had forgotten Brun was a cleric and that in doing so the mockery of the passage would have missed its mark.

[475] The use of 'wilcomme' in French is found in various texts, such as *Le Feu de saint Nicolas* (1190) by the Arras poet Jean Bodel, the Arthurian romance *Yder* and the *Roman de la rose ou Guillaume de Dôle* by Jean Renart, both written in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Importantly, the term is also found three times in the *Renart le nouvel*, written in Lille around 1288, and once more in the *Renart* (Branch XXVII: *Renart et Ysengrin*), where it is used in a comparable

on a familial stance towards Tibert, of whom Renart apparently knows that his mother tongue is not French but Flemish. Through this simple action, Renart manages to create a friendly and safe atmosphere, which in turns makes Tibert more vulnerable to Renart's tricks and deceit. This practice is reminiscent of the greeting passages in the *Reynaert* of both Bruun and Tybeert, where initial friendly greetings are also quickly followed by the vassals' demises. Perhaps this small passage should be viewed as a nod to a possible primary audience of the *Renart* located in Flanders.[476] Were this the case, it could follow that the French element in the *Reynaert* was used in a similar fashion as a linguistic wink to the French-speaking members of the Flemish audience.[477]

Whereas specific influence of the 'welcomme' sentence on the *Reynaert* is hard to prove – if anything due to its extreme brevity – better arguments can be found for the single Latin phrase found in branch I. To explain this I now turn to the three final multilingual elements in the *Reynaert*, all of which are Latin. In the *Renart*, Brun's occupation as a priest – albeit an unqualified one just like Belin the ram in the *Reynaert* – is emphasized by his use of Latin. As stated before, his Latin is muddled. When confronted with the possibility of eating delicious honey, Brun shouts out: 'Nomini dame Cristum file' (l. 537). Aside from its grammatical incorrectness, its biggest *faux pas* is the exchange of the Holy Father with 'dame', lady. In this light, it shows extraordinary similarities with the three Latin lines in the *Reynaert*, which for the sake of textual convenience are described out of order. The sentence itself closely resembles 'Nomine patrum, christum filye' (l. 1820), spoken by Reynaert at the court of Nobel, which like the citation in the *Renart* is an incorrect representation of the standard formula 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti'.[478] Its inclusion of a feminine figure within the fully male Trinity is also found in l. 1544, used like Brun's outburst as a statement of pure excitement: 'So helpe mi *Sancta spiritus*!'.[479] Finally, the addition of 'dame' is most visibly present in the third sentence: 'Confiteor pater mater' (l. 1453), where 'mater' is introduced in replacement of the correct element *peccavi*.[480]

There is more to this final sentence. It is spoken by Reynaert at the beginning of his confession to his nephew Grimbeert, as the latter leads him to Nobel's court. Unsure about his fate (and excited to share some of his misdeeds), Reynaert decides to confess his sins to Grimbeert. The sentence and Grimbeert's reaction to it are as follows (ll. 1452-1459):

"Nu hoert, Grimbeert, ende verstaet:	"Listen, now, Grimbeert, and take note:
confiteor pater, mater,	*Confiteor pater, mater*,
dat ic den otter ende den cater	that the otter and the cat
ende alle diere hebbe mesdaen.	and every animal have I wronged.
Daeraf willic mi in biechten dwaen."	Thus I wish to cleanse myself through confession."
Grimbeert sprac: "Oem, walschedi?	Grimbeert said: "Uncle, are you speaking French?
Of ghi yet wilt, spreect jeghen mi	If you please, speak to me
in Dietsche, dat ict mach verstaen."	in Dutch, so I can understand."

manner to branch I. The latter two, together with contextual evidence presented below, are the strongest evidence that the 'welcomme' here is indeed Dutch, and not instead contemporary German or an English cognate.

476 Van Mierlo 1927: 1096-1097 and Janssens *et al.* 1991: 167-168.

477 Knowledge of French is certainly believed to have been expected by part of the audience; see Bouwman 1998: 143, Janssens & Van Daele 2001: 48 and Bouwman & Besamusca 2009: 33.

478 The connection between these two lines was first made by Jonckbloet 1856: XCI.

479 Janssens *et al.* 1991: 225 points out that this sentence not only proves the inability of the priest to correctly speak Latin, but can also be considered (comically) blasphemous for turning God into a woman.

480 See on this sentence also Jonkers 1985: 190.

The comic effect of this passage is aptly described by Besamusca: both through Reynaert's faulty use of Latin and Grimbeert's response to it, the audience is immediately made aware that the confession to follow is insincere and, like the scrambled Latin, will contain only sprinkles of truth.[481] The harder question to answer, however, is who is the butt of this joke? Traditionally, this passage has been considered a layman's confession: in l. 1438, Reynaert asks Grimbeert to listen to his confession because 'hier nes andere pape bi'. Bouwman, Besamusca and Thea Summerfield translated this sentence as 'there is no one else near here to act as priest' (p. 127), implying that Grimbeert is not himself a priest.[482] Following this, it is then no surprise that Grimbeert is unable to understand Reynaert's (incorrect) Latin and by misidentifying it as French the joke is directed at Grimbeert.[483]

There is, however, another possible reading of l. 1438, and consequently the role of Grimbeert. 'Hier nes andere pape bi' can also be translated as 'there is no *other* priest here', which would imply Grimbeert was actually a priest. This ambiguity might well have arisen from the *Renart*, where in branch I the corresponding line offers no conclusive reading: 'Car je n'i voi prestre plus pres' (l. 1007: Because I see no other priest nearby). Notably, however, this sentence would not have led to any ambiguity in the French text, since there Grinbert is, like Brun, described as a priest. Absent in the Dutch text, Grinbert himself brings up the topic of confession and implores Renart to share his sins before it is too late, rather than the other way around (l. 1002). What is more, during this passage Grinbert is said to speak half in French and half in Latin (l. 1107: 'Moitie romanz, moitie latin'). This sentence can be understood in two ways: as Grinbert being able to speak Latin, which would mean the Dutch Grimbeert was not only secularized but also lost his linguistic skills; or as Grinbert *actually* speaking a muddled mixture of French and Latin, which would correlate with Grimbeert's incorrect presentation of Latin.

The interpretation of Grimbeert being an *illiteratus* in the *Reynaert* is less certain. Consequently, a new interpretation of the confession passage arose in recent years, forwarded by two international scholars, both of whom were invited to write on the *Reynaert* in a special issue of the journal *Queeste* (2011) following the publication of the bilingual edition of the text by Bouwman, Besamusca and Summerfield. Sociolinguist Serge Lusignan thinks Grimbeert is a polyglot cleric, just like his French counterpart, and therefore concludes that the sentence 'oem walschedi?' is meant to mock Reynaert for his muddled Latin: it looks and sounds so poorly that it more resembles French than Latin.[484] Romanist James Simpson argues that part of the joke lies in what Reynaert attempts by unsuccessfully switching to Latin and how, through his comparison of it with French, Grimbeert sees through this attempt and confronts Reynaert on his deceitful behaviour:

> That Reynaert might actually be thought to be speaking French is less the point, the joke being arguably more fundamentally *inter*-linguistic in nature. Whatever he is saying is neither the canonical higher reason of Latin

[481] Besamusca 2022: 188. Cf. Bouwman 1991: 175 and Van Daele 1994: 437.

[482] The interpretation also follows from the *Reynardus vulpes*, which translates the line as 'non presbiter ullus est hic' (ed. Huygens 1968: ll. 633-634: 'there is no priest here').

[483] Representative of this interpretation are Bouwman 1991, Van Daele 1994 and Heeroma 1970, though it should be noted that Bouwman disagrees with Heeroma on his reading of Grimbeert as a pervert deriving pleasure from Reynaert's sins (in which I wholeheartedly agree with Bouwman).

[484] Lusignan 2011: 14.

> nor the common sense of Dutch. Grimbeert's reaction thereby reflects the basic nature of deception in language: the would-be trickster speaks a tongue the potential dupe does not entirely or sufficiently understand and/or gestures towards a 'discursive world' devoid of any genuine solidity. Accordingly, the badger's objection is that, in passing from one language to another, Reynaert is seeking to pull the wool over his eyes and draw him off safe ground into the uncertain world of what 'those foreigners' speak.[485]

What is most appealing about the readings of Lusignan and Simpson is that by considering the incorrect use of a different language as a comic and satirical reflection of the speaker rather than listener, the confession passage conforms to every other case of multilingualism in the *Reynaert*. In each case, the change to a different language, be it Latin or French, signals that a character is attempting to appear as something he is not, be it wise, courtly or honest.[486] Considering trickery and incongruity between words and deeds are core themes of Willem's work, it seems his use of multilingualism fits right into this foundation.

This then brings me to the final topic in this section on the *Reynaert*, which is how this display of multilingual characters relates to the audience for whom the work was intended. Looking at both the narrative and literary-historical context of the text, it is clear that its referential setting was undoubtedly the aristocratic, courtly milieu, which does not necessarily mean the text exclusively appealed to members of the nobility.[487] All texts and genres associated with the *Reynaert* through intertextual means are directed at aristocratic audiences and urban elites with an interest in the lifestyle of the nobility, and the major themes of the *Reynaert* itself centre around aristocratic topics such as feudal society, politics and courtliness.[488] Most of the story takes place at court and a majority of the major characters are nobles. Accordingly, one of the most common interpretations of the *Reynaert* is that it functions as a mirror to aristocratic audiences, showing them the dangers of deceptive vassals and fraudulent counselors at the court through the comic lens of a beast epic.[489]

Furthermore, scholarship on the *Renart* has argued that the first branches – such as branch I and II-Va that influenced the *Reynaert* – were initially composed for a noble audience situated near the north of France.[490] Taking this last line of reasoning one step further, we can note that many of the other beast epics from northern France also show strong ties with the Flemish court. For example, the *Histoire de Renarz*, composed by the 'Menestrel de Reims' in 1260, presents itself as *roman à clef*, in which each animal represents a historical figure known for his or her part in the feud between the Dampierres and Avesnes. In his portrayal of this historical situation, the author

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485 Simpson 2011: 36-37. Cf. Reynaert 1999b: 276, who describes Reynaert's false use of courtliness within the confession passage.

486 Note that this use of multilingualism can be combined with other narrative aspects that *are* comically aimed at the listener, as the example of the Bruun passage shows. There Bruun is the target of the clergy-based insult, whilst the French opener comments on Reynaert's status as a courtly figure trying to appear as sophisticated as possible to increase the comic effect of the following insult.

487 The lack of a clear division between city and court has already been addressed in previous sections of this dissertation (e.g., p. 51), but see in this particular context also Sleiderink 2015: 34-38.

488 Bouwman 1991: 422. On the allusions to courtly literature, specifically the Arthurian romance and *chanson de geste*, see Van Daele 1994 and Bouwman 1993. Cf. the criticism of Reynaert 1999b: 274 of the interpretation of the *Reynaert* as a reaction to the courtly romance.

489 See for this interpretation Bouwman 1998: 129, Van den Brink & Van Herwaarden 1999: 183, Van Oostrom 1999: 213 and Bouwman & Besamusca 2009: 28-29.

490 Jauss 1959, Flinn 1975 and Payen 1978. Cf. Wackers 2000b. Cf. also Van Daele 1994: 246 and Lusignan 2011: 10, who both point out the linguistically Picardian character of many of the *Renart* branches.

chooses the side of the Flemish Dampierres, depicting many of the more evil characters in the narrative as mirror images of members from the Avesnes family.[491] Similarly, the author of *Le Couronnement de Renart*, written between 1251 and 1263, mentions Gui of Dampierre as his lord (l. 3392) and was likely also connected to his court.[492] Thematically, this romance is also known for its criticism of the rise of urban elites following the increasing importance of trade – a topic of certain interest to members of the aristocracy.[493] Importantly, his text survives in a single manuscript (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1446), which contains various texts dedicated to Margaret II, Countess of Flanders (1202-1280). Lastly, the *Renart le nouvel* was written by the Flemish Jacquemart Gielée in Lille around 1288 and contains a specific reference to one of the most crucial episodes in the Dampierre-Avesnes conflict, namely the presumed murder of William of Dampierre by John of Avesnes during the Trazegnies tournament of 1251. Furthermore, this text shows many resemblances with both the *Renart* and the *Reynaert* where it concerns multilingualism: Renart, Tibert and Noble all speak Dutch, further emphasizing the link between this text and audiences in or near Flanders.[494]

This connection to the Dampierres in the French *Renart* stories of northern France and Flanders can also be seen in the *Reynaert*. Allusions to the Dampierre-Avesnes conflict or members of the Dampierre family are suggested by Muller (1935), Peeters (1999) and Van Oostrom (2006) and resemble the pro-Dampierre stance found in the French *Renart* works.[495] Known also are the codices produced at the behest of the Dampierres, such as the *Lancelot en prose* manuscript, one of which contains the illustration of a hare with a bloodied bottom associated with the Dutch Cuwaert reference in the *Reynaert* (discussed in Chapter 3).[496] Finally, there is the figure of Willem van Boudelo (or Willem Corthals), who in recent years is perceived as the most likely author of the *Reynaert*. Without diving into this authorship discussion here, it is certain that Boudelo was connected to the Dampierre court, in particular to Joan, Countess of Flanders (1199-1244) and Margaret II, Countess of Flanders, and a member of the Cistercian Order which was heavily supported by the Dampierres.[497]

Although the *Reynaert* is centred around aristocratic politics and courtly culture, we must be wary of concluding that the text's primary audience must then also be found (exclusively) in this social milieu. As stated before, the language of the thirteenth-century Flemish court was predominantly French, as was the literature produced and consumed there. As such, the fact that the *Reynaert* is written in Dutch is an important factor. Were the *Reynaert* to serve the same audience as *Renart*, *Couronnement* and *Nouvel*, then it would only make sense for Willem to write his story in French. Instead, composing the *Reynaert* in Dutch suggests Willem was actively attempting to open up his text to a different audience that would appreciate his story in more in Dutch.

491 Cf. Peeters 1999: 133-134 and Van Daele 2005: 209.

492 Ed. Foulet 1929. On the *Couronnement* and its ties to the Dampierre court, see Van Coolput-Storms 2000: 45-46 and Van Daele 2006.

493 Bouwman 1991: 423 and Peeters 1999: 128.

494 On the *Renart le nouvel*, see Haines 2010: 59-62, 103-110 and 169-171.

495 It has even been suggested that the reference to a patron in the prologue of the *Reynaert* (ll. 26-31) is directed at Margaret II, Countess of Flanders, though it is equally if not more plausible that the reference is in itself a stab at the custom of dedicating romances to highly placed patrons. See Lulofs 1983: 201 and Besamusca 1996: 389 and Sleiderink 2017b: 219.

496 On these manuscripts, see Meuwese 2006. Cf. Stones 1996.

497 On the authorship of Boudelo and his ties to the Dampierres, see the overview of studies up to 1994 by Van Daele (1994: 129-166) as well as Janssens *et al.* 1991: 211, Peeters 1999: 199, Van Daele 2005 and Malfliet 2020.

Simultaneously, considering the presence of French elements and intertextual connections to French literature, we must also consider that Willem expected at least part of his Dutch-speaking audience to be familiar with French literary culture and the *Renart* tradition in particular.[498]

This audience might still be found within the proximity of the Flemish courts, but rather among lower placed members of the nobility. Telling, then, is the prologue of the Dutch translation by the Flemish clerk Diederic van Assenende of the *Floire et Blanceflor*, which explains that his translation was specifically meant for 'den ghenen, diet Walsche niet en connen' (those who do not know French).[499] According to Frits van Oostrom, it is most likely that this addressed audience consisted of lower-ranking members of the Flemish nobility, who whilst knowing French were much less 'Frenchified' than the higher-placed members of the aristocracy, yet still interested in similar topics, themes and texts.[500] The existence of such Dutch-speaking nobles is evident from thirteenth-century documentary sources. For instance, we know of three young Flemish aristocrats who in 1256 travelled to the Abbey of Saint-Nicolas-au-Bois in Northern France to learn French, and who were followed in 1271 by the son of Gerard II of Schelderode, Lord of Melle.[501] Illuminating is also the example of a Latin letter sent to the vassals of the Lord of Gavere, which the vassals were unable to read until a Dutch translation ('in teuthonica lingua') was prepared for them.[502]

The Dutch language of the *Reynaert*, however, also presents the possibility of a readership located in the thriving Flemish cities of the thirteenth century. In cities such as Ghent, Bruges and Ypres there existed an urban elite that mixed with members of the aristocracy who through their financial success possessed both the time and means to acquire cultural products such as literary texts.[503] One further piece of evidence pointing towards an urban readership of the *Reynaert* is the reference of a 'bouc van Reynaerde' in the book collection of Jan Wasselins, an inhabitant of Ghent. Important caveats here are that this reference dates from a booklist from 1388, and it is uncertain if the text referenced is the *Reynaert*, or any other of the Reynaert stories in Dutch or French. Nevertheless, the reference does illustrate an urban interest in the Reynaert material, although potentially a later one. It is, however, highly likely that given the rapid spread of the text, the *Reynaert* quickly moved from its primary audience to a secondary one.[504]

This mixture of readers and listeners from different social domains seems, at least for the time being, the most likely and fruitful approach to the reception of the *Reynaert*. To paraphrase Frits van Oostrom, the *Reynaert* was neither solely a text for the urban bourgeoisie nor for the court aristocracy, but first and foremost a text for the broader social elite.[505] This sentiment is also echoed in the text's use of multilingualism, which in order to be understood as well as appreciated fully

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498 A small yet striking example to strengthen this assumption is that Nobel and Isengrim are only described as being a lion and wolf (in Nobels case, as in French a 'Lyoen') hundreds of lines after their initial character introductions (Janssens & Van Daele 2001: 48).
499 *Floris ende Blanchefloer*, l. 27 (ed. Mak 1970).
500 Van Oostrom 2006: 218 and 225.
501 See for these and similar examples Warlop 1968 and Lusignan 2012: 205-209. Buylaert 2011 also lists a number of Flemish aristocratic families whose maternal language was Dutch.
502 See Janssens & Van Daele 2001: 60.
503 Cf. Bouwman & Besamusca 2009: 29. This mixture of urban and aristocratic circles has also been discussed in Chapter 3, where the reference to Peters 1983 is key.
504 Support for an urban audience of the *Reynaert* is found in Lulofs 1983, Pleij 1983, Hellinga 1999 and Janssens & Van Daele 2001. On the booklist of Jan Wasselins, see De Pauw 1879.
505 Van Oostrom 2006: 232. Cf. Prevenier 1994.

required a bilingual, elite audience. For the Latin phrases basic knowledge of church Latin is needed, without which the incorrectness of these phrases would go unnoticed and therefore the comedic effect would be lost, whilst the French elements demanded both an understanding of French as well its role in the elite milieu of medieval Flanders. Furthermore, we know aristocratic audiences were keen on works that offered self-reflection, as evidenced by the exemplarity of courtly romances and mirrors for princes.[506] In the case of Flemish nobles, this mode of reception is especially plausible, considering that Flemish and French nobles not only experienced an underlying social hierarchy, but also that the Count of Flanders himself, however influential and powerful was, at the end of the day, a vassal to the king of France. The court of Noble invites comparison with the thirteenth-century Dampierre court, as it apparently grappled with feudal topics relevant to contemporary Flanders. Similarly, through its close proximity to members of the aristocracy and courtly culture, it is also easy to see why a text like the *Reynaert* which pokes fun at the struggles and quarrels of this high society would be attractive to the patriciate bourgeoisie.

This section on the multilingualism in the *Reynaert* lays the foundation for the following sections in terms of the content discussed (in the case of *Reynardus vulpes*) and the type of multilingualism employed (in the case of *Reinaerts historie*). Its inclusion of a discussion on the intended audience of the *Reynaert* serves a similar purpose, since it is from this perspective that the translation and continuation of multilingualism gains meaning, and different types of cultural transfer can be distinguished. In the transition from the French *Renart* to the Dutch *Reynaert*, Willem adjusted his use of multilingualism to that found in his French sources – much as he does for so many other narrative aspects – whilst simultaneously expanding the ways in which this linguistic tool can be used to extend the overall theme of the work. This greater emphasis on interlingual conflict and societal contrast plants the plot of branch I more firmly in the multilingual culture of thirteenth-century Flanders, extending its reach from a primarily aristocratic French audience to a mixed elite Flemish one. As will become clear in my following discussion, this form of cultural transfer differs greatly from that found in the transition from the *Reynaert* to the Latin *Reynardus vulpes*.

7.3 FROM *VAN DEN VOS REYNAERDE* TO *REYNARDUS VULPES*

> Fabula Reynardi, sicut reor agnita multis
> Teutonice scripta, metrificata sonnet. (ll. 1-2)
>
> The story of Reynaert, as it is known to many
> Written in Dutch, now resounds in [Latin] verse.[507]

These opening lines from the *Reynardus vulpes* (henceforth: *Vulpes*) form a rare example of a (secondary) reader response from the Middle Ages: minor as it may be, the translator of the *Vulpes*

[506] See Gerritsen 2001: 95. Maerlant's *Heimlicheit der Heimlicheden*, written for the young Floris V, Count of Holland in 1266, is a characteristic example of a mirror for princes, as is his Arthurian romance *Torec* (see Gerritsen 1978, Andringa 1994 and Koekman 1988).

[507] References to *Reynardus vulpes* are to the Huygens 1968 edition. Whilst translations are my own, I did consult the Dutch translations of the text by Huygens (1968) and Nieuwenhuis (2012), as well as the English translations of Besamusca 2022.

informs us that at the time of writing, the *Reynaert* had already reached many Dutch readers and listeners.[508] The further importance of these lines follows from the close chronological connection between the *Reynaert* and the *Vulpes*. Our knowledge of the thirteenth-century *Reynaert* depends largely on later manuscripts, primarily the two complete manuscripts Comburg (designated 'A', c. 1380-1420) and Dyck ('F', c. 1330-1360).[509] The *Vulpes*, on the other hand, appears to be a much closer relative of the original source text, be it in translated form. Following the above-cited opening lines from the prologue of the *Vulpes*, the translator presents information on his dedicatee, prelate John of Flanders (1250-1290), son of Gui of Dampierre, Count of Flanders, grandson of Countess Margaret II, great-grandson of Flemish Count and later Emperor Baldwin IX and finally a descendant of Liederic, the legendary founder of the Flemish line of counts (ll. 5-18). It is particularly the information associated with John that makes such a narrow dating possible. John was appointed provost of Saint Donatian's Church in Bruges in 1267 and of the Saint Peter's Church in Lille in 1272, before becoming Bishop of Metz in 1279. Since no mention is made of John as a bishop, whilst there is specific mention of his duties as provost, we can conclude that the work was finished before October 7th, 1279. A safe dating between 1272 and 1279 is therefore generally accepted, which means the *Vulpes* was written only one or two decades after the *Reynaert*.[510]

As a result of this close proximity, the *Vulpes* has traditionally been studied as a gateway to the *Reynaert*, used to help clarify uncertain elements or passages.[511] Research on the literary or cultural merits of the translation itself was particularly scarce and remained so until the sorely needed edition (and translation) of R.B.C. Huygens (1968). Huygens' edition was not only a major improvement over the much older editions by Campbell (1859), Knorr (1860) and Hellinga (1952), but Huygens himself was also one of the first scholars to appreciate the *Vulpes* as a text on its own: 'As a whole the *Reynardus vulpes* can be considered an excellently succeeded work, with which the poet has earned an isolated yet deserving place in the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages'.[512] Both the edition itself and this more positive attitude towards the text helped pave the way for later studies, such as those by M.C.J.M. Jonkers and L. Engels.[513]

Whilst these studies put more emphasis on the *Vulpes* as a text in its own right, comparisons with the *Reynaert* are still at the core of most articles. As scholars have pointed out, this comparison is tricky for three reasons. Firstly, whilst the *Vulpes* was written in the thirteenth century, it is now

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[508] Naturally we can assume the prologue contains some poetic exaggeration (Cf. Sonnemans 1995, I: 200-202), though the very existence of the text, in particular considering it is a Latin translation of a vernacular text, proves there was interest in the story, implying some degree of notoriety.

[509] On these manuscripts see Bouwman & Besamusca 2009: 34-35.

[510] Welkenhuysen (1975: 125-126) opts for a more precise dating between December 29th, 1278 and October 7th, 1279. Cf. Jonkers 1985: 24.

[511] As early examples of such studies, see Logeman 1884 and Muller 1917.

[512] Huygens 1968: 18. The *Vulpes* is certainly isolated, given it is one of only four Latin beast epics – the others being the *Ecbasis cuiusdam captive per tropologiam* (c. 1045), the *Ysengrimus* (1148) and the *Speculum stultorum* (late twelfth century). Of these works, it is the only one from the thirteenth century and the only one to be a translation of a vernacular source. Cf. Jonkers 1997: 371. (Notably, the *Ysengrimus* marks the first textual appearance of the sly 'Reinardus' the fox and 'Ysengrimus' the wolf; see Mann 1987: 2).

[513] Jonkers 1985 is, to date, the only extensive analysis of the work, the major conclusions of which are presented in abbreviated form in Jonkers 1997. Engels supervised the work of Jonkers and published a lecture on the *Vulpes* to commemorate his retirement as professor in 1994. This work was further extended in Engels 1996a and translated into English (1996b). Other international works offering an overview of the text and its scholarship are Huygens 1969 (French) and Welkenhuysen 1975 (English).

only known through an incunable of which just two copies have survived.[514] This printed edition was produced in 1473/1474 in Utrecht by Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gherardus de Leempt, which places the print almost two hundred years after the original text was written. It is therefore possible (and indeed probable) that certain differences between the *Reynaert* and the *Vulpes* are not the result of a deliberate action by the translator, but instead occurred in some way, shape or form during the text's long transmission period. Moreover, this edition contains many errors that originated during the printing process, which further complicates the interpretation of the text.[515] Finally, it is unknown which redaction of the *Reynaert* formed the basis for the *Vulpes*. The only conclusion arrived at thus far is that the *Vulpes* shows more resemblance with MS F of the *Reynaert* than with MS A or any of the fragments, although a more thorough comparison of all surviving *Reynaert* manuscripts and the two print copies of the *Vulpes* is still a *desideratum*.[516]

Given these complications, we should be cautious when attempting to speak of the intentions of the translator of the *Vulpes*. That said, looking at the topic of multilingualism, we can allow ourselves to be less reticent, since not a single one of the multilingual elements in the *Reynaert* is found in the *Vulpes*. This is surely no coincidence or solely a freakish scar left by the transmission history of the text, which therefore begs the question: why the translator of the *Vulpes* remove all these multilingual elements? In his article on multilingualism in the *Reynaert* and the *Vulpes*, Bart Besamusca offers an explanation for both the absence of the French and Latin passages separately, as well as a general explanation for the lack of multilingualism *an sich*. All three of these explanations are convincing and plausible but, in my view, do not quite represent the complete picture. Whereas Besamusca stays closer to the literary and linguistic qualities of the text, I argue that a translational approach considering the altered reception and audience of the *Vulpes* from that of the *Reynaert* is vital to this discussion. I therefore first present this new receptive domain before turning to the multilingual elements that were omitted and Besamusca's explanations for these omissions.

In the *Reynaert*, the given name of the author, Willem, is found once in the prologue (l. 1) and once through an acrostichon in the closing lines of the text found in the Comburg manuscript. In the *Vulpes*, the translator introduces himself in the text's epilogue:

> Suscipe Baldwini metra qualiacumque, Iohannes,
> Nomine qui Iuvenis, corpore nempe senex. (ll. 1841-1842)
>
> John, accept for what they are worth the verses of Baldwin,
> Whose name is 'The Young', but whose body is old.

Who this 'Balduinus Iuvenis' was remains a debated topic, for besides his name we have no other information about him or his literary activities. The presentation of his name is deliberately comedic, creating a juxtaposition between the element of youth captured in his name and the actual age of the author himself. Some scholars have suggested a very literal interpretation, where the youthfulness in his name refers to the 'Bald'-element of the name itself ('bald' meaning young and

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514 On these copies, see Hellinga & Hellinga 1968.
515 See in particular Engels 1996a: 76-83.
516 Huygens 1968: 13 and Engels 1994: 17. Jonkers (1997: 373) argues that the *Vulpes* was based on an edition of the *Reynaert* that predates the copy that was used for both manuscripts A and F.

vital).[517] More likely is that 'Iuvenis' is the byname of our author, that is, Baldwin the Younger. Since there were surely many Baldwins in the thirteenth century, some of whom also bear the byname 'Iuvenis' in documentary sources, narrowing down which of these figures could be the Balduinus of the *Vulpes* has proven difficult. One likely candidate, however, is found in a Latin document from the bishop's seminary in Bruges dating from April 26nd, 1298, mentioned by Napoléon de Pauw in 1876. In the document, Balduinus is identified as a monk from the Cistercian Abbey of Ter Doest near Bruges, who witnesses a testimony.[518] This same Balduinus was found again in a second document from October 10th, 1299, where he acts as a counselor during a judicial dispute, this time supporting the position of the Augustinian abbot of Saint Andries.[519] Whilst impossible to pinpoint whether this Balduinus is our author, the profile of the *Vulpes* translator certainly fits a man such as him.

In order to translate a work into Latin, one would need sufficient understanding of Latin and experience as a writer, making it likely that the author was a member of the clergy. Balduinus' role as a counselor and legal executioner in the two deeds fits well with a senior monk, perhaps ordained, whose reputation and experience has earned him the trust needed for such positions. Furthermore, his connection to a Cistercian abbey also finds support in the text. The dedicatee, John of Flanders, was the most highly placed prelate of the Dampierre family, which as stated in §7.2 was a big supporter and patron of the Cistercian Order. Additionally, Rik van Daele has shown that one of the few place names changed during the translation of the *Reynaert* into the *Vulpes* also has ties with the Cistercians. The placename 'Belsele' (l. 2097) is replaced with 'Wancellae*'* (l. 999), which refers to the Cistercian Vaucelles Abbey in the north of France. This abbey was one of the biggest and most successful Cistercian houses of the thirteenth century, with over 140 choir monks and 300 lay brothers. Importantly, the abbey owned land and buildings near Knokke and Westkapelle (both towns just north of Bruges) and was given additional land in 1266 by Margaret II, deepening the ties between the Cistercians and the Dampierre dynasty.[520]

Whilst the work itself was probably dedicated to John of Flanders – considering the interest of the Dampierres in the *Reynaert* material and the described ties between the Cistercians and the Dampierres – it is also possible that the text also functioned for another audience. No specific audience is referenced in the work, although the emphasis on the clergy in the prologue (ll. 19-20) suggests we should point our eyes in the direction of an ecclesiastical audience. The most compelling audience in my view is the one suggested by Wytze Hellinga in 1965, namely that of students of a chapter school, which I argue can be broadened to any cleric wishing to improve his skills of Latin.[521]

Support for this view can be found primarily through the study of Jonkers (1985) and Engels (1994) on the adaptation techniques employed by Balduinus. Broadly speaking, there are three types of adaptation found in the *Vulpes*. Firstly, various passages have been decreased in size

517 Welkenhuysen 1975: 128 and Jonkers 1997: 372. Whilst possible, at least one difficulty with this interpretation is that the primary translation of 'bald' would be strong or fierce, not young. It only gains this second meaning in the context of 'senex' which, while understandable, does open up the interpretation to circular reasoning.
518 De Pauw 1876.
519 On this document, see Berteloot 1997. For an alternative Balduinus Iuvenis, see Welkenhuysen 1975: 127. Berteloot (1997: 51) also mentions a third Baldwin, who was involved with the Church of Our Lady in Bruges according a document from May 4th, 1275.
520 Van Daele 1997a.
521 Hellinga 1965.

or moved around, which increases the clarity of the passages.[522] The literary play so characteristic of the *Reynaert* is greatly diminished in the *Vulpes* and, as demonstrated below, this is important for the text's engagement with multilingualism. Some passages have also been slightly altered or extended. In one instance, this extension has been linked to developments within clerical milieus. During the passage where Bruun is mockingly compared by Reynaert to a priest, in addition to the tonsure and the red gloves, the *Vulpes* poet makes a comment about Brunus' beard (l. 397). This has been considered by Engels as an allusion to a development that occurred during the second half of the thirteenth century in Western Europe where, under the influence of new contacts with the East through the Crusades, wearing a beard became fashionable among clerics.[523]

A second adaptation strategy consists of what Jonkers calls a 'mythologization' of the work. Balduinus has added references to classical works, primarily those of Ovid. One glaring example is that of the villagers attacking Brunus when he is stuck in the tree trunk. In the *Reynaert*, these villagers are all given Dutch names such as Lottram Lancvoet, Lady Vulmaerte and Abelquac (ll. 784-804). In the *Vulpes*, these characters are turned into shepherds with names taken from Vergil's *Eclogae* (or *Bucolica*). Another example is described in detail by Mark Nieuwenhuis and concerns the brief mention of night owls said to reside near Kriekeputte, the location where Reynaert's fictitious treasure is hidden. In the *Vulpes*, these night owls have been given specific names, Ascalaphus and Nyctimene, both taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Nieuwenhuis argues these names are not only added to place the text within closer proximity to the Latin poetic tradition, but also to enhance certain elements of the Dutch story, such as the character of Reynaert who like the owls figuratively shuns the light due to his many misdeeds.[524] Adding these classical figures and references also suits the use of the *Vulpes* as an educational text for those wishing to learn or improve their mastery of Latin, since texts by Ovid and Vergil formed the core of medieval grammar and rhetoric education.[525]

Finally, and most importantly, Balduinus added moral reflections to the text which aid the readers in their reception. These elements above all else inform Hellinga's hypothesis. Through these inclusions, which occur in fourteen separate occasions, the text puts emphasis on Reynardus as a 'embodiment of evil', leaving no room for the ambiguous stance towards the fox often encountered by readers of the *Reynaert*. These moralizations also led Jonkers to believe the intended audience of the *Vulpes* was likely a clerical one, since several of the moralizations are used to correct the faulty actions of clerical figures in the story, such as the priest whose testicle gets snatched off by Tibertus the cat, and the misadventure of Belinus the ram, the court's chaplain.[526] This would also conform to the overall function attributed to the incunable in which one of the extant copies of the *Vulpes* is found. This incunable contains various texts of a moralizing nature, one of which states that it is useful to preachers ('utilis est predicatoribus').[527] Furthermore, moralizations are also present in the earliest printed copies of the *Reynaert*, where it serves to adjust the more

522 Engels 1994: 6-10. Examples of lines that have been made less ambiguous include ll. 33-34, 753-762 and 989-998.
523 See Engels 1996b: 13 and the references made there.
524 Nieuwenhuis 2013: 64. Other examples of mythological names and influences are discussed in Jonkers 1985: 45-46.
525 Hexter 1986, Gillespie 2005 and Fyler 2009.
526 Jonkers 1985: 31-45. Cf. Jonkers 1997: 377.
527 Hellinga & Hellinga 1968: 103.

questionable or outright coarse aspects of the story to make the text accessible to and appropriate for younger readers.[528]

With regard to an intended clerical audience of students and studious clergymen, it is also important to consider how these moralizations affected the overall depiction of clerical figures in the *Reynaert*. Without exception, in the *Reynaert* they are ridiculed and presented as the complete antithesis of the very moral function they are supposed to uphold. In the *Vulpes*, as Jonkers has carefully examined, criticism towards the clergy is still present, but it is highly focused on clergymen alone (see for instance ll. 555-562 and 1489-1492). Any form of comedy or satire is removed, as is the mockery of religious practices and the unnecessary use of God's name.[529] This editorial practice at the hands of the translator also suits the use of the text as one preparing future clerics for their duties, or a religious audience more generally.

One final educational element I can add to these three adaptation methods – all of which aim to make the text more accessible, appropriate and appealing to users – is a summary of animal names found in ll. 870-878. In the corresponding passage of the *Reynaert*, Reynaert has just arrived at Nobel's court, where, following the suggestion of Belijn the ram and his wife Hawy, all animals are invited to present their charges against Reynaert. Alongside familiar names such as Bruun, Isengrim, Tybeert, Pancer the beaver and Cantecleer the rooster, the narrator also introduces new animals like Fortadent the boar, Tiecelijn the raven, Bruneel the bird, Rosseel the squirrel, Fine the weasel and Cleenbejach the ferret: twelve animals in total, of which half are newly added solely for this passage (ll. 1852-1863). In the *Vulpes*, this list is greatly increased to a total of 34 animals! Apart from Bruun, Tybeert, Tiecelijn and Cantecleer, none of these animals have names. This list of animals, I posit, could function as a glossary, teaching students of Latin a variety of different words of a similar type or theme. In this sense the summary greatly resembles those found in the language manuals addressed in my previous chapter, albeit without an accompanying Dutch translation.

Based on the discussion presented thus far, I think it is plausible that the *Vulpes* was not only intended for John of Flanders, but could also have been used by an audience consisting of clergymen and students from clerical institutions in Flanders wanting to increase their linguistic understanding of Latin.[530] The differences described between the *Reynaert* and the *Vulpes* show a clear example of cultural transfer, where the source text is taken from a socially elite context and transformed to function within a different, religious domain. Support for this change is not only found through an increase in clerical elements but also through a substantial decrease in courtly elements. In the *Vulpes*, adjectives such as 'heer' (Lord) as well as the concept of honour have been completely removed from the text.[531] As the various examples presented have shown, this change from an elite urban-courtly domain to a religious-educational one has had significant impact on the literary character of the story. Furthermore, this impact is also felt with regard to the removal of the multilingual passages.

Starting with the two French passages, Besamusca notes that through the absence of Cortoys' French speech much of the comedic incongruity is lost. In the Bruun passage the French opener is replaced with the word 'Presul' (l. 395), which carries the same authoritative emphasis as

[528] Wackers 2000a: 88.
[529] Jonkers 1985: 156, 195 and 207.
[530] It should be noted, however, that this is currently but a suggestion, as we lack historical sources that prove the text was indeed used in chapter schools.
[531] Cf. Jonkers 1985: 127 & 137.

'Siere' and therefore manages to recreate the same entertaining effect.[532] Alongside Grimbeert's use of Latin as a status-increasing activity (l. 257: 'Male quesite male perdite'), Besamusca's explanation for the absence of these multilingual utterances is of a sociolinguistic nature:

> These speech acts by Cortoys, Reynaert and Grimbeert involve a switch from the L language Dutch to the H languages French and Latin. This is, of course, feasible in a Dutch text such as *Van den vos Reynaerde*, but not in *Reynardus Vulpes*, as this text is already written in the H language.[533]

The theory here is that switching from a low-status language towards a high-status language creates comic incongruity through social contrasts, whereas such an effect cannot be reached when the order is reversed and one is essentially kicking downwards. This explanation certainly makes sense: speaking Dutch cannot be used to increase status, whereas citing a *sententia* in Latin can. Nevertheless, I have some reservations. A minor point of contention is that we do find codeswitches from French into Dutch in the *Roman de Renart*, which according to Besamusca would be an example of an impossible switch from a H language into an L language. More pressingly, it is my understanding that the status-increasing act of the French passages differs significantly from that in Grimbeert's passage through its social context. As outlined in §7.2, the French passages both function to comment on the status of the aristocracy: Reynaert and Cortoys speak French because they wish to illustrate their social superiority as members of the nobility. Such a use of language is unnecessary in a text such as the *Vulpes*, which is directed at members of the clergy and whose primary function is not social critique but education and moralization (which is not to say these readers would not have also been able to enjoy the social criticism expressed in the work). Additionally, I argue that introducing multiple languages in a text meant to instruct its readers in a single language can work counterproductively, even if some of those readers were themselves bilingual or French-speaking Flemmings. Grimbeert's use of Latin, on the other hand, functions within the context of the religious role that Grimbeert plays within the story. His incorrect use of Latin at Nobel's court forms a precursor to his own lack of understanding of Latin during the later confession scene. As such, an explanation for the removal of this instance of multilingualism is better placed alongside the other Latin examples.

Besamusca's discussion of the three Latin passages, excluding that of Grimbeert, is short and to the point: Balduinus refrained from the parodic uses of Latin such as 'Confiteor pater mater' (l. 1453), 'Sancta spiritus' (l. 1544) and 'Nomine patrum christum filye' (l. 1820) of the *Reynaert*. The explanation for the absence of these three cases in the *Vulpes* presented by Besamusca centres around the figure of John of Flanders:

> It is, first of all, easy to understand why he did not include the three instances of corrupted Church Latin in his adaptation. It is highly likely that this was done in an effort not to defile the H language he used himself and displease his ecclesiastical dedicatee, John of Flanders. He would have avoided the use of sacred words and notions for the same reason.[534]

532 Besamusca 2022: 186. Cf. Jonkers 1985: 201.
533 Besamusca 2022: 190.
534 Besamusca 2022: 189-190.

I agree with Besamusca that the absence of mocking Latin terms and practices correlates with Balduinus' overall stance towards the use of God's name. The notion that these multilingual occurrences were removed to avoid anger or criticism from John of Flanders I find less convincing. After all, even without these multilingual utterances, there is still plenty of criticism towards members of the clergy. And if it is completely accepted that upper-class audiences would find enjoyment and lessons from courtly texts that mocked nobles and aristocratic culture, such as the *Reynaert*, why would this not also be the case for a clerical audience, especially if that audience is John of Flanders, himself born and raised in an aristocratic atmosphere that enjoyed this self-deprecating humour? Rather, I believe we can explain the absence of these elements from the perspective of the second presumed intended audience, namely students of Latin. Whereas in the Dutch *Reynaert*, the incorrect Latin verses can be easily separated from the correct surrounding Dutch text, including grammatically incorrect Latin sentences in a fully Latin text would cause more issues. Not only would one run the risk of students learning important Latin phrases incorrectly, but it might also give the impression that the teacher himself – i.e., Balduinus the translator – is unable to distinguish correct Latin from incorrect Latin.

In a similar vein, we can also understand why both of the Latin passages concerning Grimbeert have not been carried over to the *Vulpes*. Grimbeert is one of the more intelligent figures in the *Reynaert* and, depending on how you interpret l. 1438, he is either a layman or a member of the clergy. I therefore agree with Besamusca that by removing the incorrect Latin 'Male quesite' line, the only questionable aspect of Grimbeert's defense is removed and his authority is maximized.[535] This positive image is then further supported during the confession scene. In place of the 'Confiteor pater mater' passage, the narrator of the *Vulpes* simply states that Reynardus began to speak concealingly and cunningly (l. 635). Unlike the Dutch Grimbeert, who asks Reynaert to speak plainly in Dutch, the Latin Grimbertus criticizes Reynardus and points out that no forgiveness can be given for a deed which is not explained fully and honestly (ll. 636-638). Importantly, these sentences are then directly followed by a moral commentary by Balduinus, which further expands on the ways in which a confession must be performed to be valid and useful (ll. 639-644). Such a commentary once again fits neatly with the intended audience of a chapter school, many of whose students might well perform confessions in their future everyday activities as priests. In this context, it is vital that Grimbertus is not presented as a bad teacher or himself someone who speaks in concealed or false words, and therefore it makes sense that both Latin verses concerning Grimbeert were removed.

This finally brings me to Besamusca's overarching explanation for the lack of multilingualism in the *Vulpes*, with which I fully agree. Whereas Willem produced a text full of cynicism and social critique, Balduinus's aim is much more educational. In broader terms we can say that Willem wants his readers to think, whereas Balduinus wants his readers to understand. As Besamusca explains, word games, whether in Dutch, French or Latin, do not fit in the moral framework Balduinus carefully crafted:

> Unlike the cynic Willem, Baldwin was a moralist. He preferred narrative elements that lent itself to moralising explanations. For this reason, Willem's multilingual passages had to be dismissed.[536]

[535] Besamusca 2022: 187.
[536] Besamusca 2022: 191.

In exchange for word games and literary ambiguity, perhaps specifically to spark the interest of a younger student audience, Balduinus resorted to the other influence on his work, the Latin poetic tradition of Ovid, which allowed for strict moralization presented in an intriguing narrative setting.[537]

By way of conclusion, we can note that the transition of the *Reynaert* from an elite urban or aristocratic receptive setting into the clerical domain of the *Vulpes* led to a drastically different approach to multilingualism. In the *Reynaert*, it is a primary tool, alongside other plays on words and linguistically ambiguous narratives, used to comment on (and perhaps question) the prestige and status of the aristocracy. The author of the *Vulpes* directed his attention towards a completely different domain, which favoured truth and moral clarity over debate and social critique, and thus had no room for multilingual elements that would distract or divert from his educational goal. In addition to Besamusca's reflections on this change in multilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective, I argued here that of equal importance is the changing domain in which the text was produced and received. Combined, they emphasize the authors' awareness of the language of their texts, and the ways that different languages can add to or detract from the core aspects or narrative goals of a text. The transition from the *Renart* to the *Reynaert* occurred within a similar domain and was met with an increase in multilingualism. The transition from the *Reynaert* to the *Vulpes* was accompanied by a change in receptive domains and consequently the degree of multilingualism decreased. As we will now see, the final jump from the *Reynaert* to *Reinaerts historie* brings with it another change of scenery and, accordingly, an extended use of multilingualism.

7.4 FROM *VAN DEN VOS REYNAERDE* TO *REINAERTS HISTORIE*

One of the reasons cited for the creation of various new branches of the *Renart* following the initial story of Pierre de Saint-Cloud (branch II-Va) is that authors claimed certain misdeeds of Renart were not yet sufficiently punished. For instance, the author of *Le Jugement* or *Le Plaid* (branch I), which as stated above formed the basis for the *Reynaert*, says he decided to continue the story of Pierre (*Perroz*) because he had refrained from recounting Renart's condemnation following the fox's rape of the she-wolf Hersent:

Perroz, qui son engine ess' art	Pierre, who used his artistry
Mist en vers faire de Renart	To tell about Renart
Et d'Isengrin son chier conpere,	And his companion Ysengrin in verse,
Laissa le mieuz de sa matiere	Left out the most beautiful part of his subject
Quant il entroblia les plaiz	For he forgot the trial
Et le jugement qui fu faiz,	And the verdict that was handed out,
Et la cort Noble le lion,	At the court of Noble the lion,
De la grant fornicacion	Regarding the gross sexual misconduct
Que Renart fist, qui toz max cove,	That Renart, who brings forth all evil, had committed
Envers dame Hersent la love.	Against Lady Hersent, the she-wolf.[538]

[537] Cf. Engels 1996a: 84.
[538] *Le Jugement*, ll. 1-10 (ed. Roques 1948).

A similar sentiment was likely shared by Balduinus, for among the very few internal changes to the plot of the *Reynaert* is its ending, which he altered to add a more fitting punishment for Reynardus' crimes.[539] In addition to Brunus and Ysengrimus being compensated for their grievances, Tybertus is also compensated for the loss of his eye. The animals also condemn Reynardus' keep Malpertuus, which they destroy and burn to the ground.[540]

The author of *Reinaerts historie* (henceforth: *Historie*) also questioned Reynaert's fate, but not in the same way as his predecessors: rather than regret that Reynaert did not receive his deserved punishment, he believed the state of Nobel's court was not quite as miserable as it should have been and that real-life Reynaerts do not flee from the court, but rather nestle in it to corrupt it from inside. The true ending of the story does not end with Reynaert on the run, but on the throne (or at least very close to it).[541] To achieve this goal, the author of the *Historie* approached the *Reynaert* in a fashion reminiscent of the *Vulpes* by tweaking specific nuances, but took it one step further by not only changing the ending of the story but also adding a continuation of over 4,000 verses.

When Reynaert returns to his home and tells his wife Hermeline that their family must leave Nobel's land, rather than accept this idea like her counterpart in the *Reynaert*, she instead convinces Reynaert to stay put by emphasizing the strength of their foothold (ll. 3184-3204).[542] This opens the story up for new charges, which soon arise. Following the events of the *Reynaert*, King Nobel extends his Reynaert's trial, where new accusations are presented against him. Hearing these, Grimbeert rushes to his uncle's house and convinces him to once more join him at court. On the way, Reynaert again confesses his sins and offers a brief recapitulation of all that transpired in the story to that point. Once at court, Reynaert manages to defend himself as before, until he is confronted with the death of Cuwaert, whose head Reynaert sent to Nobel in a bag. Unable to think of a solution to this problem, Reynaert is aided by a new character, Rukenau the she-ape, who functions as the head of Reynaert's clan. Rukenau is as much a verbal athlete as Reynaert and manages to buy him enough time to construct another lie that will explain the death of Cuwaert as well as eliminate the promised treasure from Kriekeputte for the king and queen. All seems well at this point, until Isengrim once more demands justice for the misdeeds Reynaert committed against his family. Unable to defeat Reynaert in debate, he challenges him to a judicial duel, which Reynaert accepts. This fight is eventually won by Reynaert, who in doing so proves himself to be master of the court in both words and deeds. With this, Reynaert is fully integrated into the court, where he becomes Nobel's right hand man. The misfortune of this outcome is then emphasized by the author of the text, who argues that many real life courts house Reynaerts of their own and fall victim to lies and deceit as a result.

539 Cf. Jonkers 1985: 278 and Jonkers 1997: 373. This altered ending also contradicts the reading of the ending by De Putter (2000: 102), who argues the original *Reynaert* ending was satisfying to a medieval audience. That said, his theory that Nobel's court is still intact and not dissolved into chaos is still convincing and proven by the opening of the *Historie*, where business at the court continues as usual.

540 Interestingly, this march towards Malpertuus resembles the storyline of branch Ia (*La Siège de Maupertuis*), which in most *Renart* manuscripts follows branch I (*Le Plaid*), the main inspiration for the *Reynaert*. In the *Historie*, Nobel also threatens to march to Malpertuus, after being presented yet again with claims against Reynaert (ll. 3739-3750).

541 Wackers 1986: 126. In the *Historie*, Reynaert ends up as a 'sovereyn baelyoen' (l. 7589: sovereign bailiff). See note 472 on this function.

542 References to the *Historie* are to Wackers 2002. Translations are my own. There is also a German translation of this edition (Schlusemann & Wackers 2005), which devotes more attention to the influence of the Dutch Reynard texts on the German Reynard tradition. See also Wackers 2011.

Structurally, this second part of the *Historie* shows clear parallels with the first, yet also rings a different tone.[543] The epic quest structure of the *Reynaert* has been replaced with a narrower plot that almost completely transpires at Nobel's court. Apart from the final combat scene, the text contains no action and focuses exclusively on debate and dialogue.[544] Especially because of the many newly introduced fables, proverbs and *sententiae* in this second part, the *Historie* has been characterized as a didactic text which reshaped the social satire of the *Reynaert* into a more direct criticism of government.[545] In doing so, the *Historie* forms a clear reflection of its time, which from both a production and reception standpoint is situated in the fifteenth century.

The *Historie* is transmitted in its entirety in a single complete manuscript (Brussels, KBR, MS 14601) and in an incomplete manuscript which contains the end of the narrative (The Hague, KB, MS 75 B 7).[546] Both manuscripts were produced during the last quarter of the fifteenth century in Holland. However, the current agreement amongst scholars is that the text itself was composed in Flanders, also during the fifteenth century.[547] One argument for this localization is the reference to Diksmuide, a small city north of Ypres, and the surname given to its patriciate family, of whom at least one member was an author. The reference itself takes the form of an acrostichon, which could either point to the author – as did the acrostichon of the *Reynaert* – or to a dedicatee and/or patron.[548] Lastly, given the dating of the text, the social position of its author and/or patron, and its thematic emphasis on courtly politics, the primary audience was probably the social elite, whether they be urban, aristocratic or a mixture of the two.[549] As such, we see the receptive milieus of the *Reynaert* and *Historie* are largely similar yet evolved over time. The *Reynaert* reflects the feudal administrative structure of courts dominant in the thirteenth century, whereas the increasing importance of counselors and law experts in a new political and governmental framework that included both aristocrats and urban patriciate families is characteristic of fifteenth-century Burgundian rule.[550] The primary audience would probably be found amongst those intimately familiar with the political intricacies of this rule.

In the *Historie*, these advisors and law experts are the 'maghen' of Reynaert, his relatives and the most important members of his clan. Throughout the romance, Reynaert and his family are presented as vital members of the court who, through their intellect, protect it from deceivers, liars and wrongdoers.[551] When Grimbeert informs Reynaert that he is to appear before the court

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543 On the structure of the *Historie*, see Heeroma 1970, Goossens 1980, Wackers 1986 and Berteloot 2008: 115-116.
544 This combat scene also betrays the closest source of this second part of the *Historie*, namely branch VI of the *Renart* (*Le combat judiciaire*). On this branch, see Nieboer 1978. The duel itself possibly refers to a historical duel, as argued by Kolb 1989: 32-38 and Janssens & Van Daele 2001: 71-75.
545 This sentiment is shared by all three major works on the *Historie*: Muller 1884: 118-120, Heeroma 1970: 7 and Wackers 1986: 6. The increase in proverbs and *sententiae* is described by Sands 1974 and 1975, and Wackers 1986: 232-234, the function of which will be discussed below.
546 For these manuscripts, see Deschamps 1972: 81-83 and Wackers 2002: 347-353.
547 On the localization, see Berteloot 1987, 1993 and 2008, as well as Van Daele 1997b. Berteloot (1988 & 2008) dates the text between 1430 and 1465; Wackers (2002) takes a safer approach, preferring a date after 1373 and before 1470, though he too argues that a fifteenth-century date is most likely.
548 On this reference, found in the text's first epilogue, see Berteloot 1992 and 2008: 109. A second acrostichon, presented in the second epilogue, refers to a Claes van Aken, who was the scribe of the complete manuscript of the *Historie*, Brussels, KBR, MS 14601. On this reference, see also Berteloot 2008: 109.
549 Wackers 2002: 346.
550 A more extensive discussion on how the *Historie* echoes or comments on Burgundian political and cultural practices is presented in Wackers 2002: 340-345 and Robbe 2011. Cf. Carlier 1997.
551 Kolb 1989: 22.

to defend himself against the claims made by the other animals, he brushes off the threat, proclaiming that the court cannot function without him (ll. 1413-1418). In practice, however, it is not Reynaert but instead his allies who primarily defend this statement. The way they do this has been accurately described by Paul Wackers in his 1986 dissertation on the *Historie*, the title of which, *De waarheid als leugen* (The truth as a lie), references this very practice. Reynaert and his clan use wisdom and truth as a means to justify poor behaviour and convert lies into facts.[552] As Reynaert and Grimbeert make their way to the court for a second time, Reynaert proclaims in heavy terms that the entire court is filled with liars and that in order to be heard, one must be the same (ll. 4154-4178). Here, as an example, Reynaert states a truth to justify his own actions, thus bypassing the moral judgement of the act itself. Another example is given during the defense of Reynaert by Rukenau. When Nobel states that no one in her clan supports Reynaert, Rukenau calls forth her clan members to join her as a sign of strength and faith in Reynaert's innocence. Many animals join her, convincing the king that he was mistaken, yet in reality many only stood up because they feared Rukenau (ll. 5192-5196) or wished to share in the rewards should Reynaert find himself victorious in the end (ll. 7408-7410). The only animals that genuinely support Reynaert are Rukenau and her three children, all dirty, stinking apes (ll. 5170-5173).[553] Here what appeared to be the truth was in fact a lie, yet through its implementation this lie is accepted as reality.

This linguistic trick of enabling truthfulness to justify, normalize or conceal lies and immoral actions is also at the core of the multilingual passages in the *Historie*. The first part of the romance contains the same multilingual aspects as the *Reynaert*, with one interesting exception that proves to be characteristic of the overall changes made to the remaining multilingual passages in the *Historie*. In the second part of the text, several new elements have been added, each in the same vein as those in the first. In order to explain what this vein entails, let us start by looking at the multilingual elements in the first part, specifically those concerning Reynaert's important 'maghe' Grimbeert.

As we may recall, Grimbeert's first multilingual appearance follows his rebuttal to Cortoys' claim at Nobel's court. Cortoys accused Reynaert of stealing a sausage, which was really first stolen from Tybeert the cat by Cortoys himself. Pointing out this hypocrisy, Grimbeert cites a Latin *sententia*: 'Male quesijt, male perdijt' (l. 269). Any question of this phrase being muddled is removed and this seems to be no coincidence, as every other case of incorrect or ungrammatical Latin in the *Reynaert* has likewise been corrected in the *Historie*.[554] 'Nomine partum christum filye' becomes 'Nomen Pater Christe file' (l. 1838), 'Sancta spiritus' becomes 'Spiritus Domini' (l. 2097). By removing the incorrect appearance of these Latin utterances, the social satire associated with their use is diminished and instead the functionality of the linguistic act itself is brought to the forefront. Grimbeert's reliance on authoritative Latin expressions of wisdom draws the attention of his audience of animals away from the reality of the situation, which is that whether or not Cortoys himself is a thief and a hypocrite, Reynaert is still just as much a thief whose crimes have gone

552 Wackers 1986: 120, 162-165. Cf. p. 225: 'The Reynaert clan lies by telling the truth'.

553 During the Middle Ages, apes were generally viewed in a negative light, partially because of their association with stank and filth. See Janson 1952.

554 The correction of Latin was already mentioned in Muller 1884: 119. The social parodic use of French is nevertheless still in place, both during the Cortoys episode and the Bruun episode. As will be discussed below, however, the new use of French in the second part of the *Historie* is bereft of this social function and conformed fully to the use of Latin in the remainder of the romance.

unpunished.[555] The authority of Latin is thus used to distract the audience and to mask the true actions and motivations of the speaker and his defendant.[556]

The more serious and wise portrayal of Grimbeert is also enhanced by his second appearance in a multilingual setting, which takes place during Reynaert's confession. He begins his confession with a Latin verse, which like the other instances has been (somewhat) corrected from its incorrect form in the *Reynaert*: from 'Confiteor pater mater' into 'Confiteor tibi pater mater' (l. 1493). In the *Reynaert*, as described in §7.2, this sentence leads to an ambiguous reaction by Grimbeert, who asks 'Oem walschedi?' either to mock this incorrect phrasing of the confession formula or as a sign that he himself is unable to distinguish Latin from French. In the *Historie*, this ambiguous passage has been replaced with a more straightforward one that lacks the comedic effect presented by the earlier version (ll. 1497-1499):

Grymbaert sprac: 'Wat segdi?'	Grimbeert said: 'What are you saying?
Wildi biechten, dat segget my	If you wish to confess, then speak to me
In duutsche, so mach ict verstaen.'	In Dutch, so that I can understand you.'

Any possible sociolinguistic satire is removed and replaced with a plea for clarity: if you wish to confess, then do so in your native tongue, so that there can be no confusion regarding your words and intentions. This is the same effect created in the *Vulpes*, where 'oem walschedi' is also removed.

It is my understanding that this removal of most of the ambiguity, social criticism and comedic effect in all of the Latin multilingual passages in the first part of the *Historie* is no coincidence. Rather, it sets the tone for all the multilingual passages introduced by the continuator, whose primary goal was not to use language as a means of comedy or social criticism but to illustrate how language constitutes authority and bends reality. The model for this use of multilingualism was Willem's Grimbeert. The first example to follow Grimbeert's use of Latin in narrative order is, however, not a 'maghe' of Reynaert but rather a supporter from a different corner, namely the lioness Gente, queen of the land and wife of King Nobel.

The author of the *Historie* was clearly a careful reader of the *Reynaert*, and this shows in particular in his stance towards Gente. Gente's main feature in the *Reynaert* is her greed.[557] Once Reynaert makes mention of a treasure, she puts all her resources to work to ensure Reynaert is granted clemency and is willing to share his treasure with her and Nobel. Reading closely, we see that Nobel is hesitant and only caves in because of Gente. First, Gente promises Reynaert that Nobel will protect him, even though he himself has not said he will do so (ll. 2500-2505). Next, she convinces Nobel that Reynaert is not lying about the treasure (ll. 2518-2527). Nobel then agrees not to punish Reynaert, although he does so only because of Gente (ll. 2528-2537, 2771-2772).[558] All these elements have been copied by the author of the *Historie*, and they form the base for Gente's conflict with Nobel at the opening of the second part of the story. After Nobel is presented with new accusations of Reynaert's false deeds, he blatantly blames his wife for convincing him to believe Reynaert (ll. 3641-3646):

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555 Cf. Wackers 2002: 363: 'Grimbeert debunks the complaints by presenting them as something they are not'.
556 See also Mann 2009: 40 and 307, which very eloquently describes the same effect for the beast narrative at large.
557 Cf. Wackers 1986: 222.
558 The closeness between Gente and Reynaert is even depicted literally, for when Nobel declares his verdict to the animals of the court, Reynaert is said to stand right next to Gente, 'to whom he had every reason to be grateful' (ll. 2758-2759). On Gente's actions see Schlusemann 2011: 304-306 and 2016: 120-125.

Mer dit dede al mijne vrouwe.	But all of this was caused by my wife.
Bi haren raet ist al gesciet.	Because of her advice it all transpired.
Doch ic en byns alleen niet	Still, I am not the only one
Die bedrogen is bi vrouwen rade.	Who was deceived by the council of women.
Dair heeft mennich ooc groot scade	Because of this many others have suffered great losses
By geleden ende groten tooren.	And experienced great anger.[559]

Hearing these accusations, Gente responds to defend her actions and does so by speaking both French and Latin alongside Dutch through instances of (oral) codeswitching (ll. 3665-3683):

Ten lesten sprac die coninghynne:	Finally, the queen spoke:
'*Sier, pour dieu, ne croys mye*	'Sire, in God's name, do not believe
Toutes choses que on voys dye	Everything that people tell you
Et ne jures pays legierement,	And do not judge things too lightly,
Want ten sel geen man van eren	For no honourable man shall
Te licht geloven noch hoge sweren,	Trust too easily or swear too rashly,
Eer hi claer wel weet die zake	Before he knows fully of the situation
Ende hoort die weder sprake.	And has heard the rebuttal.
Sulc doet opten anderen clage,	He who acts as such towards another's complaint,
Wair hi by hem ende hy en zage,	Were he to be with him and see him,
Het mocht licht dat hijs hem verdroege	Would have no trouble in retracting his judgment
Ende gaen myt hem al int gevoege.	And coming to a settlement with him.
Dair staet oec gescreven me:	Therefore it is written:
Alteram partem audite.	'Hear the other party'.
Die sulc die claecht, hi selve meest misdoet.	He who complaints mistreats himself most.
Ic hielt Reynaert over goet	I believed Reynaert was honest
En dat hi om geen loosheit en dochte,	And that he had not thought wrongly,
Dair om halp ic hem dair ic mochte.	That is why I helped him as best I could.
Dat deed ic, heer, al om u vrome.	This I did, lord, all for your benefit'.

Gente urges Nobel not to believe everything he hears and to maintain his composure. To voice this advice, she uses both French and Latin as a medium of knowledge to further strengthen the authority of her proverbial utterances.[560] On the surface, this advice – much like that of Grimbeert in the first part of the romance – seems reasonable. However, a closer look quickly reveals how the proverb and *sententia* morph what actually transpired. Gente claims she acted in Nobel's interests, yet conveniently leaves out her own greed and interest in Reynaert's treasure. By resorting to a general excuse ('I fell for his lies'), she also sidesteps any responsibility on her part for the actions that followed, such as the murder of Cuwaert. Furthermore, her advice to listen to Reynaert's side of the story – here the story concerning the newly presented complaints – actually works in Reynaert's favour, for granting him the opportunity to twist facts into fiction was precisely what led to the court's misfortunes in the first place. As a result, through her defense against Reynaert's lies she actually presents herself as his supporter. Where this initially remains hidden

[559] This misogynistic comment is symptomatic of the author's view on women in general, as far as this view can be understood through his depiction of female characters. See on this notion Muller 1884.

[560] Whilst Latin was generally used for such an intellectual purpose – as is also predominantly the case in the *Reynaert* texts – French was at times also used as a language of wisdom, especially through the use of proverbs. See also Hugen 2022: 186-189.

behind fancy French and Latin sentences, she ends her defense by blatantly siding with Reynaert (ll. 3685-3687):

Hi is quaet off hi is goet,	Whether he is evil or good,
Hy is wijs ende van rade vroet	He is wise, gives good advice
Ende dair toe van groten geslachte.	And comes from a powerful family.[561]

Consequently, in Gente's use of Latin and French she portrays herself to the animals at court as wise and intelligent, whereas the astute reader or listener of the *Historie* will realize her words are vain and that as a supporter of Reynaert she is part of the problem afflicting Nobel's court.[562]

One lesson to be taken from Gente's use of multilingualism is that knowing how to act wisely does not mean one truly is wise. This lesson follows from the analysis presented above, but it is also emphasized in the story itself through a multilingual passage involving Reynaert, Isengrim and two horses. The story is taken from the fable tradition and is here given shape through a confessed sin described by Reynaert to his nephew as the two make their way to Nobel's court.[563] In this story, Reynaert and Isengrim are passing a meadow in which a mare and her foal are grazing. Isengrim is very hungry and asks Reynaert to ask the horse if she would be willing to sell them her foal. Reynaert asks her and the horse answers she is willing to do so and that the price is written on the back of her hoof. Aware of this trap, Reynaert proclaims he is unable to read, but that Isengrim certainly is. When Reynaert informs Isengrim about the price on the horse's hoof, Isengrim brags that he can read French, German and Latin (l. 4039), for he studied law in 'hoger scolen' (ll. 4041-4044).[564] As he tries to read the price on her hoof, however, he is swiftly kicked in the face. Seeing this, Reynaert rushes over to him, only to then ask whether the price was written in French or Latin and to proclaim how Isengrim is the wisest person he knows (ll. 4080-4083). The tale ends with Reynaert voicing the moral of the story: 'Dats dat die beste clercke fijn / Dicwijl die wijste lude niet en sijn' (ll. 4103-4105: That those who are the best clercks are often not the wisest people).

This episode largely resembles the passage in the *Reynaert* where Bruun was mocked by Reynaert after being injured by the nearby villagers. The main difference, however, is the mockery itself. In the *Reynaert*, emphasis is placed on the languages themselves and the different social groups associated with them. In the *Historie*, the mockery is far more intellectually orientated:

561 See also Kolb 1989: 29 and Wackers 2002: 344. Firapeel the leopard, responsible for restoring order to the court at the end of the *Reynaert*, also supports the queen and Reynaert, making him the second member of the royal family to side with the villain of the story. Their support is also reiterated by Grimbeert as he meets with Reynaert (ll. 3858-3862).

562 See also Sands 1975: 463-464, which labels Gente's proverbs as 'pompous, dull and ludicrous'. Cf. Wackers 1986: 175.

563 On fables in the *Historie*, see Wackers 1981 and Reynaert 2008. On the fable of the mare specifically, see Wackers 2009.

564 'Duutsch' can mean both Dutch or German, and one could well make the argument that here Dutch is meant, describing the trinity of major languages in medieval Flanders. Wackers (2002: 382) prefers the interpretation of German, which is followed here, arguing that this reading presents Isengrim as a master of the languages of the two cultural regions bordering Flanders: the French Kingdom and the Holy German Empire. This reading is supported by ll. 4040-4041, where Isengrim explains he learned these languages 'Op Vestvalen ende te Provijn' (In Westphalia and Provins near Champagne or alternatively the Provence), firmly rooting l. 4039 in the German and French lands: 'Vestvalen' refers to Westphalia, 'Provijn' to either the city Provins near Champagne, as Wackers suggests, or the region Provence, which I would argue is a more fit counterpart to the region of Westphalia.

Isengrim is not mocked for speaking French or Latin (or German), but for pretending to be wise when his actions clearly prove the opposite to be true. Even though Isengrim knows Latin and French, he is still stupid enough to fall for the horse's trap, making him smart but not wise. As such, the story reaffirms what could already be established through Gente's use of different languages and proverbial wisdom: relying on intelligent remarks leads to misfortune when the speaker itself is neither wise nor guided by sound motives.

Aside from Gente and Isengrim, who both diminish their own fortunes through their use of language, there are of course those members of the Reynaert clan who manage to use their good linguistic skills to their advantage. Perhaps surprisingly, Reynaert himself is not at the forefront like he was in the *Reynaert*. His only multilingual passage in the *Historie* is spoken shortly after he arrives at Nobel's court and consists of a single reference to the Bible. When Reynaert explains why he did not return to the court sooner, he mentions the ban issued against him by the pope (which was already referenced in part one, ll. 2745, 2942) and how he was able to overcome this through the aid of his uncle, Mertijn the ape. Mertijn was the lawyer of the Bishop of Cambrai for nine years, is well-versed and educated, and has connections in Rome, which he was able to use – read: via a simonious bribe – to lift the ban from Reynaert (ll. 4546-4556).[565] He is also the husband of the she-ape Rukenau, who is discussed more below. As Reynaert speaks about his meeting with Mertijn, he mentions that Lampreel the rabbit, one of the animals who has newly accused Reynaert of trying to eat him, visited his house around Pentecost. He tries to counter Lampreel's accusation by claiming it was a Wednesday and he was fasting so that he would be ready for the post-Pentecost feast, closing his statement with: 'estote parati' (l. 4460: be prepared). Again, the Latin citation is meant to convince the audience at Nobel's court that Reynaert is a devout Christian, knowledgable of Latin and thus in no way responsible for the wounds on Lampreel's head. The authoritative bragging itself, however, reveals Reynaert's deceit: the traditional fasting day is Friday, not Wednesday, and the Latin citation, taken from Matthew 22:44 and Luke 12:40 is originally aimed at the preparation for Judgement Day, not for a heavy eating session.[566] Nonetheless, the animals at Nobel's court all seem impressed and persuaded by Reynaert's Latin, and as a result his lies become the new true history of what happened to Lampreel (or rather, did not happen).

In the first part of the *Historie* (and correspondingly the *Reynaert*), alongside Reynaert it was Grimbeert who participated in the judicial debates and used Latin to his advantage. His role in the second part of the *Historie*, however, is significantly diminished. It is telling that after hearing the new charges brought against Reynaert at the beginning of the second part of the *Historie*, Grimbeert does not defend Reynaert in his absence, as he had done previously in the story, but instead immediately rushes over to Reynaert. His role as verbal defender of Reynaert is taken over by Rukenau, whose defence of Reynaert occupies a large portion of the text and connects all other examples of multilingualism found in the *Historie*. Her character and the way she uses language resembles an amalgamation of the romance's other characters.

[565] On Mertijn, see Goossens 1980. A historical counterpart to the figure of Mertijn (Jan van Diest, bishop of Utrecht between 1322 and 1340) has been suggested by Peeters 1975, who also points out that a *Martin le singe* appears in the *Renart le nouvel* (p. 157).

[566] Wackers (2002: 386) further comments that by emphasizing the importance of following Christian doctrine prior to a religious holiday, Reynaert promotes an image that none of God's commandments must be followed for the rest of the year.

Rukenau's appearance comes at a dire moment for Reynaert. His narrative about his uncle Mertijn the ape has allowed him to fend off his new accusers, but he now finds himself backed into a corner when Nobel confronts him with Cuwaert's murder. Unable to talk his way out of this mess, what he needs is time, and this is what Rukenau grants him. She is presented as the leader of Reynaert's clan and the most powerful of his 'maghen'. Besides buying Reynaert time, she also attempts to persuade the king not to judge Reynaert too harshly.[567] Her approach is largely similar to that of Gente, and this is certainly no coincidence: as soon as Rukenau is introduced, the narrator tells the audience that she is one of Gente's consorts (l. 4732). Furthermore, once Rukenau finishes her monologue, the first to respond is Gente, who expresses her support for Rukenau and Reynaert once more (ll. 5226-5229). The arguments used by Rukenau are also identical to those of Gente: Nobel should not let his emotions affect his judgment and should consider the value of Reynaert and his clan to the court (ll. 4739-4745, 4806-5225). Finally, like Gente, Rukenau uses her intellect to persuade her audience and, more importantly, to draw their attention away from the crimes under review.[568]

This tactic opens with a proliferation and exaggeration of her own mental capabilities. Like her husband Mertijn, she is a master of law with connections to the papal court (ll. 4746-4756) and like Isengrim she likes to show off her intellectual capacity: she quotes (in translation) classical *auctores* like Seneca and Aristotle (ll. 4286, 4754-4758, 5053) and biblical texts (ll. 4779-4796), references learned associates (l. 5297: 'meyster Akarijn') and even proclaims to possess medical knowledge (ll. 5937-5947). From a rhetorical standpoint, these actions all grant Rukenau authority and, in extension, serve to intimidate the audience through her authoritative disposition. After all, who would dare speak ill of Reynaert when such an intelligent, well-educated and well-spoken individual just outlined why he is innocent?[569]

Most of all, Rukenau illustrates her knowledge through a flood of proverbs, *sententiae* and *exempla*.[570] On the function of the proverbs by the author of the *Historie*, Donald Sands notes:

> He uses the proverb, over and above the stylistic heightening it lends his tale, not for its "truth" but for the impact of credence it carries with it. If the *Spielmann*'s [i.e., author's] game is primarily deception – making his audience believe for a period what is manifestly untrue – what better device than the proverb could he use to promote an audience's belief in his fictions.[571]

What is most essential to take from this, is that in the *Historie* proverbial knowledge is not used to increase the wisdom of the audience (fictional or historical) but instead to make the speaker appear more wise. Rukenau does not reference Seneca to emphasize the authority of the classical author, but instead uses the association with the *auctor* to increase her own prestige as a speaker of

[567] Schlusemann 2011: 297.
[568] Cf. Sands 1974: 274 and Wackers 1986: 135 & 212. The entire structure of Rukenau's monologue is discussed in Goossens 1996 and more recently in Schlusemann 2016: 125-134.
[569] This is a paraphrase of Wackers 1986: 161. This intimidating stance on a sociolinguistic level also correlates with the physical intimidation attributed to Rukenau by members of her own family (see p. 168).
[570] See Muller 1884: 188 and Wackers 1986: 160 & 212. Cf. Sands 1974: 273, who notes that the extensive use of proverbs by Rukenau turns 'proverbial wisdom to sophistical blather'.
[571] Sands 1974: 267. The term *Spielmann* is introduced by Sands and refers to the author of the *Historie*.

knowledge.[572] In this sense, Rukenau's use of proverbial knowledge and classical and biblical material resembles that of Grimbeert as well as Gente and Reynaert.

This use of language is also found in Rukenau's implementation of multilingualism. After citing Seneca, Rukenau turns to the Bible, specifically the Gospels of Luke (6:36-37) and Matthew (7:1):

Merct wat dair gescreven staet	Notice what is written
Inder ewangelien less:	In the lessons of the Gospel:
Estote misericordes,	*Estote misericordes*,
Weest ontfermich; noch state dair meer:	Be merciful; there also is more:
Nolite iudicare	*Nolite iudicare*
Et non iudicabimini,	*Et non iudicabimini*,
Oordelt nyement, so en sel dy	Do not judge someone,
Selve oordeel liden geen. (ll. 4777-4784)	Lest you yourself be judged.

As Paul Wackers correctly pointed out, these Latin lessons are perfectly fine in their presentation, but their original use is in a moral-religious context, not a judicial one, the point being that it is the task of a judge such as Nobel to exact justice with full knowledge that humans (and here animals) are inherently faulty and prone to sin.[573] This use resembles that of Latin by Gente, Grimbeert and Reynaert, and serves once more as an illustration of multilingualism as a means of distraction and deflection. Rukenau's purpose is to draw attention away from the very real head of Cuwaert and instead pull the wool over the eyes of Nobel by overwhelming him with intellectual utterances, out-of-context *exempla* and proverbs and guarantees that having Reynaert near is truly what is best for him.

To conclude, we may note that the author of the *Historie* took a different path than the translator of the *Vulpes*. Rather than remove multilingual passages, he instead increased their quantity and spread out new French and Latin utterances among more characters than those who were multilingual in the *Reynaert*. Similarly, multilingual passages without actual multilingualism, such as that of Cortoys' sausage complaint, are also present in the fable of the mare. Moreover, Reynaert's use of multilingualism in both text parts has been adapted in a creative way. The sociolinguistic application present in the *Reynaert* has been preserved in the first part of the *Historie* for the French aspects, but replaced with a more didactical and learned approach for the Latin examples. This trend is then continued in the second part, where both French and Latin elements are used to illustrate the intellectualism of the speakers, which in itself functions to distract the audience from the actual crimes that have transpired. Where the use of a different language in the *Reynaert* highlighted the desired prestige of the speaker, in the *Historie* it functions to veil the true intentions of the speaker. Lastly, we can note that this use of multilingualism fits among the overall themes of the romance, one of which is the abuse of language. The fact that nearly every member of the Reynaert clan, and even their supporters such as Gente, partake in this abuse conforms to the increased attention on Reynaert's 'maghen' rather than on the interaction between him and the other vassals at Nobel's court. This in turn is meant to correspond to the historical counterparts

[572] This interesting interaction between authority, quotation and quoter is discussed in Armstrong & Kay 2011 (see, e.g., pp. 151-152).

[573] Wackers 2002: 338, 390-391. Cf. Wackers 1986: 186.

of these lawyers and advisors at the Burgundian courts and cities of the fifteenth century.[574] As such, the *Historie* shows yet another way in which the adaptation of language from one text into the next is influenced by the changing cultural contexts of its reception.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The three Flemish Reynaert texts are quite unlike any other. The literary quality of the *Reynaert* is unrivalled in the Dutch narrative tradition; the *Reynardus* is one of the earliest Latin translations of a Dutch narrative text; and within the sphere of medieval continuation works the *Historie* is unique in its way of progressing a seemingly finished narrative. Fittingly, their use of multilingualism display equal degrees of originality and diversity.

Following the multilingual passages and sociolinguistic themes from the *Renart*, the *Reynaert* employed French and Latin as comedic tools of social satire towards the aristocratic courtly culture of its elite Flemish audience, making fun of the cultural habits and prestigious rituals associated with the domain of the nobility. The *Vulpes* completely removed these multilingual elements to promote its new function as an educational Latin text, thus replacing satire with didactics. Finally, the *Historie* returns to an elite courtly setting, altering the grammatically unsound Latin elements from the *Reynaert* into a (more) correct form that fits their new narratological purpose as deceptive marks of authority and knowledge. It does so whilst simultaneously increasing the number of advisors and law experts among Reynaert's supporters who employ different languages, thereby confirming to the Burgundian era in which the text was produced. The result is a fascinating movement of multilingualism within the medieval County of Flanders through different times and cultural domains, which is illustrative of the region's diverse literary multilingualism.

The concepts of cultural transfer and translational theory prove to be useful lenses through which to view this movement in multilingualism. The playful use of multilingualism as a tool for social commentary was already present in the court-oriented *Renart*, and was elevated to the next level by Willem in his *Reynaert*. The use of multilingualism was then again increased during the fifteenth-century continuation of the *Historie*, though as the court and urban domains of Flanders changed between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, so too did the use of multilingualism in the *Reynaert* series. On the other end of the spectrum, the translation of the *Reynaert* into a clerical domain with the *Vulpes* meant the complete erasure of multilingualism, the playful and social implementation of which in the Dutch text found no use in its new Latinized educational context.

Considering the diversity of multilingualism found in literature from medieval Flanders, the Reynaert corpus highlights three things. Firstly, the movement of multilingualism through these three texts emphasizes that the use of a different language in a narrative text is a conscious decision made by the author or translator and serves a specific purpose. The fact that the translator of the *Vulpes* chose to remove the French and Latin aspects of the *Reynaert* drives this point home. Secondly, whereas texts such as the *Reynaert* and the Gruuthuse songs discussed in Chapter 3 use French as a social tool, the French added in the *Historie* serves as an example that French could also be used similarly to the use of Latin, namely as an authoritative vehicle for knowledge. This

[574] Cf. Wackers 2000b: 65-71, which discusses how the social context of the *Renart*, *Reynaert* and *Historie* changed over time.

once more shows the degree of literary flexibility available to medieval authors within the multilingual climate of medieval Flanders. Thirdly, as stated in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, studying multilingualism in translations is a somewhat misguided endeavour, since usually translation leads to monolingualism despite being in itself a clear indicator of a multilingual literary circuit. That said, this chapter illustrates that even when multilingualism disappears during translation, the movement of multilingualism from one cultural and literary domain to another still grants interesting insights into the use, meaning and reception of texts.

PART V. CONCLUSION

8

Crossroads of cultures: Multilingual diversity in medieval Flanders

The previous pages have shed new light on the multilingual diversity in Dutch literature from late medieval Flanders by means of six case studies in which various multilingual texts and manuscripts are analyzed using a combination of different methodological approaches. Central to each of these case studies is the relationship between Dutch and French and/or Latin, and what insights can be gained from this relationship to increase our understanding of the specific texts or manuscripts, as well as the dynamic literary culture in which they were produced and received. Whilst each of the previous chapters has placed only a specific work, genre, literary figure or geographical region at the forefront, the different case studies are complementary voices within the same dialogue on the multilingual literary culture of late medieval Flanders. The goal of this concluding chapter is to explore and synthesize this dialogue by considering what results can be gathered from my analyses, and how the methods and approaches I used may inform future studies, both those centred around Flanders and/or medieval Dutch literature, as well as those looking at literatures elsewhere.

To anchor this discussion, I first return to the main questions that my study aimed to answer, namely: how can the multilingual diversity of medieval Dutch texts and manuscripts composed between c. 1200 and c. 1500 in Flanders be described; in what ways do French and Latin elements within Flemish literature interact with Dutch; and how do these interactions enhance our view of the multilingual dynamics of the literary culture of medieval Flanders as a whole? For a multitude of reasons, varying from nineteenth-century nationalist ideologies and disciplinary constraints in modern scholarly institutions, to a lack of applicable methodological models and limitations of researchers' training and abilities, studies on the history of literature from medieval Flanders have failed to do justice to the interconnected, multicultural and multilingual reality of the region. The result is both a distorted view of the intertextual and interdiscursive contexts within which Dutch, French and Latin literature coexisted in the county, as well as a lack of study on the presence of French and Latin elements in Dutch literature specifically.[575] By taking a closer look at these multilingual elements in Dutch texts and manuscripts, this study aims to simultaneously help correct this mis- and under-informed view and fill a gap in our knowledge of literary multilingualism.

Whereas the total number of surviving multilingual texts from Flanders containing Dutch is relatively small and only a handful of multilingual manuscripts was discussed here in detail, my analysis has made clear that just as there are differences between these selected sources on a generic, thematic and formal level, so too is there diversity in the ways in which they incorporate

[575] Cf. Mareel & Schoenaers 2015: 3, Armstrong 2017: 1 and Van de Haar 2019: 330.

French and Latin elements. The multilingual sources discussed in the previous chapters vary in their:

- number and complexity of multilingual elements (ranging from single words or terms to multiple sentences and entire sections);
- their degree of textual embedment (in the form of codeswitches, paratextual elements or parallel texts);
- the languages included (French, Latin or both, alongside Dutch); and
- Functions fulfilled by the multilingual elements in these texts and manuscripts (including forms of aesthetic enrichment, social criticism, cultural transfer, knowledge reproduction and foregrounding of the poetic function of language itself). This latter quality is, I believe, the most important.[576]

Additionally, for each of the case studies presented in this study there is good reason to assume that the inclusion of French and/or Latin elements was not a meaningless occurrence nor the result of some accident or happenstance, which can be the case in (modern) oral codeswitching. Rather, these multilingual elements appear to have been the purposeful result of opportunities taken by authors or scribes to stretch their creative muscles and display their knowledge of different texts, languages and authorities. In the *Leeringhe* by Jan Praet discussed in Chapter 3, we see this clearly through the many ways in which Praet uses Latin to add to the stylistic and learned outlook of his work. Praet did not limit his use of Latin to standard references and citations of religious and classical authorities, but also incorporated Latin *sententiae* in bilingual *notae* and *glossae*. He also played with Latin terms in his letter-poem on the Virgin Mary, where each letter of her Latin name is connected to virtues and flowers in Dutch.

Equally creative from a visual perspective are the horizontal branching diagrams that we find in the Geraardsbergen codex (Chapter 4). Alongside Dutch examples, one fully French and one French-Dutch diagram highlight how knowledge of French could be used in a playful manner to appeal to both monolingual and bilingual readers. Notably, it is not only the presentation of these texts that allows for interaction between the text and its reader, but also, and more specifically, the intimate knowledge of the specific languages allows readers to probe for deeper meanings. This is especially true of the codex's text 3 ('Fol es qui fol boute'), where extended knowledge of French helps the reader to detect amorous connections between verbs that appear at a first glance to have little in common.

Further, the deliberate nature of multilingual inclusions may also follow from diversity in the narrative settings in which these inclusions occur. For example, in song II.17 (*De capelaen van Hoedelem*) of the Gruuthuse codex, described in Chapter 2, French is used in a muddled form as the refrain of the otherwise Dutch song. In *Van den vos Reynaerde* and *Reinaerts historie*, on the other hand, French and Latin are spoken in monologues and dialogues. And, as Chapter 4 has shown, French elements in the Geraardsbergen codex may have even been added by its scribe as ingrained elements of the text, and in one instance as the heading of an inscription. The variety in these implantations of foreign elements into otherwise Dutch works may, I argue, best be explained as

[576] For recent studies reflecting on these various forms and functions of textual multilingualism, see Hugen 2022 and Chinca (forthcoming).

the result of deliberate and meaningful choices made by those responsible for the production and presentation of these texts.[577]

What also adds to the diversity of multilingualism in the corpus studied here is that the creative use of French and/or Latin elements was not restricted to specific regions or social milieus within Flanders, nor limited to a specific type of literature. Importantly, what this heterogeneity of multilingual inclusions in Dutch literature suggests is that some Flemish authors, scribes and compilers were part of a larger literary discourse in which French and Latin were accepted parts of the poetics of Dutch literature, and capable of generating new and intriguing literary effects for the slice of readership that had access to these languages. This observation is important not only because it justifies the inclusion of multilingual literature into the broader discussion of literary multilingualism, but also because a similar acceptance of Dutch elements in French or Latin works appears to be largely absent. Latin elements commonly feature in Dutch works, especially religious and didactic ones, yet fully Latin texts that contain Dutch sentences as a narrative feature are few and far between. Similarly, whereas Latin translations of Dutch works do exist, as can be seen in both Chapters 6 and 7, on a larger scale they too are exceptions to the rule. It would seem that the diglossic relation of the H language (Latin) and the L languages (vernaculars) may be an important factor in this context. This dissertation did, however, touch on examples of French works (in Chapters 2 and 7) in which Dutch names, words and short sentences were used in a literary fashion, namely *La Prise de Neuville*, the *Roman de Renart* (branch I) and the *Renart le nouvel*. Notably, each of these texts can be located in Northern France, and their use of Dutch closely resembles that of some of the Flemish works discussed here (primarily the Gruuthuse songs and the Reynaert stories). Perhaps these works are therefore suggestive of literary contacts between different regions in the northern part of the French Kingdom that transcended language barriers and valued both vernacular to a comparable degree.[578] The biography of the rather mobile Guillebert de Mets (Chapter 4) demonstrates this possibility.

When discussing the individual works explored in this dissertation in relation to the broader multilingual culture of Flanders and its surrounding territories, it is important to recall that they are only selected handful that serve to highlight noteworthy aspects of the multilingual literary culture of Flanders. That is, they cannot illustrate what was either common or exemplary of Flemish (multilingual) literature as a whole. Here it is useful, however, to reconsider another aspect of my study which may be useful to those working with multilingual literature, namely the detection and selection of multilingual sources (explained in both §1.5 and in more detail in Appendix I). Due to the absence of an existing database of multilingual sources from the Southern Low Countries at the outset of my study,[579] and the limited information on multilingual elements listed in text repertoires and manuscript catalogues, a particular search method was employed to detect as many multilingual works from as wide a range of literary genres as possible. This method was not designed to produce an exhaustive overview of all multilingual works from Flanders, but rather to present an array of multilingual works from which specific interesting and unique cases could

577 Cf. Cerquiglini-Toulet 2010: 345.

578 Cf. in this light Hoogvliet 2018 on the mobility of texts between different regions at the border of the French Kingdom.

579 An absence which the *Multilingual Dynamics of the Literary Culture of Medieval Flanders, ca 1200 – ca 1500* project to which my dissertation is affiliated has since sought to remedy through its (ongoing) database of Flemish manuscripts in Dutch, French and Latin, as noted elsewhere.

be selected to analyze in more detail. Accordingly, what effectively made these cases noteworthy was not just the presence of multilingualism itself, but rather the degree of multilingualism in combination with other factors that drew my attention, such as their social context (for the Gruuthuse song codex in Chapter 2); their stylistic qualities and unorthodox composition (for the *Leeringhe* in Chapter 3); the location in Flanders where they were produced (for the Geraardsbergen codex and the works of Guillebert de Mets in Chapter 4); the unconventional presence of multilingualism in a certain genre (for Hattem C5 in Chapter 5); the relationship between the visual presentation of a manuscript and their texts' functions (for the parallel texts in Chapter 6); and, finally, their unique contemporary textual transmission (for the Reynaert narratives in Chapter 7).[580]

Whilst I think this method of source detection and selection was the most productive one possible with our current means, and adequate for the purposes of my research, I am equally aware of the shortcomings that surround this approach. One such shortcoming, explained in Appendix I, is that without directly consulting a complete set of images of multilingual manuscripts, or the manuscripts themselves, it is often unclear based on catalogue descriptions alone to what extent manuscripts are actually multilingual. The list of some 150 multilingual manuscripts from Flanders containing Dutch (see Appendix I) may therefore just as likely grow with newly discovered (or reinterpreted) manuscripts as it may shrink. Another, seemingly inevitable, issue is that certain texts only contain a few French or Latin elements that are uncommon and not marked by the text, meaning that as a result they are undetected through my applied method.[581] Whilst in the end these restrictions did not prevent me from finding enough texts to consider for further analysis, these issues currently also exist for future searches for multilingual literature, both in the Low Countries and elsewhere. Nevertheless, one hopes that developments in the field, as well as in adjacent disciplines like the digital humanities, may one day help combat these shortcomings.[582]

In addition to general findings regarding the diversity of multilingual works from Flanders which contain Dutch and insights gathered from the process of locating multilingual texts and manuscripts, the chapters of this dissertation have aimed to illustrate how different methodological approaches can be used to identify various types and degrees of knowledge from often limited accounts of literary multilingualism. A deliberate decision was made to combine three different theoretical frameworks with a literary-historical philological approach. The choice of these three frameworks was largely determined by how well they were able to answer specific types of questions that arose from the multilingual works themselves. For example, the term "diglossia"

[580] Cf. note 74.

[581] I was made aware of such an instance only recently: the Flemish *chanson de geste Madelghijs*, a translation of the French *Malagis*, has only survived in fragments, and has been included in the CD-ROM *Middelnederlands*. These fragments do not contain any French elements. The Dutch *Madelghijs* has, however, also been translated faithfully into Middle High German and this version still exists in its complete form (edition: Haase *et al.* 2000). In this German version, the characters Malagis and Spiet at one point take on false names, both of which are plays on French words ('Malperdut/Toüt perdüt' (Badly/Completely lost) and 'Petit bon' (Little goodness). Perhaps these French elements were also present in the original Flemish translation. I thank Jorn Hubo for bringing this case to my attention.

[582] An interesting tool to consider in this regard is *Multilingualiser*, which was designed to detect foreign words in large datasets consisting of Late Modern English (1710-1920). Effectively, the tool works similarly to my own manual search in that it tries to identify chunks of text that display an unusual degree of "foreignness" which can then be consulted by a researcher to see whether or not there is actually a multilingual inclusion. On this tool and its use, see Tyrkkö, Nurmi & Tuominen 2017. I thank Jukka Tyrkkö for discussing this tool and its possible use for medieval Dutch works with me (via e-mail: 13-1-2019).

associated with the study of sociolinguistics is most useful to describe the literary competition in the Gruuthuse codex and the *Leeringhe*, whilst the notion of codicological units from the field of codicology proved vital in the analysis of the trilingual composition of Hattem C5. The translational concept of cultural transfer allowed for some of the much-studied Reynaert texts to be considered in a new light. These approaches each highlight different dimensions of literary multilingualism; their combination allows for the case studies to say more about the multilingual dynamics of the literary culture of late medieval Flanders collectively than they would be able to do individually.

The use of these different ways of looking at multilingualism led to insights that either reaffirm, add nuance or (partially) reject some findings of previous research. Studies like those of Frank Willaert, Herman Pleij and Karl Kügle have already considered the social context in which the Gruuthuse songs were likely to have functioned, but through a sociolinguistic analysis of French in songs II.16 and II.17 it became more clear that the social mobility of people – whether between different social and cultural domains, between the large City of Bruges and its nearby communities of Oedelem and Daverloo, or between those trying to speak French and those who are comfortable sticking to Dutch – is vitally important to their historical and cultural context and a necessary element to consider when talking about either individual or societal multilingualism.

Both Jan Praet's *Leeringhe* and the Hattem C5 *artes* manuscript had received little scholarly attention, which allowed for this study to set out upon largely untrodden paths. In the case of the *Leeringhe*, it became evident that the use of Latin in this work stands out amongst other Dutch moral-theological works and, consequently, that the *Leeringhe* may be an interesting example in the development of Dutch as a learned language. Praet's critical stance towards Latin in favour of Dutch and the artistic creativity that results from the friction between these two languages forms a beautiful illustration of the type of literary innovation possible in a diglossia where languages are continually fighting with one another over sociocultural terrain.[583] One of the notable findings of my Hattem C5 case study is that the traditional belief that the manuscript's user was interested in unorthodox fields (namely astronomy and alchemy) outside the realm of medicine can be adjusted in favour of one that considers these unorthodox sciences part of the medical discipline. Seen in this new light, it was also possible to draw attention to the dynamic relationship between the different languages in the codex, perhaps most notably the collection of five plague texts written in Dutch, French and Latin, which highlight how texts dealing with a single disease in a single codex may display a large variety of thematic, structural and linguistic traits. Further, these wide-ranging traits do not preclude their use by a single inquisitive reader. Importantly, works like Hattem C5, but arguably also the Geraardsbergen codex, as user manuscripts simultaneously grant us insight into the multilingual capacities and interests of the individual and multilingual aspects of literary milieus and societies on a wider scale, such as the movement of narratives and books across borders and the linguistically diverse make-up of audiences.

In other case studies, new methodological angles were able to add new types of information to complement existing hypotheses and analyses. For instance, although a handful of studies have already considered the erroneous use of Latin in the Geraardsbergen codex, no study had yet examined the French aspects of this codex, nor how these elements functioned alongside its Dutch

[583] In line with this, see Rindler Schjerve & Vetter 2003: 47, who characterize diglossia as a state that leads to conflict through which new literary activity, variation and change are introduced.

and Latin content. Looking at these French elements not only increases what can be said about the manuscript's possible audience, but also draws new attention to the material aspects and presentation of its texts and allows for new hypotheses about the involvement and interventions of its scribe on the texts he copied.

For other cases, the introduction of a new approach was enough to produce novel insights. The translation of multilingual elements in the *Reynaert* and its Latin translation *Vulpes* has been analyzed by Bart Besamusca from a sociolinguistic perspective. Yet, by considering this same movement of multilingualism, as well as its workings within the text's continuation *Reinaerts historie* from a translational perspective, it is possible to add additional explanations for the story's textual evolution that complement those of Besamusca. An important example of this concerns the function of the Latin *Vulpes*: a sociolinguistic perspective reveals that the removal of incorrect Latin may be explained by considering the status of Latin as an H language, whereas a translational approach adds that defiling this H language would also negatively affect the text's use to teach students Latin, a purpose I propose. Examples like these illustrate the value of a multidisciplinary approach to multilingual literature and invite scholars to apply similar new perspectives to other multilingual works, even those that like the *Reynaert* have already received significant scholarly attention.

In some instances, applying insights from a particular methodological approach helps not only draw attention to the use of multilingualism, but also its presentation. This was most clearly the case for the parallel texts analyzed in Chapter 6. This chapter, perhaps more than any other, allowed me to apply new ways of reading these works. Significant differences can be identified between the *Livre des mestiers* and the *Leere van hoveschede*, both in their visual presentation and in their content, that call into question the proposition that both were exclusively intended as language manuals. In the case of Maerlant's *Martijns* and their translation into Latin by Jan Bukelare, in which the parallel text is presented in an alternating structure of Dutch and Latin, this presentation itself is a vital part of the text. By considering how the text's visual presentation reflects the dialogue structure of the *Martijns* and allows Bukelare to textually and visually partake in the debate between Bukelare, Martijn and Maerlant, the text can be interpreted in new ways. Importantly, this newly suggested way of reading the Oxford *Martijns* also reopens the question of whether this manuscript or the Mons manuscript of Bukelare's translation stays closest to the lost original. Overall, what this example highlights is that looking at just one part of a text or manuscript (such as its presentation of multilingual elements), no matter how insignificant it may appear at first sight, may reveal more about the work as a whole than expected. For this reason, too, multilingual elements in literary works are worth more attention than they have traditionally received.

Another important benefit to a multidisciplinary approach such as the one employed in this dissertation is that by analyzing different works through multifaceted lenses, we are able to spot commonalities between them that have may otherwise gone unnoticed. One such uniting principle appearing across several of my case studies was the erroneous nature in which foreign elements were presented in Dutch texts. At times, these flawed insertions appear to be deliberate and thus part of the poetic function of language to draw attention to itself. The change from Dutch to French in the Gruuthuse song II.17 is in itself a noteworthy feature, but it is primarily through its muddled form that it invites both modern scholars and also its former medieval audiences to consider the song's narrative framework and its relation to reality. The muddled form forces readers or listeners to reflect on the language use of the singer and to ask themselves why the chaplain is using French in the first place. It is precisely this thought exercise that leads to the sociolinguistic explanation for the use of French presented in Chapter 2, namely that the chaplain is deliberately trying to sing French to appear more sophisticated and courtly than he actually is, which in turn mirrors his failure as a courtly lover in the song's plot. In the Reynaert stories, the same question arises when the fox, badger and lioness switch from Dutch to French or Latin, with the added feature that audience members may also laugh at the reactions of the other animals to whom Latin or French are spoken in the narrative setting of the tale. In this light we may also view the Latin translation of Maerlant's *Martijns* by Jan Bukelare, which fails as an adequate entry-point to the Dutch source texts, yet when read alongside the Dutch *Martijns* begins to take on a form that reflects Bukelare's mastery of Latin and his intentions as an author-translator. These examples indicate that authors intentionally drew attention to the "foreign" languages they introduced to their Dutch texts, which furthers the notion that the choice to include multiple languages itself was intentional and meaningful.

At other times, however, the inclusion of a different language in an erroneous form appears to be unintentional and draws unwanted attention towards both the text and the skill (or lack thereof) of its author or scribe. The aforementioned Latin in the Geraardsbergen codex, for example, is often grammatically unsound, leading us to believe here that its errors reflect the scribe's lack of linguistic proficiency. This then forms a stark contrast with another scribe from Geraardsbergen, Guillebert de Mets, and also the unknown scribe of the Hattem C5 *artes* manuscript, both of whom did have a strong command of Latin. Evidently, the presence of multilingualism did not necessarily correlate with a mastery of the languages used. Other Flemish texts not featured in this dissertation seem to provide further proof of this notion. An interesting example is found in the Comburg codex, a composite manuscript from 1415-1420 from Ghent which, among other texts, contains a copy of the *Reynaert* and Maerlant's *Martijns*. In 2003, Herman Brinkman and Herman Mulder showed that three of this manuscript's scribes were also active in a fifteenth-century administrative manuscript from Ghent (Brussels, KBR, MS 16762-75). What they noted was that one of these scribes, scribe A of the Comburg manuscript, clearly did not read French. When copying part of the Ghent privileges in the administrative manuscript, scribe A avoided copying French texts, which another scribe (scribe M) copied instead. Yet when scribe A chose to copy a single short French act, he made a multitude of errors, causing Brinkman and Mulder to conclude that he was 'completely ignorant of the French language'.[584] This study not only reaffirms the importance of including scribes as subjects of multilingual research, but also the value of combining insights from multilingualism in administrative sources with those from literary sources – something I was only able to do in a limited fashion in this dissertation.

Perhaps a similar situation occurred in Glasgow, UL, MS Gen. 2, a Dutch-Latin multilingual manuscript from around 1450 produced in the southwest of Flanders. It contains a Book of Hours that was originally copied by two scribes, one of whom wrote all the Latin parts and the other who wrote the Dutch parts.[585] In another Flemish manuscript written in Ghent in c. 1420-1440, now Aschaffenburg, HB, MS 7, we see a similar scribal and linguistic distinction between the first part of the manuscript (fols 1r-175r) in Latin and the second (fols 175v-223v) in

[584] Brinkman & Mulder 2003: 55. On the activities of scribe A in the Comburg codex, see Brinkman & Schenkel 1997: 42-45.
[585] Oosterman 1995, I: 82. The manuscript eventually reached England, where multiple other texts were added.

Dutch. Whether these manuscripts were also written by scribes who were not fluent in both languages used remains to be studied. For now, however, these scribal arrangements based on linguistic knowledge illustrate that in the multilingual culture of late medieval Flanders it was not required for members to be multilingual themselves in order to partake in literary activities. Rather, different language users worked with and alongside one another, presenting works of literature to an array of readers.

It is my hope that both the findings from my case studies and the methodological techniques used to arrive at these findings will prove useful to scholars working on literary multilingualism in other regions of Europe. Conversely, I believe knowledge of multilingual cultures and practices outside of Flanders may offer new perspectives on some of the more pressing questions surrounding literary multilingualism in the Dutch literary tradition. One such question is why, when we consider the high degree of cross-cultural, -social and -linguistic interactions between the Southern Low Countries and its surrounding regions, are there so few vernacular multilingual texts and manuscripts containing both Dutch and French? Texts like the Gruuthuse songs, the Reynaert narratives and the Flemish nonsense poem *Dit es de Frenesie* are among the rare Dutch works that contain a notable amount of French. Further, as Appendix I shows, the number of Dutch-French manuscripts is also a very small proportion of the total number of multilingual manuscripts identified (not to mention the total number of Dutch manuscripts from medieval Flanders altogether).

Surprisingly, these manuscripts do not contain the type of texts and genres that we may expect to appear in bilingual settings. Lyrical works, Arthurian romances and *chansons de geste* are known for their various connections with French literary culture, yet are themselves largely monolingual and most often transmitted in manuscripts that only contain other Dutch works, or that contain both Dutch and Latin texts, but exclude French altogether. In order to explain why this may be the case, insights from the multilingual dynamics of the literary culture of medieval England have already demonstrated their usefulness. As mentioned in §1.4, Ad Putter's work on multilingual miscellanies containing romance and lyrical works shows that romances written in English rarely feature alongside French ones; conversely, lyrical manuscripts do contain songs in both languages, suggesting that this division may reflect a difference in the social contexts in which each text type was used.[586] In a recent inquiry into multilingual manuscripts by Bart Besamusca and Jenneka Janzen, it is suggested that perhaps a similar division could explain the manuscript transmission of French-Dutch books in the Low Countries: bilingual readers preferred to read certain genres in certain languages, and in the later Middle Ages this language for romance literature and lyrical texts was by and large French.[587] In a similar fashion, I am confident that as we begin to learn more about the multilingual dynamics of literary cultures in different European regions, and the characteristics of the multilingual texts and manuscripts produced there, so too will we be able to say more about the multilingual contexts of Dutch literature.

Like the *Livre des mestiers* was able to draw the modern reader into the sociocultural life of medieval Bruges through its lively and colourful descriptions, so too is it possible for multilingual sources to grant unique insights into the regional and multicultural dynamics of the literary milieus

[586] Putter 2015 (see p. 25).
[587] Vernacular multilingual manuscripts containing French and Dutch were discussed by Bart Besamusca and Jenneka Janzen in a paper presented at the online conference *Medieval Multilingual Manuscripts: Texts, Scribes, and Patrons* on May 28, 2021, organized by the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies. It is currently in press.

of late medieval Flanders. Through the varied ways in which authors, scribes and compilers introduced French and Latin elements into Dutch works, we are offered a glance into the minds of these literary actors and the sociolinguistic, material and cultural factors that played roles in their decision-making processes. By analyzing the works of these figures through methodological lenses associated with these factors, we see how multilingualism featured as a literary device, a sociolinguistic tool and a cultural phenomenon, and as a result we are reminded of the importance of different languages and cultures within the literary life of medieval Flanders. The continuous use of Dutch, French and Latin, both in multilingual sources such as the ones discussed in this dissertation, and in other expressions of literary multilingualism (e.g., translations, intertextual connections, and the European book trade), suggests that writing in medieval Flanders was a transcultural activity, whereby interactions between different cultures, languages and communities informed the character of literary works, which in turn helped shape the literary landscape as a multicultural, multilingual realm.[588] This realm is perhaps best explained by Jane Gilbert, Simon Gaunt and William Burgwinkle, who in their study on medieval French outside of France argue that medieval Flanders should not be thought of as a number of discrete places and polities bordered by political and geological boundaries, but rather as a series of connections and lines of transmission that transgress cultural and linguistic confinement.[589] Based on the case studies of this dissertation, this description appears to not only apply to the County as a whole in relation to its surrounding lands, but also to the inner dynamics of its literary cultures. Flanders was a network of nodes, a crossroads of cultures, where through the interaction between different milieus and languages new ideas, ventures and literatures emerged that helped shape its multilingual literary history.

[588] On this term, see Armstrong 2017: 2. Cf. Oosterman 2017: 44.
[589] Gilbert, Gaunt & Burgwinkle 2020: 230-231. In a similar vein, Murray (forthcoming) suggests it may be fruitful to speak less of literature “of” or “in” Flanders, but instead “through” Flanders, placing emphasis on the mobility and fluidity of medieval languages and literatures.

PART VI. APPARATUS

Appendix I. Multilingual Sources from Flanders

Searching for multilingual sources: Methods and complications

In the introductory chapter of this thesis I outlined the six case studies central to my study and explained why each text or manuscript was included for an in-depth analysis of its multilingual aspects. These multilingual sources are only a selection of the larger collection of multilingual literature that was compiled during the early stages of my research. The goal of this collection exercise was practical, namely to gain an impression of the number and variety of multilingual sources from the Low Countries, and Flanders specifically, from which interesting cases could be garnered for further inquiry. Whereas the attempt to meet this goal entailed looking for many types and genres of multilingual texts, the collection as a whole did not strive to be either exhaustive or representative of the totality of multilingual sources that survive or existed during the Middle Ages. Here, I comment further on this collection process and share some of the hurdles that I met along the way. Additionally, a list of some 150 Flemish multilingual manuscripts is included to share some of my research results from this collection process and provide a material basis for further study.

As outlined in §1.1, my research makes a distinction between *multilingual texts* and *multilingual manuscripts*. In a multilingual text, two or more languages feature on a narrative level, for instance through dialogues between characters or through the descriptions of events by a narrator. Multilingual manuscripts, on the other hand, can be either manuscripts that contain different texts in different languages or manuscripts with paratextual elements (i.e., glosses, annotations and commentaries) in a language different from that of the primary text next to which they are presented or refer. To date, there is no database or repertoire in existence of specifically multilingual sources – neither texts or manuscripts – from the medieval Low Countries nor any specific region such as Flanders.[590] Furthermore, catalogues that do exist of different literary genres from the medieval Dutch tradition tend not to comment on the multilingual nature of their corpus. Similarly, many studies make no reference whatsoever to additional languages in the texts and manuscripts they consider, whilst others mention multilingual works inconsistently or without any further comments or clarifications. As a result, while there are plenty of options to search broadly through larger collections and descriptions of medieval Dutch literature, none offer a straightforward path to any multilingual sources they might contain.

I therefore employed a twofold strategy. Firstly, large data collections and existing repertoires were consulted, casting as wide a net as possible over prior research and scholarly efforts. Secondly, specific reference works for different genres as well as individual texts collections

[590] As far as I am aware this is also the case for other medieval languages and regions.

(i.e., specific multi-text manuscripts in edition) were examined to add additional texts to my collection and to fill in certain genre-specific gaps that were present in the larger databases. For the text databases in particular, a general lack of shorter yet plentiful texts (sermons, prayers, short verse narratives) and scientific works (*artes* literature) is noticeable. In each case, my first step was to detect references to or direct evidence of multilingualism, after which further delimitations of my own research were examined (i.e., whether the sources were from Flanders, produced between 1200 and 1500 and written in manuscripts).[591]

Starting with a search for multilingual texts, the large data collection I first consulted was the CD-ROM *Middelnederlands'.* Published as a physical CD-ROM in 1998, this dataset, now accessible online, houses editions of nearly 300 Middle Dutch texts in prose and verse, of which some 250 were produced between 1200 and 1500.[592] The CD-ROM is based on a collection of existing collections of data, most notably the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, the dictionary of Middle Dutch, the *Corpus Gysseling*, a collection of edited Middle Dutch manuscripts produced before 1300, and a selection of 'canonical literary texts'.[593] Searching for multilingual elements in the CD-ROM was possible by using standard search functions in the CD-ROM's environment to detect either words that signalled a codeswitch (for example words like 'dietsch', 'walsch', 'francoys' and 'latine', which are often used in sentences directly preceding or following a codeswitch) or words that were themselves written in either French or Latin. Searches were performed on modern forms as well as medieval variants (e.g., 'ki' instead of 'qui', 'fra' instead of 'fera'). In each instance grammatical conjugations were also taken into consideration. Additionally, it also proved efficient to search for specific, frequently used morphological features rather than entire words, for instance the '-ibus' suffix that features exclusively and often in Latin. Whilst this method is not designed to spot every single instance of French or Latin in a text, since it is always possible that a single foreign word is both uncommon and unmarked, it nevertheless managed to identify a considerable number of texts (roughly 70).

The primary database used for the identification of multilingual manuscripts was the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* (BNM), which with around 10,000 listed manuscripts produced between 1200 and 1500 is the largest repertoire of medieval Dutch manuscripts.[594] Identifying multilingual manuscripts using the BNM is somewhat difficult, since while the BNM does mention the languages present in the listed manuscripts, it does so inconsistently and, more importantly, without the means or ability to select manuscripts based on their language. Fortunately, there was a solution for this problem. The online BNM database is based on an offline digital dataset which itself is primarily based on a physical collection of data cards currently held by the primary branch of the Leiden University Libraries. With the help of Dr. André Bouwman, Curator of Medieval

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591 Localization of texts was determined by a combination of historical references to either Flemish authors or manuscript owners, as well as dialect features that pointed to Flemish scribes or authors. Informative for the linguistic analysis were Van Loey 1955 and 1957, Berteloot 1984, Van den Berg 1983 and 1984, Van den Berg & Berteloot 1991 and 1993, and Rem 2003.

592 The online version is accessible through the *Instituut voor de Nederlandse taal*: https://ivdnt.org/nieuws/1389-cd-rom-corpus-middelnederlands. These numbers are however somewhat arbitrary: the *Antwerps Liedboek*, for example, is listed as a single text whilst in actuality it is a text collection containing more than 200 individual song texts. Conversely, several *chansons de geste* are extant in fragmented form and the CD-ROM lists each of these fragments as separate entries, even if they are part of the same narrative.

593 For this description, see Kuiper 1999: 18.

594 The *BNM-I* is accessible online through: https://bnm-i.huygens.knaw.nl/.

Western Manuscripts at the Leiden University Libraries, I was able to consult this offline dataset, which does allow one to select manuscripts based on the languages of their content. Using this dataset, it was possible to identify around 500 multilingual manuscripts containing Dutch in combination with either French and/or Latin from the Low Countries.[595]

For the second search strategy, where reference works were examined, three repertoires of specific genres proved particularly useful. The repertoires of rhymed verse prayers by Johan Oosterman (1995) and sermons by Maria Sherwood-Smith, Patricia Stoop, Daniel Ermens and Willemien van Dijk (2003) laid bare a substantial number of religious texts not included in the CD-ROM, resulting in many new Dutch-Latin texts to add to my collection, whereas the *Nederlandse Liederenbank* (Dutch Song Repertoire) contains a large number of songs containing Dutch, some of which also include Latin and French words.[596] The repertoires of religious literature also contain valuable information on multilingual manuscripts, which made it possible to consult them alongside the BNM, both as a means to find new texts and to add further information about some of the multilingual manuscripts listed in the BNM.[597] Lastly, I chose to manually search through the thirteen editions of medieval Dutch miscellanies published between 1994 and 2015 in the series *Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden*. These editions are easily accessible and contain over 1,200 texts combined, many of which are not included in the CD-ROM. These editions not only brought multiple multilingual texts to light, but also included the edition of the Geraardsbergen codex, which became one of my dissertation case studies.

There is, finally, one other database that I consulted, but only near the end of my research. It helped inform my understanding of the multilingual literary culture of late medieval Flanders, but did not influence the selection process of my case studies. This database was the one that colleagues and myself worked on during the research project of which this dissertation is a part.[598] The aim of this database was to collect Dutch, French and Latin manuscripts from medieval Flanders, and catalogue their texts and core characteristics, to shed light on the multilingual literary dynamics of the county as a whole.[599] During this search process, we also identified a number of bilingual and trilingual texts, a number of which were also not yet detected through my other collection strategies.

With this multi-layered search process explained, it is important to comment on the complications and limitations that my research encountered which directly influenced the number

[595] It should be noted here that a large proportion of the manuscripts in the BNM lack a precise origin. It is therefore expected that a number of the manuscripts listed as either simply from the Low Countries or specifically the Southern Low Countries in fact originated in Flanders. As I have argued in §5.1, this is most likely the case for the Hattem C5 manuscript, which based on the existing evidence can best be located in Flanders and is therefore also included in the list of manuscripts presented at the end of this appendix.

[596] https://www.liederenbank.nl. I thank Martine de Bruin for her assistance in searching different language combinations in the *Liederenbank*.

[597] As an example, we can consider the repertoire of rhymed verse prayers by Oosterman. Of the 182 manuscripts listed, 69 are multilingual and were produced between 1200 and 1500. From these 69, ten manuscripts were not listed in the offline BNM, four were listed as monolingual in the BNM and three were given a date in the fifteenth century against a later date in the BNM. Of the ten additional multilingual manuscripts identified, seven were produced in Flanders and added to the total collection.

[598] On this project and its members, see note 24.

[599] Findings from this database were used in Demets 2021 and a paper presented by Besamusca and Janzen at the online conference *Medieval Multilingual Manuscripts: Texts, Scribes, and Patrons*, held on May 28th, 2021 hosted by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. An article based on this presentation is forthcoming, as is a separate article by Janzen discussing the data of the database in greater detail.

of multilingual sources I am able to speak of here. Since the majority of my PhD research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, it was unfortunately impossible to consult most of the multilingual manuscripts that were identified; any time I was able to spend abroad was largely reserved for the analysis of the manuscripts and texts at the core of my case studies. As a result, the data and information on the multilingual texts and manuscripts listed here is solely based on available documentation on these manuscripts. Regrettably, this information leaves room for a number of issues regarding the multilingual nature of the collected texts and manuscripts.

One such issue is the suggested date at which a multi-text manuscript became multilingual, which is rarely commented on in existing databases. For example, Baltimore, WAG, MS W.178 is a fifteenth-century manuscript from Flanders written in Latin. However, it also contains Dutch and French prayers, which makes it a trilingual manuscript. These prayers were, however, added after 1500, meaning that within the boundaries of my research this manuscript was not included. Accessing manuscripts in person also helps adjust for possibly incorrect descriptions of multilingual manuscripts. An interesting example of this is outlined in a recent article by Sándor Chardonnens and Hans Kienhorst on Oxford, BL, MS Ashmole 189. Due to descriptions of this manuscript by scholars who did not know Dutch, this manuscript was believed to contain a combination of Latin and German texts. It was only when a Dutch student happened upon the codex that it became evident that the German texts were in fact Flemish.[600]

Another limitation with regard to the selection of multilingual manuscripts is the general inability to determine the nature of multilingualism without consulting the manuscripts in person. This is particularly the case for those manuscripts in which a foreign linguistic element is only present in paratext included by scribes, illustrators, or owners. As these multilingual instances are rarely described in databases, detecting them is often a case of happenstance, either through journal articles that make specific reference of these instances or by viewing the manuscripts yourself. Two examples worth mentioning here occur in Brussels, KBR, MS II 6175, where next to a French chronicle of Flanders a skeleton is drawn holding a scroll with a French-Dutch text. Similarly, in Cambridge, TC, MS B.11.22 two figures are presented with scrolls containing Dutch text.[601] Undoubtedly, more examples such as these are both among the manuscripts listed here and present in some unidentified as multilingual elsewhere.

The difficulties inherent to identifying multilingual texts are slightly different from those of manuscripts, since the tools to detect multilingual elements in texts are not only less developed, but there is also an important interpretative element to consider. This latter problem is particularly pressing for religious and medical texts, as both of these genres contain a plethora of Latin words, some of which may have been (deliberately) included as multilingual elements whilst others function as loan words fully integrated into the vocabulary of the Dutch readers and listeners (think, for example. Of frequently cited words like 'Deus', 'Sanctus' or 'Dominus'). Additionally, there are specific kinds of loan words known as 'cultural borrowings', which refer to foreign terms that are integrated into a different language because this target language does not have any equivalent or counterpart. Cultural borrowings are found predominantly in medical works, where many Latin scientific terms are copied over into vernacular manuscripts, as can be seen in the

[600] See Chardonnens & Kienhorst 2018.
[601] In the Brussels manuscript, the skeleton is found on fol. 13r, in the Cambridge manuscripts the figures are found on fols 11r and 20v.

Hattem C5 manuscript (Chapter 5). The decision as to whether these types of words should be reason enough to consider a text multilingual drastically impacts the total number of multilingual texts selected.[602] It is also because of this interpretative conundrum that only a list of multilingual manuscripts is presented here.[603]

[602] On this difficulty, see also Myers-Scotton 1993b: 5 and Phata, Skaffari & Wright 2018: 8.
[603] This decision also means that manuscripts that are not themselves considered multilingual but that do contain multilingual texts, such as Gent, UB, MS 2906 in which Jan Praet's *Leeringhe* is found, are not included in this list.

List of multilingual manuscripts containing Dutch from Flanders, c. 1200-c. 1500

No.	**Shelfmark**	***Date***	***Languages***
1	Amsterdam, BPH, MS 49	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
2	Amsterdam, BPH, MS 187	15th century	Dutch-Latin
3	Antwerp, RG, MS Neerl. 11	15th century	Dutch-Latin
4	Aschaffenburg, HB, Cod. 7	15th century	Dutch-Latin
5	Assen, DM, MS H 1855-8	15th century	Dutch-Latin
6	Arras, BM, MS 513 (822)	15th century	Dutch-Latin
7	Arras, BM, MS 520	15th century	Dutch-Latin
8	Baltimore, WAG, MS W.95	14th century	Dutch-French-Latin
9	Baltimore, WAG, MS W.169	15th century	Dutch-Latin
10	Baltimore, WAG, MS W.170	15th century	Dutch-Latin
11	Baltimore, WAG, MS W.189	15th century	Dutch-Latin
12	Baltimore, WAG, MS W.438	15th century	Dutch-Latin
13	Bergamo, BC, MS 2.13	15th century	Dutch-Latin
14	Berlin, SBPK, Cod. Germ. Fol. 211	15th century	Dutch-Latin
15	Berlin, SMzB, Kupferstichkabinett, Cod. 78 B 14	15th century	Dutch-Latin
16	Boston, PL, MS 1585 (Med. 160)	15th century	Dutch-Latin
17	Bruges, BA, MS A141	15th century	Dutch-Latin
18	Bruges, GS, MS 72/175	15th century	Dutch-Latin
19	Bruges, OB, MS 315	15th century	Dutch-Latin
20	Bruges, OB, MS 325	15th century	Dutch-Latin
21	Bruges, OB, MS 326	15th century	Dutch-Latin
22	Bruges, OB, MS 336	15th century	Dutch-Latin
23	Bruges, OB, MS 385	15th century	Dutch-Latin
24	Bruges, OB, MS 408	15th century	Dutch-Latin
25	Bruges, OB, MS 442	15th century	Dutch-French
26	Bruges, OB, MS 463	14th century	Dutch-French-Latin
27	Bruges, OB, MS 558	15th century	Dutch-Latin
28	Bruges, RA, Kostbare werken nr. 3994	14th century	Dutch-French
29	Bruges, SAA, z.s.	15th century	Dutch-Latin
30	Brussels, KBR, MS 837-45	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
31	Brussels, KBR, MS 2518	14th century	Dutch-Latin
32	Brussels, KBR, MS 3088	14th century	Dutch-Latin
33	Brussels, KBR, MS 8732	15th century	Dutch-Latin
34	Brussels, KBR, MS 10769	15th century	Dutch-Latin
35	Brussels, KBR, MS 10772	15th century	Dutch-Latin
36	Brussels, KBR, MS 15624-41	14th century	Dutch-Latin
37	Brussels, KBR, MS 18270	15th century	Dutch-Latin
38	Brussels, KBR, MS 19588	15th century	Dutch-Latin
39	Brussels, KBR, MS 20642-68	15th century	Dutch-French
40	Brussels, KBR, MS 21362	15th century	Dutch-French
41	Brussels, KBR, MS 21951	15th century	Dutch-French
42	Brussels, KBR, MS 21975	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
43	Brussels, KBR, MS II 270	15th century	Dutch-Latin
44	Brussels, KBR, MS II 3636	15th century	Dutch-Latin
45	Brussels, KBR, MS II 6175	15th century	Dutch-French
46	Brussels, KBR, MS II 6404	15th century	Dutch-Latin
47	Brussels, KBR, MS IV 414	15th century	Dutch-Latin
48	Brussels, KBR, MS IV 636 (3)	15th century	Dutch-French

49	Brussels, KBR, MS IV 676	15th century	Dutch-Latin
50	Brussels, KBR, MS IV 750	14th century	Dutch-Latin
51	Brussels, KBR, MS IV 1085	15th century	Dutch-Latin
52	Brussels, KBR, MS IV 1096	15th century	Dutch-Latin
53	Brussels, KBR, MS IV 1263	15th century	Dutch-Latin
54	Bryn Mawr, BMC, MS 24	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
55	Cambridge, FM, MS 1-1974	15th century	Dutch-Latin
56	Cambridge, FM, MS 143	15th century	Dutch-Latin
57	Cambridge, FM, MS 6 G 13	15th century	Dutch-Latin
58	Cambridge, FM, MS 6 G 14	15th century	Dutch-Latin
59	Cambridge, TC, MS B.11.22	Mixed	Dutch-French-Latin
60	Cambridge, SJC, MS A 19	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
61	Cambridge MA, HL, MS Typ 253	15th century	Dutch-Latin
62	Cape Town, SAL, MS 3 C 17	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
63	Claremont, DL, MS Kirby 1	15th century	Dutch-Latin
64	Cleveland, CWRU, Kelvin Smith Library, n.s.	15th century	Dutch-Latin
65	Copenhagen, KB, MS Thott 533 4º	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
66	Copenhagen, KB, MS GKS 383 2º	15th century	Dutch-Latin
67	Darmstadt, HLHB, Cod. 1014	15th century	Dutch-French
68	Douai, BM, MS 193	15th century	Dutch-Latin
69	Douai, BM, MS 793	15th century	Dutch-Latin
70	Dublin, CBL, MS W. 77	14th century	Dutch-Latin
71	Dublin, TC, MS 103	15th century	Dutch-Latin
72	Edinburgh, NLS, Nat. Galleries MS 5765	15th century	Dutch-Latin
73	Edinburgh, NLS, Nat. Galleries MS 7131	15th century	Dutch-Latin
74	Edinburgh, UL, MS 47	15th century	Dutch-Latin
75	Fulda, LB, Cod. Aa 144	15th century	Dutch-Latin
76	Ghent, RA, Fonds Bisdom, MS 223	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
77	Ghent, UB, MS 82	15th century	Dutch-Latin
78	Ghent, UB, MS 198	15th century	Dutch-Latin
79	Ghent, UB, MS 204	Mixed	Dutch-Latin
80	Ghent, UB, MS 205	15th century	Dutch-Latin
81	Ghent, UB, MS 218	15th century	Dutch-Latin
82	Ghent, UB, MS 296	14th century	Dutch-Latin
83	Ghent, UB, MS 607	15th century	Dutch-Latin
84	Ghent, UB, MS 1369	15th century	Dutch-Latin
85	Ghent, UB, MS 1376	15th century	Dutch-Latin
86	Ghent, UB, MS 1645	14th century	Dutch-Latin
87	Ghent, UB, MS 2750	15th century	Dutch-Latin
88	Ghent, UB, MS G.12097	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
89	Glasgow, UL, MS Gen. 2	15th century	Dutch-Latin
90	The Hague, GA, MS 36	15th century	Dutch-French
91	The Hague, MM, MS 10 F 13	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
92	The Hague, KB, MS 71 J 73	15th century	Dutch-Latin
93	The Hague, KB, MS 79 K 10	15th century	Dutch-French
94	’s-Heerenberg, Huis Bergh, MS 22 (inv. No. 295)	15th century	Dutch-Latin
95	Hueting (Heiloo), n.s.	15th century	Dutch-Latin
96	Jerusalem, JNUL, MS Var. 503	14th century	Dutch-Latin
97	Jongeneel (Rotterdam), MS 1	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
98	Kraków, BC, MS 2943 II	15th century	Dutch-Latin
99	Kraków, MN, MS Czart. 2947 I	15th century	Dutch-Latin
100	Leiden, UB, MS Ltk. 326	15th century	Dutch-French
101	Leuven, UB, MS 2 (A 3)	15th century	Dutch-Latin

102	Leuven, UB, MS 5 (A 12)	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
103	Leuven, UB, MS 1019	15th century	Dutch-Latin
104	Leuven, UB, MS 1064	15th century	Dutch-Latin
105	Leuven, UB, MS 1262	14th century	Dutch-Latin
106	Lille, MJL, MS 158	15th century	Dutch-Latin
107	London, BL, Add MS 15525	15th century	Dutch-Latin
108	London, BL, Add MS 18213	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
109	London, BL, Add MS 39638	15th century	Dutch-Latin
110	London, BL, Egerton MS 3044	14th century	Dutch-Latin
111	London, BL, Harley MS 3828	15th century	Dutch-Latin
112	London, BL, Sloane MS 2692	15th century	Dutch-Latin
113	London, BL, Stowe MS 21	15th century	Dutch-Latin
114	Loppem, Stichting Jean van Caloen, MS 85	15th century	Dutch-Latin
115	Louvain-la-Neuve, AU, MS A 32	15th century	Dutch-Latin
116	Milan, BT, MS 461	15th century	Dutch-Latin
117	Munich, BSB, Cod. Cgm 83	15th century	Dutch-Latin
118	Münster, UB, Cod. N.R. 5505	15th century	Dutch-Latin
119	Münster, UB, Cod. N.R. 5507	15th century	Dutch-Latin
120	Neuchâtel, BPU, MS A.F.A. 28	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
121	New Haven, YUBL, MS 110	15th century	Dutch-Latin
122	New York City, PL, MS 70	15th century	Dutch-Latin
123	New York City, PL, MS 74	15th century	Dutch-Latin
124	New York City, PML, MS M. 76	15th century	Dutch-Latin
125	New York City, PML, MS M. 156	15th century	Dutch-Latin
126	New York City, PML, MS M. 385	15th century	Dutch-Latin
127	Nijmegen, UB, MS316	15th century	Dutch-Latin
128	Nová Říše (Moravia), PA, n.s.	15th century	Dutch-Latin
129	Oxford, BL, MS Buchanan e. 18	15th century	Dutch-Latin
130	Oxford, BL, MS Can. Misc. 278	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
131	Oxford, BL, MS Lat. Lit. f.3	14th century	Dutch-Latin
132	Paris, BA, ms. 565	15th century	Dutch-Latin
133	Paris, BA, ms. 5070	15th century	Dutch-French
134	Paris, BnF, ms. Lat. 6838 A	14th century	Dutch-Latin
135	Paris, BnF, ms. Néerl. 1	15th century	Dutch-Latin
136	Paris, BnF, ms. Néerl. 16	14th century	Dutch-French
137	Philadelphia, FL, MS Lewis E 132	15th century	Dutch-Latin
138	Philadelphia, FL, MS Lewis E 101	15th century	Dutch-Latin
139	Philadelphia, FL, MS Lewis E 181	Mixed	Dutch-Latin
140	Rome, BC, MS 223	15th century	Dutch-French
141	Saint Petersburg, BAN, MS O 257	14th century	Dutch-Latin
142	Toruń, BU, MS 12	13th century	Dutch-Latin
143	Utrecht, UB, MS 1335	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
144	Utrecht, UB, MS Hattem C5	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
145	Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 9216	15th century	Dutch-Latin
146	Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1907	15th century	Dutch-Latin
147	Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Series Nova 13240	15th century	Dutch-French-Latin
148	Weimar, HAAB, Cod. Oct. 83	15th century	Dutch-Latin
149	Zürich, ZB, Cod. Rh. 187	15th century	Dutch-Latin
150	[olim] Boekenoogen (Amsterdam), MS 2	15th century	Dutch-Latin
151	[olim] Antiquariaat Tulkens (Brussels), n.s.	15th century	Dutch-Latin
152	[olim] Christie's (London), Cat. 1987-12-02, nr. 31	15th century	Dutch-Latin
153	[olim] Christie's (London), Cat. 1987-12-02, nr. 36	15th century	Dutch-Latin

APPENDIX II. SUMMARY OF JAN PRAET'S *LEERINGHE*

MISSING LINES AND FOLIOS

The *Leeringhe* by Jan Praet is a long and complicated work of literature, the poorly transmitted state of which effects the degree to which we can make sense of its content. At least the first 24 fols (c. 1440 lines) of the text have been lost.[604] Assumed to be in these missing pages are a prologue in which Jan Praet states the reasons for writing his work, as well as a possible patron or source of inspiration.[605] In the missing opening of the narrative, 'Sapiencia' (Wisdom), the sparring partner of Jan throughout the poem, would have been introduced and their dialogue begun. What was said in this dialogue remains unclear, other than that at one point Jan decides to tell Sapiencia about the Virgin Mary's name in relation to different virtues and flowers. As can be inferred from later textual elements (ll. 129-140), the rose is the fifth and last flower to be mentioned, implying the missing part of the manuscript contained a description of another four flowers (see the *Summary* below).

Aside from these quires missing from the front of the manuscript, there are also other areas where lines have been lost to the modern reader, either through scribal errors (SE) or material loss throughout time (ML):

- fol. 26a (ML, 19 ll., between l. 61 and l. 81)
- fol. 26b (ML, 22 ll., between l. 90 and 113)
- fol. 34a (SE, 2 ll., between l. 566 and l. 567)
- fol. 37a (SE, 1 l., between l. 767 and l. 768)
- fol. 57b (ML, 3 ll., between l. 2153 and l. 2157)
- 6 fols (ML, 372 ll., between l. 2486 and l. 2491)
- fol. 66a (SE, 1 l., between l. 2687 and l. 2689)
- 2 fols (ML, 120 ll., between l. 4558 and l. 4561)
- At the end of the text, at least 4 fols (ML, 240+ ll.)

In total, this means that at minimum over 2,200 verses are missing, close to half of the number of lines we still possess. It should be noted that this loss appears to be the result of the text's transmission, not its production: from what I can tell based on the rhyme scheme, the scribe only

[604] Missing lines and folios were determined based on the overall compositional structure – the entire manuscript consisted of sexterns, with each page containing between 30 and 32 lines (see Reynaert 1983: 20-22) – and visual clues upon investigation of the manuscript (e.g., lines missing due to material damage or single verses considered missing based on broken rhyme pairs and incoherent narrative logic).

[605] For these traditional elements in medieval prologues, see Sonnemans 1995.

made minor errors forgetting lines (line skips, e.g., on fol. 37a), but overall produced a careful copy with few mistakes. With this in mind, the following reflects the narrative content of the text transmitted to us in chronological order, further subdivided by substantive theme.

SUMMARY

Jan finishes his letter-poem on the Virgin Mary and the seafarer's analogy (ll. 1-654)
The text commences with Jan describing the Virgin Mary as a 'rose without thorns', whose inner virtue outshines her exterior beauty. This inner beauty was so compelling that God himself wished to be inside of her, and we must hope that she will now also help cleanse our souls and save us from the Devil. This is the final flower in Jan's poem, so he summarizes the five flowers he discussed in total and their specific values, noting that through the sweet scent that these flowers spread towards God himself, he blessed Mary with his son and through his incarnation was able to save all of mankind from Adam's original sin. These five flowers and their virtues are:

- 'Corsoude' (daisy) / 'goedertiere' (mercifulness)
- 'Acolie' (columbine) / 'omoedichede' (humility)
- 'Goudbloem' (marigold) / 'ghetrouwichede' (faithfulness)
- 'Lelie' (lily) / 'zuverhede' (clarity)
- 'Roze' (rose)/ 'minne' (love)

Jan continues his discussion by reflecting on each letter of Mary's Latin name (*Maria*).

- **M** stands for 'Mediatrix' (councilor, mediator), since Mary is always prepared to mediate between the sinful human and God. Furthermore, like the daisy can be found everywhere, so too is Mary always there when you need her.
- **A** stands for 'Auxiliatrix' (helper, assistant). Through her humility, Mary offers hope and assistance to sinners who are remorseful. Through her close connection with God, she is able to ease his judgement and bring peace between man and God. The flower associated with this quality is the columbine.
- **R** stands for 'Reconciliatrix' (comforter, reconciler), the comforter of all types of sorrow and sadness. When men fear God will forsake them, Mary comforts them and restores their hope. Despair, the narrator explains, is a trick of the Devil, who tries to catch souls like birds with a stick covered in glue. As an example, the fate of Judas is described: Judas lost all hope and hung himself, whilst Longinus, who stabbed the dead Jesus in his side, begged for forgiveness and was granted it. A second example, that of Theophilus, is also presented: Theophilus signed a contract with the Devil, but when he regretted his decision, he asked Mary for help and she forgave him. Since Mary is even faithful in her duty as *reconciliatrix* during a man's death, this name is connected to the marigold.
- **I** stands for 'Illuminatrix Graciae' ('enlightener of grace'). Like the morning star, Mary lights the way towards salvation and with her grace she fills the hearts of men. This shining clarity binds the letter I to the lily. The idea of Mary as a guiding star also forms the basis for the seafarer's analogy, in which human life is compared to a journey over

sea. This analogy is first discussed in length, but also returns in brief passages later on in the work.

Here the letter-poem pauses, to be picked up again later in the work.

In the seafarer's metaphor, specific elements of human life are associated with parts of a journey across the sea. According to Jan, the body of man is like a ship, his heart the captain, whose duty it is to bring the ship to a safe haven. The many troubles and struggles he encounters at sea are the temptations of worldly desires (effectively the seven deadly sins). Other elements included are the mast (one's character or personality), the sails (one's appearance), the anchor (thought), the rope (good manners) and a bucket (the tongue). The soul is considered the bride of the ship and the treasure that it carries across the sea. As Jan explains, the metaphor includes that it is man's duty to care for the soul during his life by using his different qualities and capacities, guarding it from worldly temptations and dangers.

Jan then moves from his seafarer's analogy to the next part of the text. Jan explains that like the seafarer can rely on a compass to guide his path through life, so too can the heart rely on three guardians: 'Verstannesse' (Intellect), 'Ghedinkenesse' (Thought) and 'Zin' (Reason). These three guardians are then introduced by Jan as speakers.

Verstannesse, Zin and Ghedinkenesse grant advice (ll. 655-1696)

The three guardians present themselves and elaborate on how they affect the well-being of mankind and the soul, whilst addressing the dangers they face.

Verstannesse notes that time never stands still and eventually will be taken from all. It is therefore important to spend your time on Earth well to assure your soul's salvation in the afterlife. Zin explains how a single night of frost can destroy the fruits of any tree. Similarly, even the youngest people can die at any moment. Old people, however, are always close to death, like ripe apples waiting to fall. Ghedinkenesse emphasizes that after death, all must pay the price for the lives they lived on Earth. Hearing this, Jan concludes that no one can know when they will die and that it is therefore best to seek the council of the three guardians whilst you are still alive.

Before continuing their lessons, Jan elaborates on the visual characteristics of each guardian, which are very distinct. Verstannesse has two ears, so she can understand both good and evil. Zin carries a mirror with her, to symbolize the act of self-reflection. Lastly, Ghedinkenesse has two faces, one turned to the past and one to the future.

The narrative then returns to the guardians who continue their lessons. They emphasize the need for good deeds here on Earth, for only those will be important on Judgement Day. Ghedinkenesse also warns Jan of 'Folye' (Foolishness), for he is joined by three officials who all tempt men to spend their time, money and effort on worldly deeds and possessions. These officials are 'Bedriegh' (Betrayal), 'Hoon' (Scorn) and 'Spie' (Harassment). Ghedinkenesse also notes that worldly knowledge is only good if it is used for good: fail to do this and you will ride on the back of the horse Valuwe (Material Value) straight to Hell. This message is directed in particular to those in a position of power: they must be cautious, for Fortune can be on their side one day and leave them the next. The danger of Desire is forwarded as well, referring to Adam and Eve, who fell from grace by giving into their desires.

As the lessons of the three guardians come to an end, Ghedinkenesse addresses Jan and tells him to continue his discussion with Sapiencia.

Jan's dialogue with Sapiencia continues (ll. 1697-2909)

Returning to the original dialogue with his teacher, Jan begins by confessing his sins and worries to her. Jan believes 'Hoverde' (Pride) has taken hold of him, since worldly desires are all he is able to think about. Sapiencia warns Jan against Hoverde, comparing him to a tree whose roots reach all the way down into Hell. Furthermore, this tree possesses six branches that try to reach mankind in all kinds of ways: ' Nijt' (Envy), 'Ghierichede' (Greed), 'Vrecheit' (Avarice), 'Gulsichede' (Gluttony), 'Luxurie' (Lust) and 'Gramscap' (Wrath). These branches, in turn, bear fruits that fill men with harmful acts and situations (such as injustice, deceit, shame, lying, etc.).

Jan hears Sapiencia's words, but has difficulty following them, since he believes her sermon is too long. Jan bursts into a long critique of the clergy, who show a bad example and seem to prove in his mind that he too is hopeless in finding salvation. Sapiencia judges Jan for his rudeness and impatience and tells him rather than look at the faults of others he should pay attention to his own actions instead. There are good members of the clergy and there are bad ones, just like there were good angels and bad angels before God separated them with the fall of Lucifer. The bad clergymen are compared to thieves who go out stealing despite knowing the punishment awaiting them.

It is possible this discussion on the clergy continued further, but since several folios are missing at this point in the narrative, this cannot be stated with certainty. When we return to the story, Sapiencia is finishing her rebuttal, stating that the road to Hell is considered worse than a pilgrim's journey during winter, whilst the road to Heaven is more enjoyable than a spring walk.

Confronted by the inevitable end of his days, Jan becomes frightened of Judgement Day. He notes that Sapiencia has told him much about Hoverde, whom he fears, but not yet about 'Omoed' (Humility). Sapiencia answers by first addressing how Jan should lead his life, namely to be humble, kind to those in need, faithful to God and free from evil doings and sinful acts. Then Omoed is introduced as the complete opposite of Hoverde: she too is a tree, but her branches and fruits are of a good nature, and where Hoverde's tree represents Lucifer, Omoed's represents God. To explain more about Omoed and Hoverde, Sapiencia introduces the two as actual speakers, who in a 'parlament' (debate) argue over who Jan should follow in his life.

The 'parlament' between Omoed and Hoverde (ll. 2910-3913)

Hoverde starts by praising himself: he is noble, graceful and without equal on this Earth. His enemies have fled from him, for they have all been defeated during battle against him and his lieutenants. Pride defeated Humility, Envy pierced through Charity, Kindness was wounded by Malice, and so on – each defeat being described in gruesome detail. Without these virtues, the world in the eyes of Hoverde has become a better place. Those who devote themselves to Pride will be rewarded, whilst those choosing the side of the fallen virtues will receive nothing.

Before Omoed responds, Sapiencia herself actually reacts to Hoverde (*Fig. 12*).[606] Sapiencia condemns Hoverde for his actions, explaining how the virtues have been wounded and are no longer invited into the hearts of men. She proclaims, however, that even if they were to perish

[606] From a narratological perspective this is most curious, since it is Sapiencia herself who tells the tale of Hoverde and Omoed. The unique nature of this interaction is also visualized in the manuscript, since the reintroduction of Sapiencia is highlighted in the only occurrence of narratorial commentary in the manuscript, presented as separate lines of text (fol. 71r). Additionally, the structure of the dialogue here returns from a two-column layout to a single column (see *Fig. 12*).

here on Earth, they would still be crowned by God in Heaven, whilst he and his lieutenants would be sent down to Hell. She also adds that any beauty or attractiveness Hoverde might have from outside is only a facade that will drop once he is in Hell, for the same happened to Lucifer, the father of Pride.

Hoverde does not refute anything Sapiencia has said, but instead insults her and tells her about his horse Valuwe, whose saddle is so beautiful that it draws envy from all men and invites them to hold onto her tail (i.e., to cherish material value). Valuwe bites and kicks anyone who does not like her, but if you give her money or any other sort of reward she will be your best friend. More so, he gives most to the highest bidder, which often means princes, prelates and kings. Hoverde notes that Sapiencia can talk morals all she wants, but in the end most men listen better to him than to her, or to God himself. He then lists examples of men he has inspired to great deeds, ranging from knights in tournaments fighting for prideful honour, to the women sitting in the audience trying to draw their attention. Furthermore, he sends his lieutenants to clergymen and judges, giving them good wines, delicious food and comfortable beds to corrupt them. Hoverde further elaborates on how all men desire Valuwe, before describing how he himself creates chaos across the world. Hoverde even directly speaks to Jan, telling him how Hell is filled with ovens for those who value pride. Nevertheless, people still call for Hoverde and in return he inspires them to act pridefully, as he can also do for Jan.

Hearing this, Omoed offers her response. Taunting Hoverde, she notes that although he defeated her, she is still free and will continue to live, while he and all those who follow him will fall to the plagues of Hell. She explains how Hoverde grew as a tree after Lucifer fell, but that its roots and any fruit it bears will not stay on Earth but also follow Lucifer into Hell. Therefore, Jan must forget what Hoverde told him and listen to her instead. He must rid himself of earthly desires and focus on sermons and God's commandments instead to save his soul before it is too late. She emphasizes that all earthly possessions, including Jan's own body, will vanish, thus Valuwe's gifts are in essence devoid of value. Omoed chastises Jan for his greed and pridefulness, and for refusing to devote both his body and soul to God, even though Christ died to save him. As Omoed closes the 'parlament' she once more urges Jan to resist the gifts Hoverde and Valuwe offer, so that he will not lose his soul to Hell for all eternity.

Continuation of the Virgin Mary's letter-poem and God's sermon (ll. 3914-4560)

Sapiencia takes up the narrative again, praising humility over pride. She then reminds Jan that he did not finish his letter-poem about the Virgin Mary and asks him to continue from the letter *I* where he had left off. Jan agrees to do so, but first comments on the 'parlament' between Hoverde and Omoed. He understands humility is superior to pride, yet knows no one who is so humble as to earn his spot in Heaven, nor completely free himself from Valuwe's dealings. Because of this, Jan fears Gods judgment and can only hope he will be merciful towards him.

Continuing, Jan then reiterates that the **I** in 'Maria' stands for 'Illuminatrix', since Mary is the illuminator of all women and enlightens those around her like a mother in one's time of need. The clarity she spreads is echoed by the clarity and purity of the lily.

Lastly, the **A** stands for 'Amatrix dei verissima' (the truest Lover of God). By loving God, Mary holds up a mirror of love to all mankind, who should follow her example. It is also through her own love for God that he becomes mild towards men and women on Earth, like a rose without thorns. Continuing on the importance of love, Jan closes off his poem by listing five ways in which people may share with others. The first is through appraisal and honour; the second through gifts

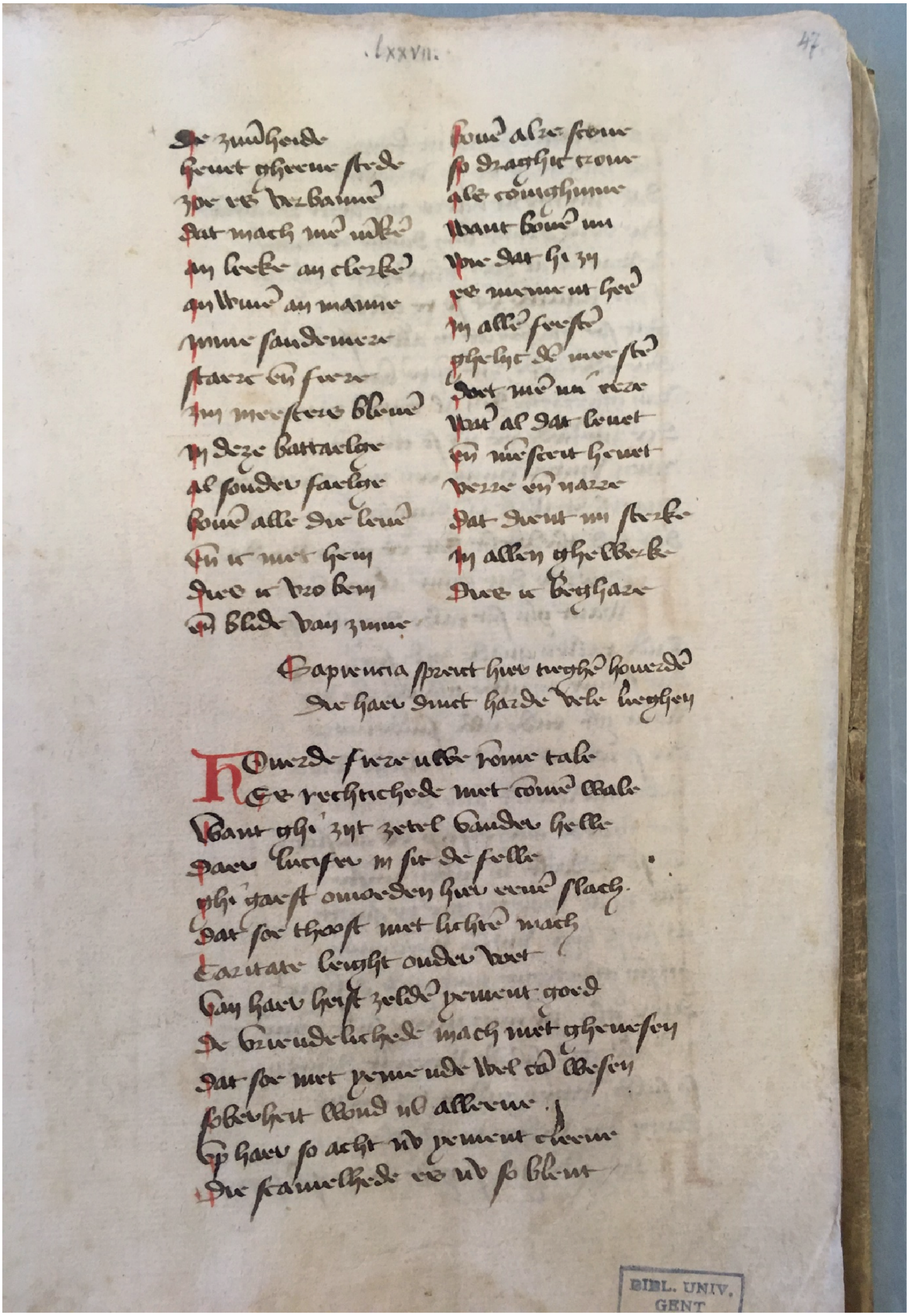

Figure 12. Narrator commentary during the ‘parlament’ between Hoverde and Omoed in Jan Praet’s *Leeringhe* (Ghent, UB, MS 2906, fol. 47r (71r in Bormans 1872)). Source: Jelmar Hugen.

for which one does not expect something in return; the third through that which one has already earned in his life; the fourth through that which shall be earned in future; and the fifth through true friendship and love, which is the best gift of all. In order to prove this, Jan notes how Jesus himself gave salvation to all people as a gift of love. Because of this, it is only right to love God and to reward him for his own sacrifice.

Hearing Jan's poem, Sapiencia agrees with his praise of Mary, but points out to him that although he might believe what he says, he still does not act in this way. She notes that she tries to teach Jan through her sermon – a 'Leeringhe der zalichede' – but that he is so reckless that all her lessons pass straight through him. Therefore, Sapiencia calls for him to listen to a sermon by God himself. This sermon is essentially the Passion, in which God describes the birth of Jesus and his eventual sacrificial death following the deceit of Judas. Throughout this sermon, God emphasizes that Jan should act in God's image and love him as much as God loves mankind. God also notes that Jan should avoid Hoverde and all his lieutenants, for they and those who follow them have been banished from Heaven. Instead, Jan should act virtuously and love God above all else. Closing his sermon, God encourages Jan to listen more carefully to the Mass and to the lessons that Sapiencia is trying to teach him.

Continuation of Jan's dialogue with Sapiencia (ll. 4561-4932)

Sapiencia continues her dialogue with Jan, recounting what God said in his sermon. In particular, she emphasizes that Judgment Day awaits and if Jan does not change his ways before then, there will be no more time to repent and God will show him no mercy. To press this point even further, she references Saint Jerome's description of the final day: the sinner who looks to his right will see his miserable sins, to the left devils wait, ready to grab hold of him, and below the Hell they will drag him towards. Were he to look up, he would see the Heaven from which he is so far removed and God who looks at him with pity and disappointment.

Sapiencia once more begs Jan to wake up, take heed of her sermons and to centre his attention on God instead of life here on Earth before it is too late. Jan's response is one of fear and despair. He hears what Sapiencia is saying, but greatly fears Judgment Day and knows not how to rid himself from his sins, for misdeeds are so easily performed during a man's life. He therefore begs Sapiencia to school him in the lessons of God and to continue with her sermons.

Sapiencia comforts Jan by citing a Latin verse that explains how God's mercy is always present and that Jan should therefore stop fearing. Whoever seeks redemption and mercy while here on Earth shall receive it. Furthermore, if Jan deserves to live free of sin, he should search for virtues and humility in all of his actions and let go of sinful thoughts and evil deeds.

Hearing this, Jan counters Sapiencia's Latin citation by offering two of his own, which state that even virtuous men are scarcely saved after their lives end.[607] To Jan, all sermons sound so harsh, severe and demanding, that following them to the letter feels like an impossible task. This breaks down his hope and causes him to despair.

Sapiencia warns Jan not to give in to despair, for it is the same messenger of the devil that led Judas astray. Instead, he should take comfort in the idea that every single person will be judged on the final day and that everyone, even he, is loved by God and given the chance to act in his

[607] See Chapter 3 for a deeper discussion of Jan's citation.

image. As Sapiencia begins to elaborate on how Jan can combat despair, the text breaks off and our version of the narrative comes to an abrupt end.

APPENDIX III. THE CODICOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF HATTEM C5

CODICOLOGICAL UNITS AND QUIRE ARRANGEMENT

The following table presents a codicological overview of the Hattem C5 *artes* codex (Utrecht, UB, MS Hattem C5), paying specific attention to its quire arrangement and division into codicological units. This presentation is based on the codicological description by Van den Assem 2013 (pp. 56-57) and my own consultation of the manuscript on July 7th, 2021 (in the company of codicologist Dr. Jenneka Janzen) and March 23rd, 2022. Any notable differences between my own analysis of the codex and that of Van den Assem have been discussed at length in §5.3 and will be addressed here only briefly in the 'Comments' column of *Table 4* below. Other elements included in this table are:

- Codicological units that make up the manuscript in its current form;
- The quires in each unit and their structure (here, 'i (IV)' means the first quire consists of four bifolios);
- Each quire's assigned pages in the manuscript according to its modern pagination (in pencil at the top right corner of each folio's recto and top left corner of each folio's verso); and
- The texts found on these pages.

All texts listed are written in Dutch (**NL**) unless indicated otherwise (French=**Fr**; Latin=**Lat**).

Table 4. **Codicological description of Hattem C5**

Unit	Quires	Pages	Texts	Comments
1 + 2	i (IV)	1-16	Evil days (1); Edras year prognosis (2); first lines of the prose *Secretum secretorum* (3-16)	The first unit runs from pp. 1-76. The second consists of pp. 77-80, which comprise the final bifolio of the fifth quire. This bifolio replaces a lost/removed bifolio and is misplaced in the manuscript: pp. 77-78 contains text intended be between p. 64 and 65. pp. 1-77 are written in ruling type *a*, pp. 78-342 are in ruling type *b*. The entire unit is written in script type A.
	ii (IV)	17-32	Prose *Secretum secretorum*	
	iii (IV)	33-48	Prose *Secretum secretorum*	
	iv (IV)	49-64	Prose *Secretum secretorum*	
	v (IV)	65-80	Final pages of prose *Secretum secretorum* (65, 77-78); *Letter of Prague* (66-67); medicinal recipes (67-69, **NL-Lat**); *De pestilencia* (70-76, 79, **Lat**); plague boils treatment (79-80, **Fr**)	

3	vi (V)	81-100	Philosopher's stone treatise (81-96, **Fr**); translation of *Medicina vini* (96-98); first three pages of medical handbook (98-100)	The philosopher's stone treatise was written separately from the other texts of the unit (different ink and script execution).
	vii (IV)	101-116	Medical handbook (101-115); technical recipe (116)	pp. 81-96 are written in script type A**, the rest of the unit in script type A (barring a brief note by a slightly later hand on p. 115). The recipe on p. 116 is by a slightly later hand.
4	viii (VI)	117-140	Alchemic and technical recipes (117-125); treatise on metals (126-133); 'secret' recipes (134-140)	pp. 117-118 and p. 120 are written in script type A**; p. 119 features both script type A** and A*; pp. 121-124 are written in script type A; p. 125 contains both script type A and A*; pp. 126-133 are written in script type A*; pp. 134-140 are written in script type A.
5	ix (IV)	141-156	Phlebotomy tract (141-146); plague treatise (147-149); balm recipe (149-150); first pages of *Trisoer vander surgien* (150-156)	From this point on, all texts are written in script type A. Pages lacking at the end of the unit (texts ends imperfectly).
	x (IV)	157-172	*Trisoer vander surgien* (157-167); surgical recipes (168-170); first two pages of a translation of *Practica oculorum* (171-172)	
	xi (IV)	173-188	Translation of *Practica oculorum* (173-188)	
6	xii (III-?)	189-200	*Herbarijs* (188-200)	An unknown number of pages are missing at the start of the first quire (text begins imperfectly), of which the final leaf (pp. 199-200) was initially left blank. Remnants of a torn (written) page between p. 200 and p. 201, which was the first leaf of the second quire, are still visible. The text lacking from this leaf was presumably written on the bottom half of p. 200. The final lines from p. 200 are also found at the beginning of the text on p. 201, where they have been crossed out by the scribe.
	xiii (IV-1)	201-214	*Herbarijs* (201-214)	
	xiv (IV)	215-230	*Herbarijs* (215-230)	
	xv (IV)	231-246	*Herbarijs* (231-246)	
	xvi (IV)	247-262	*Herbarijs* (247-262)	
	xvii (IV)	263-278	*Herbarijs* (263-278)	
	xviii (IV)	279-294	*Herbarijs* (279-294)	
	xix (IV)	295-310	*Herbarijs* (295-300); *Van Morfea* (301-303); translation of *Liber magistri Avicenne* (304-310)	
	xx (IV)	311-326	Translation of *Liber magistri Avicenne* (311-326)	
	xxi (IV)	327-342	Translation of *Liber magistri Avicenne* (327-342)	
7	xxii (VI)	343-366	Medicinal waters (343-366)	The medicinal waters recipes were numbered by a later hand. p. 395 is blank.
	xxiii (VI)	367-390	Medicinal waters (367-390)	
	xxiv (IV)	391-406	Medicinal waters (391-392); separate medicinal waters text (392); *aqua vitae* recipe (392-394); medical handbook (396-406)	

				pp. 343-390 are written in ruling type *a*, pp. 391-434 are written in ruling type *b*.
8	xxv (III)	407-418	Medical handbook (407-418)	p. 408 is blank and the leaf of pp. 417-418 is partially excised, leaving only ten lines of text at the top of p. 417; the remnant of p. 418 is blank. It is possible one bifolio is lacking, though this is not discernible based on the text's content.
9	xxvi (IV)	419-434	Medicinal herbs (419-426); medicinal oils (426-429); cosmetics (429-432); *Antidotarium Nicolai* (432-433); cosmetics recipes (433-434)	
10	xxvii (IV)	435-450	Herbal recipes (435-450, **Fr**)	From this point in the manuscript onwards all texts are written in two columns (ruling arrangement *c*).
	xxviii (IV)	451-466	Herbal recipes (451-466, **Fr**)	
	xxix (IV)	467-482	Herbal recipes (467-482, **Fr**)	
	xxx (IV)	483-498	Herbal recipes (483-490, **Fr**); plague treatise (491-498, **Fr**)	
	xxxi (IV)	499-514	Plague treatise (499-504, **Fr**); *Viatike* (504-514)	
11	xxxii (IV)	515-530	Humours treatise (515-516); uroscopy tract (516-519); medicinal waters (519-528); medicinal recipes (528-530)	Pages are lacking after the final quire (text ends imperfectly).
	xxxiii (IV)	531-546	Final page of medicinal recipes (531); medicinal recipes (531-546)	
	xxxiv (IV)	547-562	Medicinal recipes (547-562)	
(12)	xxxv (III)	563-572	Latin prayer (563, **Lat**); brandy recipe (564)	This final quire containing three bifolios was initially left blank: both texts on pp. 563 and 564 were added by a later hand.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are divided into two categories: frequently mentioned journals referenced in the bibliographical titles below; and full names of libraries mentioned prior in Appendix I in abbreviated form.

Journal references

MA	Le Moyen Âge
Ntg	De Nieuwe Taalgids
SpL	Spiegel der Letteren
TNTL	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde
KANTL	Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde

Library references

Amsterdam, BPH	Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica
Antwerp, RG	Ruusbroec Genootschap
Aschaffenburg, HB	Hofbibliothek
Assen, DM	Drents Museum
Arras, BM	Bibliothèque municipale
Baltimore, WAG	Walters Art Gallery
Bergamo, BC	Biblioteca Communale
Berlin, SBPK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Berlin, SMzB, KK	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinet
Boston, PL	Boston Library
Bruges, BA	Bisschoppelijk Archief
Bruges, GS	Grootseminarie
Bruges, OB	Openbare Bibliotheek
Bruges, RA	Rijksarchief
Bruges, SAA	Sint-Andriesabdij

Brussels, AR/CdC	Algemeen Rijksarchief/Chambre des Comptes
Brussels, KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België / Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
Bryn Mawr, BMC	Bryn Mawr College, Canaday Library
Cambridge, CUL	Cambridge University Library
Cambridge, FM	Fitzwilliam Museum
Cambridge, TC	Trinity College
Cambridge, SJC	St John's College
Cambridge MA, HL	Houghton Library
Cape Town, SAL	South African Library
Claremont, DL	Claremont Colleges, Denison Library
Cleveland, CWRU	Case Western Reserve University
Copenhagen, KB	Kongelige Bibliotek
Darmstadt, HLHB	Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek
Douai, BM	Bibliothèque municipale
Dublin, CBL	Chester Beatty Library
Dublin, TC	Trinity College
Edinburgh, NLS	National Library of Scotland
Fulda, LB	Landesbibliothek
Ghent, RA	Rijksarchief
Ghent, SA	Stadsarchief
Ghent, UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek
Glasgow, UL	University Library
Graz, UB	Universitätsbibliothek
The Hague, GA	Gemeentearchief
The Hague, MM	Museum Meermanno
The Hague, KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek
The Hague, SB	Stadsbibliotheek
Jeruzalem, JNUL	Jewish National and University Library
Kraków, BC	Biblioteka Czartoryskich
Kraków, MN	Muzeum Narodowe
Leiden, UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek
Leuven, UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek
Lille, MJV	Médiathèque Jean Lévy
Lincoln, CCL	Cathedral Chapter Library
London, BL	British Library
Louvain-la-Neuve AU	Archives de l'Université
Milan, BT	Biblioteca Trivulziana
Mons, AM	Archives municipales
Munich, BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Münster, UB	Universitätsbibliothek
Neuchâtel, BPU	Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire
New Haven, YUBL	Yale University, Beinecke Library
New York, PL	Public Library
New York, PML	Morgan Library and Museum (olim Pierpont Morgan Library)
Nijmegen, UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek

Nová Říše, PA	Premonstratensian Abbey
Oxford, ASC	All Souls College
Oxford, BL	Bodleian Library
Oxford, MC	Magdalen College
Palermo,*BC*	Biblioteca Comunale
Paris, BA	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
Paris, BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Philadelphia, FL	Free Library
Prague, NK	Národní knihovna
Rome, BC	Biblioteca Casanatense
Rotterdam, GA	Gemeentearchief
Saint Petersburg, BAN	Biblioteka Akademii Nauk
Stuttgart, WL	Württembergische Landesbibliothek
Toruń, BU	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
Trier, SB	Stadtbibliothek
Utrecht, UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek
Uppsala, UB	Universitetsbiblioteket
Vatican City, BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Vienna, ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Wiemar, HAAB	Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek
Wolfenbüttel, *HAB*	Herzog August Bibliothek
Zuich, ZB	Zentrallbibliothek

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SAMENVATTING IN HET NEDERLANDS

Een kruispunt van culturen. Meertalige diversiteit in Nederlandstalige literatuur uit laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen

Hoofdstuk 1. Inleiding

Dit proefschrift richt zich op de meertalige diversiteit in Nederlandstalige literatuur uit laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen, waarmee de variatie van verschijningsvormen en functies van meertaligheid als literair middel, cultureel fenomeen en sociolinguïstische eigenschap bedoeld wordt. Specifiek kijk ik naar het gebruik van het Frans, de middeleeuwse internationale taal van de handel en het hof, en het Latijn, de paneuropese taal van de wetenschap en de kerk, binnen teksten en handschriften waarvan het Nederlands de hoofdtaal is. De nadruk op de regio Vlaanderen is voor dit onderzoek niet toevallig. Het graafschap Vlaanderen was gedurende de late Middeleeuwen een internationaal kruispunt waar mensen van over heel Europa met elkaars talen en culturen in contact kwamen. Er was sprake van een grote mate van meertaligheid op een maatschappelijk niveau. Maar zowel over de precieze invulling van die grootschalige meertaligheid als over hoe de interactie tussen talen haar weerslag vond in de communicatie van individuele personen en de literaire werken die zij produceerden en consumeerden, is nog weinig bekend. In deze dissertatie staat daarom de interactie tussen het Nederlands, Frans en Latijn binnen literatuur centraal.

Ik bestudeer deze interactie aan de hand van zes verschillende case studies, waarin telkens de meertalige aspecten van een specifiek Vlaams handschrift of van meerdere Vlaamse teksten geanalyseerd worden. Dit corpus is geen getrouwe weerspiegeling van de (overgeleverde) totaliteit van de Nederlandstalige literatuur uit Vlaanderen, maar een selectie van werken, die variëren in grootte, genre, ontstaanscontext en gebruikersmilieu. De gemene deler is hun oorsprong in Vlaanderen en gebruik van meertaligheid.

Deze case studies heb ik geanalyseerd vanuit verschillende methodologische benaderingen waarbinnen telkens een andere dimensie van meertaligheid wordt belicht. In hoofdstuk 2 en 3 bestudeer ik meertalige teksten vanuit een sociolinguïstische benadering. In navolging van Serge Lusignan en Catharina Peersman onderzoek ik met behulp van sociolinguïstische concepten als prestige (de waardering van een tekst of taal door een bepaalde gemeenschap), diglossia (de relatief stabiele hiërarchische verhouding tussen talen binnen bepaalde domeinen) en codeswitching (het gecombineerde gebruik van talen binnen één communicatieve situatie door één spreker) hoe het gebruik van Frans en Latijn begrepen kan worden vanuit de sociale context van deze teksten. In hoofdstuk 4 en 5 kijk ik naar meertalige verzamelhandschriften aan de hand van de methodiek van de *material philology*. Specifiek voor dit perspectief is de nadruk op de relatie tussen teksten en hun materiële dragers en visuele of structurele presentatie. Voortwerkend op het werk van Karen Pratt, Matthias Meyer, Bart Besamusca en Ad Putter naar 'the dynamics of the codex' (de betekenis en het functioneren van teksten binnen een specifieke handschriftelijke context) en het begrippenapparaat van codicoloog Peter Gumbert – in het bijzonder zijn concept 'codicologische eenheid' – analyseer ik de gebruikscontext van twee drietalige verzamelhandschriften. Hoofdstuk 6 en 7 richten zich op vertalingen en de gehanteerde methode binnen deze hoofdstukken is dan ook een vertaalwetenschappelijke. Specifiek kijk ik naar hoe meertalige teksten vertaald worden, waarbij het vertaal-concept 'cultural transfer' van Michele Espagne van belang is, en hoe vertalingen in parallelle weergave in handschriften functioneerden.

Hoofdstuk 2. De sociale context van het Frans in twee liederen uit het Gruuthuse-handschrift

Het Gruuthuse-handschrift is een verzameling Nederlandstalige gedichten, gebeden en liederen die tot stand is gekomen rond 1400 in Brugge. Veel van de in totaal meer dan 140 liederen verraden een algemene bekendheid met de Franse lyrische traditie, maar twee liederen in het bijzonder trekken de aandacht door hun meer rechtstreekse link met de Franse taal. In *De capelaen van Hoedelem* (II.17) zingt een kapelaan in verward Frans over de schoonheid van zijn vriendin, terwijl in de direct hierop voorafgaande tekst, *Ic hadde een lief vercoren* (II.16), een minnaar zingt over hoe mooi zijn vriendin (in werkelijkheid een oudere prostituee) in het Frans kan zingen. Beide liederen hebben ook gemeen dat ze als enige teksten binnen het handschrift verwijzen naar geografische locaties, Oedelem en Daverlo, beide streken nabij Brugge. Dit hoofdstuk onderzoekt de literaire functie van de Franse elementen in de twee teksten en hoe deze verwijzingen naar de Franse taal en Vlaamse plaatsnamen samenhangen.

In §2.2 analyseer ik het verwarde Frans in *De capelaen van Hoedelem* en beargumenteer ik dat deze incorrecte presentatie van de taal bewust is aangebracht als aanvulling op de mislukte handelingen van de kapelaan, die in zowel woord als daad zichzelf probeert te presenteren als een hoofse minnaar. Ook in *Ic hadde een lief vercoren*, zo betoog ik in §2.3, roept de verwijzing naar de Franse taal een geraffineerd en hoofs register op dat vervolgens middels seksuele insinuaties, sociaal-ongeaccepteerd gedrag en ongepast woordspelingen op satirische wijze wordt ingezet om de spot te drijven met sprekers van het Frans. In §2.4 zet ik uit een hoe deze fictieve, kritische weergave van sprekers die het Frans onnodig of incorrect hanteren mogelijk een weerspiegeling vormde van de historische werkelijkheid, waarbij de vermeldingen van Oedelem en Daverlo in het bijzonder de aandacht vestigen op de sociale klassen in en rondom Brugge. De figuren die binnen liederen 16 en 17 bespot worden, maken allen deel uit van de lagere klassen van de maatschappij die zich tussen de stad en het platteland bewegen. Zowel de makers van het handschrift als het beoogde publiek van de liederen dienen echter in de sociale kringen van de stedelijke elite gezocht te worden. De bovengenoemde boodschap dat incorrect of onnodig gebruik van het Frans de gebruiker voor schut zet, lijkt dan ook een sociale link te hebben en specifiek van toepassing te zijn op leden van de lagere stedelijke elite die zich onsuccesvol van het Frans bedienen om zich zo vooraanstaander of intelligenter voor te doen dan ze daadwerkelijk zijn.

Deze boodschap helpt ons de plaats van liederen 16 en 17 binnen het handschrift als geheel nauwkeuriger te bepalen. Het Gruuthuse-handschrift presenteert het Nederlands als een volwaardige taal die geschikt is voor literatuur, poëzie en lyriek, en doet dit onder meer door elementen uit de Franse lyrische traditie over te nemen en voort te zetten. De rol van de twee onderzochte liederen is binnen dit streven anders: zij problematiseren juist het gebruik van Frans als literaire taal en cultureel register door Nederlandstalige sprekers in situaties waarin de eigen taal minstens zo goed ingezet kan worden. Zodoende belichten de teksten zowel de mate waarin meertaligheid ingezet kon worden als middel voor satire en sociale kritiek als de diglossische relatie tussen het Frans en Nederlands in laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen.

Hoofdstuk 3. Debatteren over de autoriteit van het Latijn in Jan Praets *Leeringhe der salichede*

Gedurende de late Middeleeuwen ontwikkelt het Nederlands zich niet alleen als taal voor verhalende literatuur, maar ook als geleerde taal op het gebied van de praktijkgerichte literatuur (ook wel *artes*-literatuur genoemd), lekenethiek en moraaltheologie. Veel werken binnen deze genres worden uit het Latijn vertaald naar de volkstaal en er verschijnen tevens nieuwe titels die voor hun inhoud grotendeels te rade gaan bij de gevestigde Latijnse traditie, met als gevolg dat veel van deze geleerde Middelnederlandse werken doorspekt zijn met Latijnse termen en citaten. In dit hoofdstuk bespreek ik twee van deze nieuwe werken en de mate waarin zij het Latijn en Nederlands tegenover elkaar afzetten.

De eerste tekst, besproken in §3.2, is de *Nieuwe doctrinael* van de Vlaamse chirurg Jan de Weert. Ik leg uit hoe dit werk een standaardvoorbeeld vormt van de moraaltheologische werken in de volkstaal uit de veertiende en vijftiende eeuw: de tekst presenteert zichzelf als een vertaling uit het Latijn, is ingericht als biechtspiegel voor leken en bevat meerdere Latijnse citaten uit de Bijbel die dienen als leidraad binnen het werk. De tweede tekst, de *Leeringhe der salichede* van Jan Praet, gaat geheel anders te werk. Zoals ik beschrijf in §3.3 is de *Leeringhe* een stilistisch divers werk met een complexe structuur en een ingewikkeld narratief plot waarin de auteur zelf als karakter in dialoog treedt met de allegorische Sapientia (Wijsheid) over hoe een mens een zalig leven kan leiden. Praets gebruik van het Latijn in de tekst valt op te delen in drie categorieën, die elk op andere plekken voorkomen en met verschillende doeleinden worden ingezet. Een letterdicht van de Latijnse naam Maria opent de tekst zoals wij die kennen, waarna een selectie van *sententiae* volgt evenals een dispuut over Latijnse Bijbelcitaten tussen Jan Praet en Sapientia. Deze verschijningsvormen bepalen echter niet de structuur van het werk zoals bij de *Doctrinael* het geval is, maar worden geïntegreerd in een Nederlandstalig verhaal en daarbinnen ingezet om de esthetische en didactische waarde van de volkstaal te benadrukken. Zo breidt Praet het Maria-gedicht uit met Nederlandse namen voor deugden en bloemsoorten, worden de *sententiae* overtroffen in aantal door Nederlandse gezegden en wijsheden, en dient de Bijbeldiscussie in zijn geheel als voorbeeld dat het mogelijk was een theologische discussie over de precieze betekenis van de Bijbel te voeren in de volkstaal. In §3.4 onderzoek ik de sociale context waarbinnen dit spel tussen het Latijn en het Nederlands gefunctioneerd kan hebben. Ik concludeer dat het geïntendeerde publiek waarschijnlijk in een stedelijk milieu gezocht moet worden, zoals voor meer laatmiddeleeuwse moraaltheologische werken voor leken het geval was, maar dat het werk vooral oogt als een persoonlijk literair egodocument waarin Praet zijn eigen zorgen presenteert in een vorm die zijn kwaliteiten als dichter en denker ten toon spreiden.

Hoofdstuk 4. Twee meertalige kopiisten in middeleeuws Geraardsbergen

Hoewel het merendeel van de besproken bronnen in dit proefschrift verbonden zijn aan de grotere steden in Vlaanderen, zoals Brugge, Ieper en Gent, was meertaligheid wijdverspreid binnen het graafschap en we vinden daarom ook in kleinere stedelijke omgevingen meertalige literaire activiteiten. In dit hoofdstuk staat zo'n omgeving centraal, namelijk Geraardsbergen (Frans: Grammont). Gelegen op een grenspunt tussen Vlaanderen, Brabant en Henegouwen was Geraardsbergen een internationaal knooppunt voor handelaren, bedevaarders en Bourgondische beleidsvoerders. Het meertalige karakter van het literaire bedrijf van Geraardsbergen illustreer ik aan de hand van twee kopiisten en de werken die zij daar produceerden.

De eerste kopiist is Guillebert de Mets, een zeer succesvolle boekverkoper die boeken produceerde voor de aristocratische elite van het Bourgondische hof. In §4.2 betoog ik op basis van overgeleverde handschriften en een catalogus van de werken die in Guilleberts bezit waren rond de tijd van zijn overlijden dat Guillebert het Nederlands, Frans en Latijn beheerste en dat werken in deze talen waarschijnlijk zowel geproduceerd werden voor internationale opdrachtgevers als voor de lokale markt. §4.3 laat zien dat ook de tweede kopiist, de anonieme maker van het Geraardsbergse handschrift (Brussel, KBR, MS 837-845), drie talen beheerste, maar wel in een beduidend mindere mate dan Guillebert. Ik betoog dat Franse elementen binnen een scala van Nederlandstalige teksten in het handschrift zijn toegevoegd door de kopiist en dat tegelijkertijd deze kopiist juist veel fouten maakte wanneer hij Latijnse teksten kopieerde. In §4.4 wordt tot slot onderzocht of ook het beoogde publiek in meerdere talen geïnteresseerd was of dat teksten in verschillende talen voor verschillende lezers waren bedoeld. Van beide situaties lijkt sprake te zijn. Teksten die volledig in het Latijn geschreven waren, vereisten een gedegen kennis van de taal en ook het woordspel in de enige volledige Franse tekst kon enkel begrepen worden door lezers die het Frans beheersten. Tegelijkertijd blijkt uit de verschillende meertalige teksten, de thematische clusters van teksten in verschillende talen en de Nederlandse toelichtingen bij anderstalige teksten dat de samensteller van het handschrift ook bewust taalgrenzen probeerde te overstijgen en wellicht ook tweetalige lezers op het oog had.

De werken van de twee Geraardsbergse kopiisten werpen licht op de meertalige dimensies van het literaire milieu van de Vlaamse stad en vormen als weerspiegelingen van de talige interesses en vaardigheden van de kopiisten een voorbeeld van de diversiteit binnen individuele meertaligheid. Tegelijkertijd is het veelzeggend voor de meertalige interesse van Geraardsbergen en Vlaanderen in haar geheel dat beide kopiisten een gevarieerd corpus aan teksten in verschillende talen tot hun beschikking hadden, waarvoor klaarblijkelijk een markt was.

Hoofdstuk 5. Drietaligheid in de *artes*-tekstcollectie Hattem C5

In dit hoofdstuk staat één meertalig handschrift centraal, dat de aandacht trekt door een ongebruikelijke combinatie van elementen. Het zogenoemde Hattem C5-handschrift, bewaard in de universiteitsbibliotheek van Utrecht onder signatuur Hattem C5, is een medisch handschrift dat geschreven is voor en door een naar alle waarschijnlijkheid Vlaamse medicus. De codex heeft een complexe structuur die suggereert dat de arts over een langere periode teksten voor zijn beroepsuitoefening heeft verzameld en overgeschreven in een eigen collectie. Opvallend aan deze collectie is enerzijds de diverse inhoud van het werk, dat varieert van medische recepten en chirurgische traktaten tot beschrijvingen van cosmetica en alchemistische teksten, en anderzijds dat deze inhoud gepresenteerd wordt in drie talen – iets wat uiterst zeldzaam is binnen de *artes* literatuur. Deze uitzonderlijke combinatie wordt daarom belicht in dit hoofdstuk, waarin ik kijk naar de plaats van de Franse en Latijnse teksten binnen dit verder volledig Nederlandstalige handschrift met oog voor zowel de codicologische structuur van de codex als de interne samenhang van de thematisch en talig gevarieerde inhoud.

Het hoofdstuk is opgedeeld in drie deelanalyses. In §5.2 beschrijf ik de codicologische structuur van het handschrift, waaruit te concluderen valt dat de kopiist op geen enkele wijze de Franstalige of Latijnse teksten probeerde af te zonderen van de omringende Nederlandstalige inhoud en kennelijk meer belang hechtte aan de inhoud van de teksten dan de taal waarin ze geschreven waren. §5.3 kijkt vervolgens naar het gebruik van Latijn binnen Nederlandstalige teksten in het handschrift. Deze teksten verraden een duidelijke verbondenheid met de Latijnse geleerde traditie en gebruiken de connectie met deze traditie geregeld om de autoriteit of geloofwaardigheid van de Nederlandstalige teksten te vergroten. Tegelijkertijd wordt het Latijn in het handschrift als geheel overschaduwd door de volkstalen, in het bijzonder het Nederlands. Het handschrift weerspiegelt zo enerzijds affiniteit met de gevestigde wetenschappelijke traditie en anderzijds de geneigdheid van de maker van het boek om gebruik te maken van de volkstaal als geleerde taal. Dit beeld van het handschrift wordt verder uitgewerkt in §5.4, waarin de functie en positie van de afzonderlijke Latijnse tekst en Franse teksten bestudeerd worden. In deze paragraaf wordt eerst gekeken naar verschillende pesttraktaten in het handschrift, die in alle drie de talen aanwezig zijn. Uit deze analyse blijkt wederom dat voor de gebruiker en maker van het handschrift de inhoud belangrijker werd geacht dan de taal van de tekst, want hoewel de verschillende traktaten andere aspecten van de pest behandelen, vullen zij elkaar eerder aan dan dat ze dezelfde informatie in een andere taal presenteren. Vervolgens besteed ik aandacht aan de twee grotere Franse teksten uit het werk, een kruidenoverzicht (herbarium) en een alchemistische tekst over de steen der wijzen. Ook uit deze analyse volgt dat de Franse teksten een aanvulling vormen op de rest van de inhoud van het handschrift en dat de werken zowel op een inhoudelijk als compositorisch vlak volledig geïntegreerd zijn. Zodoende laat het Hattem C5 handschrift zien dat meerdere talen in eenzelfde materiële context harmonieus konden samengaan en vormt het een geschikte bron om de individuele meertalige kwaliteiten van zijn gebruiker te illustreren.

Hoofdstuk 6. De meertalige diversiteit van Vlaamse parallelteksten

Een bijzonder type bron van literaire meertaligheid vormen de middeleeuwse taalboekjes en conversatieboeken waarmee men nieuwe talen aanleerde. Kenmerkend voor deze bronnen is de parallelle presentatie van een vrijwel identieke tekst in verschillende talen, die tot vergelijking tussen de verschillende versies uitnodigt. In dit hoofdstuk bespreek ik drie van zulke parallelteksten uit Vlaanderen en de mate waarin hun verschil in vorm en inhoud informatie verschaft over het mogelijke gebruik van deze teksten.

In §6.2 staat het invloedrijke conversatie boek *Livre des mestiers* centraal. Ik licht toe hoe de horizontale zin-voor-zin presentatiewijze in combinatie met de toegespitste inhoud en didactische methode het werk geschikt maken voor taalonderwijs voor kinderen uit de commerciële sector, maar dat het werk eveneens een ander publiek kon bereiken, waaronder volwassenen. De *Leere van hoveschede* (§6.3) hanteert ook een horizontale zin-voor-zin presentatiewijze en richt zich eveneens primair op kinderen, maar heeft niettemin een andere gebruiksfunctie. Ik betoog dat het werk enerzijds bedoeld was om kinderen klaar te stomen voor een leven als bediende of knecht (waarvoor kennis van zowel het Nederlands als het Frans in Vlaanderen vereist was) maar anderzijds door de instructieve inhoud en opzet kon functioneren als een tweetalig instructieboek voor lezers met verschillende talenkennis. Tot slot bekijk ik in §6.4 de Latijnse vertaling van Jacob van Maerlants *Martijn*-dialogen door Jan van Bukelare. Deze vertaling wisselt per strofe het Middelnederlandse origineel af en was, zo beargumenteer ik, niet primair bedoeld voor taalonderwijs, maar veeleer een poëtische exercitie van Bukelare om zich letterlijk en figuurlijk in de dialoog van Maerlant te plaatsen. De vergelijking tussen bron en vertaling is hier dus niet van didactische, maar van een esthetische en literaire aard.

Samen illustreren deze parallelteksten de diverse functies van meertalige presentaties en hun gebruik als didactische en literaire producten. Tevens bieden ze als bronnen een belangrijke inkijk in de talige expertise van verschillende sociale groepen binnen laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen.

Hoofdstuk 7. Meertaligheid in beweging: De Vlaamse *Reynaert* teksten

De laatste case study van mijn onderzoek bestaat uit drie Vlaamse teksten over Reynaert de vos: de dertiende-eeuwse *Van den vos Reynaerde*, haar eigentijdse Latijnse vertaling *Reynardus vulpes* en de vijftiende-eeuwse voortzetting *Reinaerts historie*. Specifiek kijk ik naar hoe in de *Reynaert* Franse en Latijnse elementen worden ingezet en wat er met deze elementen en hun functie gebeurt wanneer de tekst wordt vertaald en voortgezet.

In iedere paragraaf staat een andere tekst centraal, waarbij de chronologische volgorde van het ontstaan van de werken leidend is. §7.2 richt zich op de *Reynaert* en het gebruik van Frans en Latijn in deze tekst in relatie tot de brontekst *Roman de Renart*. Ik beschrijf hoe de auteur het Frans en Latijn inzet als komisch middel voor sociale kritiek en satire, met de aristocratische elite als doelwit. In de Latijnse *Vulpes* (§7.3) vindt vervolgens een 'cultural transfer' plaats: de satirische en vermakelijk insteek van de *Reynaert* wordt vervangen met een didactisch doeleinde, namelijk Latijns taalonderwijs, waarschijnlijk voor jongeren verbonden aan een kloosterschool. Ondeugdzame elementen in de tekst zijn daarom afgezwakt en de meertalige elementen volledig weggewerkt. *Reinaerts historie* (§7.4) zet juist de meertaligheid van de *Reynaert* voort door nog extra karakters in een andere taal het woord te laten voeren. Het komische taalspel van de *Reynaert* is echter vervangen door een meer serieuze insteek, waarbinnen het gebruik van een vreemde taal dient om gezaghebbender over te komen en zo de waarheid naar eigen hand te kunnen zetten.

Concluderend stel ik dat de frequentie en het gebruik van meertalige aspecten binnen de *Reynaert*-teksten nauw aansluit bij de algehele strekking en thematiek van de verschillende werken en hun specifieke lezers of toehoorders. Bovendien toont de analyse aan dat meertaligheid doelbewust ingezet kon worden door middeleeuwse auteurs met verschillende doeleinden die konden worden toegespitst op een specifiek publiek of beoogde functie van het werk.

Conclusie

In de kernhoofdstukken van mijn proefschrift is de meertalige diversiteit van Nederlandstalige literatuur uit laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen toegelicht aan de hand van zes case studies waarin een gevarieerd corpus aan meertalige teksten en handschriften bestudeerd is met behulp van verschillende methodologische benaderingswijzen. In mijn concluderende hoofdstuk breng ik deze case studies samen als verschillende stemmen binnen eenzelfde dialoog over de meertalige dimensies van de Vlaamse literaire cultuur. Ook beschrijf ik enkele overkoepelende thema's en observaties en reflecteer ik op de door mij gehanteerde benaderingswijze en de mate waarin deze multidisciplinaire methode inzetbaar is voor verder onderzoek.

Hoofdzakelijk toont het onderzochte corpus aan dat er sprake was van een gevarieerde invulling van meertaligheid als literair mechaniek, cultureel fenomeen en sociolinguïstische eigenschap. De bestudeerde werken verschillen dan ook niet alleen op tal van niet-talige vlakken, maar ook in hun hoeveelheid aan meertalige aspecten, de mate waarin in deze elementen geïntegreerd zijn in de omringende Nederlandstalige tekst, en vooral in hun functie. In de case studies wordt meertaligheid onder meer ingezet voor esthetische verrijking van de tekst, om structuur aan te brengen in een werk, om sociale kritiek te uiten of de spot te drijven met mensen, als deel van een literair spel en als een middel voor kennisproductie. Deze variatie aan verschijningswijzen suggereert dat sommige Vlaamse auteurs, kopiisten en boeksamenstellers deel uitmaakten van een breder literair discourse waarbinnen het Frans en Latijn als geaccepteerde aspecten van de poëtica van de Middelnederlandse literatuur werden beschouwd, die ingezet konden worden ter verrijking van de functionaliteit en uitstraling van een werk voor het deel van hun lezerspubliek dat deze talen beheerste.

De drie hoofdbenaderingen binnen mijn onderzoek belichten elk een ander aspect van de meertalige dimensies van de laatmiddeleeuwse literatuur uit Vlaanderen. Het besluit om deze werken vanuit verschillende perspectieven te benaderen, heeft mij in staat gesteld om op basis van soms slechts enkele meertalige aspecten nieuwe uitspraken te doen over de functie en receptie van werken in hun geheel. In sommige gevallen bood de gehanteerde benadering een geheel nieuwe blik op een reeds onderzocht werk, terwijl in andere gevallen juist bestaande opvattingen konden worden aangescherpt, aangevuld of (deels) afgewezen. Tevens kon ik met behulp van deze multidisciplinaire opzet algemene tendensen uit het corpus vanuit verschillende hoeken beschouwen en van verklaringen voorzien. Voorbeelden van deze tendensen zijn het gebruik van meertaligheid als een weerspiegeling van de historische werkelijkheid, de bewuste presentatie van foutief taalgebruik als literair middel, de relatie tussen taalgebruik en stilistische variatie, en de mobiliteit van talen en meertalige werken.

Mijn bevindingen sluiten aan bij tal van andere uitingen van literaire meertaligheid binnen laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen (bijvoorbeeld vertalingen, intertekstuele verbanden tussen teksten en de internationale boekhandel) en suggereren in samenhang met deze overige elementen dat het literaire bedrijf in laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen een transculturele activiteit was, waarbinnen interacties tussen culturen, talen en gemeenschappen bepalend waren voor het karakter van literaire bronnen en het meertalige, multiculturele literaire landschap waaraan zij vorm gaven. Zowel op Europese als regionale schaal vormde Vlaanderen zodoende een kruispunt van culturen.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jelmar Floris Hugen, born March 3rd, 1992 in Capelle aan den IJssel, attended the Erasmiaans Gymnasium in Rotterdam, where he graduated in 2010 in the Nature & Technology and Nature & Health study programs. He then undertook a Bachelor's degree in Dutch Language & Culture at Leiden University, during which he spent a year abroad at Clare College, Cambridge with the aid of an Erasmus Exchange Scholarship (2011-2014). He continued his studies at Utrecht University, completing a Research Master's degree in Medieval Studies (2014-2016, *cum laude*). In the final year of this Master's degree he also spent time at Harvard University, supported by a Fulbright Scholarship, and completed an internship at the Huygens ING Research Institute for Dutch History (then located in The Hague). From 2016 to 2018, Jelmar was enrolled by Utrecht University as a university lecturer of historical Dutch literature, before engaging in his PhD research there in December 2018 as part of the NWO-funded research project *The Multilingual Dynamics of the Literary Culture of Medieval Flanders (ca 1200 – ca 1500)*. In addition to his study of medieval multilingualism, he also publishes on Arthurian literature.

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