

(*linguae corruptio*) mentioned by Ranulph Higden in his *Polychronicon*. He notes that this occurs despite the fact that 'the children of nobles are instructed in spoken French even from the very rattles of their cradles' ('filii nobilium ad ipsius cunabularum crepundiis ad Gallicum idioma informantur').⁶²

A little phrase book appeared at the end of the fourteenth century, *Un petit livre pour enseigner les enfantz de leur entreparler comun francois*.⁶³ It appears innocent enough in title and in opening sections. But the innocence of childhood soon falls away to reveal another form of corruption in a following section, *Aultre manier de language a parler*, where the reader is treated to a whole series 'des bourgeois et de trufes et tensons' (of jokes and of trifles and disputes). Social intercourse is fraught with conflict and seduction demanding the ability to respond authoritatively through language. This little book is a bizarre trifle. More astounding, however, is how English became that *aultre manier de language* for national identity in a period of social and political crisis.

French Literature in a Dutch-Speaking Environment

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the patrician elite of Gent, the most important city in the county of Flanders, was singing its own praises in a remarkable polyphonic motet, which has recently been re-edited by the historian Daniel Lievois and the musicologist Mary Wolinski.¹ According to the *triplum* (the highest voice) those of Gent — *cil de Gant* — are not only very brave, they are also courteous and live in great prosperity. Jealous people envy them for this:

Mout sont vallant cil de Gant
plein de cortoisie
large et corrois despendant
et de riche vie
S'en ont li aver mout grant envie.

The *motetus* (the middle voice) focuses even more on the courtly lifestyle of the city elite. Here, one of the patricians states that in the cold month of January he prefers sitting by the fireplace, eating salted meat and a fat capon. Singing and relaxing

⁶² *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: Together with the English Translations of John of Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Churchill Babington [vols I–II] and Joseph Rawson Lumby [vols III–IX], 9 vols, Rolls Series, 41 (London: Longman, Trübner, 1865–86; repr. Millwood: Kraus, 1964), Book I, chap. 59.

⁶³ E. Stengel, 'Die ältesten Anleitungsschriften zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache, II: *Un petit livre pour enseigner les enfantz de leur entreparler comun francois*', *Zeitschrift für neuphranzösische Sprache und Literatur*, 1 (1879), 1–40 (pp. 10–15).

I would like to thank Mike Kestemont for research assistance and Anneleen Vanden Boer, Astrid Houthuys, Kathleen de Terwangne, and Veerle Uyttersprot for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper.

¹ Daniel Lievois and Mary Wolinski, 'Mout sont vallant cil de Gant: Een motet ter ere van de Gentse erfachtige lieden in het midden van de 13^{de} eeuw', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n. s., 56 (2002), 35–51; music and text of this motet on p. 38.

FROM FRANCOPHILE TO FRANCOPHOBE: THE CHANGING ATTITUDE OF MEDIEVAL DUTCH AUTHORS TOWARDS FRENCH LITERATURE

Remco Sleiderink

with a fashionably dressed lady is what pleases him, accompanied by well-prepared wines, a good fire without smoke, and dice on the table, in a friendly atmosphere:

A la cheminee eu mois froit de jenvier
 vueill la char salee le chapon gras mengier
 Dame bien parée chanter et envoier
 c'est ce qi magree boens vins a remuer
 cler feu sanz fumee les dez et le tablier sans tencier.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, it is noteworthy that this polyphonic song is in French. The largest city of Flanders was situated more than thirty-five kilometres north of the language boundary between French and Dutch. Most of the inhabitants of Gent were indeed Dutch-speaking, but this did not prevent the city elite who dominated the College of Aldermen from singing so proudly about their own identity in French. Apparently, in the middle of the thirteenth century, when this song was written, French was the preferred cultural language of the Gent elite.²

There are many examples of French literature functioning beyond the language boundary, especially if we look at the top of the social scale. The court of Flanders was peripatetic and thus travelled between cities like Gent, Brugge, and Lille, on both sides of the language boundary. From the twelfth century onwards, the court welcomed poets performing in French: Chrétien de Troyes, Gautier d'Arras, Baudouin de Condé, Adenet le Roi, Eustache Deschamps, to name but a few.³ This interest in French literature is not surprising since the ruling dynasty was rooted in France, and the county of Flanders was actually a feudal estate of the French crown. The literary contacts reflect the strong political, economic, and cultural ties connecting Flanders to the rest of France. However, the choice of French as a cultural language should not automatically be interpreted as a blind and unconditional adoration of France and French culture. This is illustrated in a humorous way in

² This also means that Flemish patricians should not be associated so easily with *Dutch* literature as is done by Frits van Oostrom in his new history of the earliest Dutch literature, *Stemmen op schrift: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur vanaf het begin tot 1300* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006), esp. pp. 225–32 ('De voertaal van de stad').

³ On French literature in Flanders, see, e.g., W. Van Hoecke, 'De letterkunde in de Franse volkstaal tot omstreeks 1384', in *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. III (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1982), pp. 379–92, 457–58, 477; Olivier Collet, 'Littérature, histoire, pouvoir et mécénat: La cour de Flandre au XIII^e siècle', *Médiévales*, 38 (2000), 1–32; Remco Sleiderink, 'La Dame d'Audenarde comme juge d'amour: le rapport intertextuel entre "Li Romans du Vergier et de l'Arbre d'Amors" et une chanson de Gillebert de Berneville', in *Lors est ce jour grant joie nez: essais de langue et de littérature françaises du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Michèle Goyens and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 177–90.

the *tenor* (the lowest voice) of the motet *Mout sont vallant cil de Gant* where the wine of the Rhine region is said to be better than the wines of France and Auxerre.

Par verité
 j'ai esprové
 qu yin tinois
 passent francois
 et touz vins aucourrois.

Interest in French literature was not restricted to those areas belonging to the kingdom of France. To the east, in the duchy of Brabant — which was part of the Holy Roman Empire and mainly Dutch-speaking — French literature seems to have played a similar role at the court, especially in the second half of the thirteenth century. *Trouvères* like Perrin d'Angicourt, Carausus, and Jean Erart sent their songs to Leuven and the other residences of Duke Henry III of Brabant (d. 1261). Adenet le Roi — the famous epic poet who was later engaged by Guy de Dam-pierre, count of Flanders — started his career at the Duke's court. And the Duke himself wrote some French songs: two *chansons d'amour*, one *pastourelle*, and a *jeu parti* together with Gillebert de Berneville, a poet from Arras who was closely connected with the Duke and his family.⁴

Duke Henry's son and successor John I favoured French literature as much as his father. When the boy was only ten years old, a romance, *Sone de Nansay*, was written especially for him. Later, after his marriage to a daughter of Guy de Dampierre, Duke John I ordered a treatise on the art of seduction, the *Puissance d'amour*. This treatise is written in French in the form of a fictitious dialogue between the anonymous author, the Duke, and the Duchess.⁵

So the language border — an imaginary line separating the people in the Southern Low Countries with a Dutch dialect from those with a French dialect — does not seem to correspond to the languages used by the elite in this region. Consequently, some scholars, such as the historian Ludo Milis, prefer talking about

⁴ On literary life at the court of Brabant, see Remco Sleiderink, *De stem van de meester: de heretogen van Brabant en hun rol in het literaire leven (1106–1430)* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2003); with a French summary on pp. 233–39. The full text is also available online: <http://www.middelenederland.be/sleiderink/docs/sleiderink_2003.pdf>. On Duke Henry III and Adenet le Roi, see especially chap. 3 (pp. 57–73).

⁵ Sleiderink, *De stem van de meester*, pp. 69–73 (*Sone de Nansay*) and 77–84 (*Puissance d'amour*). The *Puissance d'amour* has only recently been edited in a doctoral dissertation: Cornelia Daurel, 'Comment amors uient en cuer d'ome: Edition der "Poissanche d'amours" des Codex 2621' (Universitat Wien, 2008), full text available online: <<http://othes.univie.ac.at/448/>>.

a social language boundary as opposed to a geographical one. The social language boundary changes when people start to imitate the language behaviour of the dominant social group.⁶

It might be wiser to avoid terms like *border*, *boundary*, and *frontier*. In the Southern Low Countries, Latin, French, and Dutch (and their variants and dialects) all played a particular role in society. Which person used which language could change from one occasion to another. The linguistic situation in the Southern Low Countries can be described more accurately in terms of *diglossia*.

The Dynamics of Diglossia in the Southern Low Countries

Diglossia as a term was introduced by sociolinguists and refers to the phenomenon in a bilingual or multilingual society where the languages (or dialects) vary in function and status. If we want to describe the nature of diglossia in a given society, we need information about the distribution and prestige of the languages. In other words, we have to know precisely what the languages are used for, which are high-status languages (the H languages) and which low-status ones (the L languages).

In order to gain insight in the diglossic compartmentalization of languages, sociolinguists are fervent adherents of field work. When we deal with historical societies, our gathering of data is more problematic, limited as we are to written sources. If we want to know more about the multilingual situation in the medieval Southern Low Countries we cannot, for example, ask an impoverished knight in thirteenth-century Brabant how he views the French spoken and sung at the court. Was he striving to become as versed in French as his duke? There are no tapes on which those wealthy Flemish patricians described in *Cil de Gant* are recorded addressing their domestic servants, cuddling their children, crying, or cursing. We may assume that in those situations they used Dutch, or a local Dutch dialect, instead of French, but this assumption is difficult to substantiate. The most concrete evidence at our disposal concerns the subsequent use of Latin, French, and Dutch in the administration of court and city. The historians Walter Prevenier and Thérèse de Hemptinne have studied administrative multilingualism in the county of Flanders, and Godfried Croenen has done the same for the duchy of Brabant.⁷

⁶ Ludo Milis, *Rijkdom en armoede van cultuurcontact: De taalgrens als resulante* ([n.p.]: De Orde van den Prince, 1983).

⁷ Walter Prevenier and Thérèse de Hemptinne, 'La Flandre au Moyen Âge: un pays de trilinguisme administratif', in *La Langue des actes: Actes du XI^e Congrès international de diplomatique*.

From quantitative analysis of historical data it appears that the nature of diglossia in the Southern Low Countries was never stable. Croenen, for example, found interesting shifts in language choice in Brabantine charters from the thirteenth and fourteenth century, from Latin to the vernacular, and within the vernacular from French to Dutch.⁸ By the fourteenth century Dutch had grown into an H language, as far as the administration was concerned.

The tendency to change is inherent in diglossia, as Rosita Rindler Schjerve and Eva Vetter argue in their excellent methodological discussion of historical sociolinguistics and multilingualism. In their view, diglossia is always a reflection of asymmetrical power relations. Every change in the balance of power — whether in the political, economic, social or cultural sphere — has an impact on the nature of diglossia: the status and function of the languages concerned change immediately.⁹

My focus here concerns, in the first place, the balance of power as regards literature, although I do not hold the illusion that the literary field is autonomous. Relations within the literary field are strongly intertwined with, and determined by, those in the political, economic, and social areas and by the cultural sphere in general. I will return to this towards the end of this essay, but first I will try to ascertain how medieval Dutch authors reacted to the diglossic situation in the Southern Low Countries. As I have already shown, there was a considerable audience for French literature in this region, but there also existed a vernacular literature in Dutch.¹⁰ In particular I will investigate how French literature was regarded within this Dutch literature. In other words, what status was ascribed to French literature in medieval Dutch texts? And are there any attempts by Dutch authors to change the nature of diglossia for their own benefit?

Troyes, jeudi 11 – samedi 13 septembre 2003, <<http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/document174.html>>; Godfried Croenen, 'Latin and the Vernaculars in the Charters of the Low Countries: The Case of Brabant', in *The Dawn of the Written Vernacular in Western Europe*, ed. by Michèle Goyens and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), pp. 107–25. See also *Van vader- naar moedertaal: Latijn, Frans en Nederlands in de dertiende-eeuwse Nederlanden. Handelingen van het colloquium op 23 oktober 1999*, ed. by Rita Beyers (Brussels: Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis, 2000).

⁸ Croenen, 'Latin and the Vernaculars', esp. chart 2 on p. 116.

⁹ Rosita Rindler Schjerve and Eva Vetter, 'Historical Sociolinguistics and Multilingualism: Theoretical and Methodological Issues in the Development of a Multifunctional Framework', in *Diglossia and Power: Language Policies and Practice in the 19th Century Habsburg Empire*, ed. by Rosita Rindler Schjerve (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 35–66.

¹⁰ For an English introduction to medieval Dutch literature, see *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

French in Medieval Dutch Literature

Since 1998, scholars of medieval Dutch literature have had a very useful tool at their disposal, namely the *CD-ROM Middelnederlands*. This CD-ROM contains in digitalized form not only the dictionary of medieval Dutch, edited by Eelco Verwijs and Jakob Verdam (more than 11,000 pages!), but the majority of medieval Dutch literature as well. Many text editions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are to be found in a computerized form and searchable in numerous ways. It contains some 250 verse texts (or fragments of rhymed texts) and ninety texts in prose. This, incidentally, illustrates that verse remained popular in Dutch literature for most of the Middle Ages.

The *CD-ROM Middelnederlands* permits the consultation of passages where medieval Dutch authors (or the narrators of their texts) comment on French and French literature.¹¹ I searched for *waelsch*, *fransois*, and *romansch* — the three words referring to French in medieval Dutch — with all their spelling variants.¹² This approach led to a great variety of 'hits'. There are passages about characters speaking French, for instance Roland in the Dutch version of *Renaut de Montauban*.¹³ We have references to French-speaking areas like 'Walscher Brabant' (Brabant wallon)¹⁴ and to French toponyms, for example in the Arthurian world: 'datmen in walsche hiet Tere foreine doe' (which was at that time called in French

¹¹ Unless mentioned otherwise, all citations from and references to medieval Dutch texts can be found on the *CD-ROM Middelnederlands* (The Hague: Sdu, 1998). Some of the texts are also available online at the *Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren*, <<http://www.dbnl.org>>, (click on 'Beschikbare titels literatuur').

¹² There is no indication that there is any difference in meaning between these three words. 'Waelsch' is used the most, then 'fransois', then 'romansch' (the latter is only found in texts written by, or related to, Jacob van Maerlant). Apart from these three words, there also exists a word 'Vranchsch', but this is only used for 'French' as related to the territory of France; it has no linguistic meaning.

¹³ *Renout van Montalbaen*, v. 1179. Also interesting are bilingual characters such as Godevaert van Denoys in the *Denensage* (vv. 297–99) or Margriete in the *Roman van Limborch*, i, v. 762, etc. On the linguistic and communicative abilities of Margriete (who also learns Greek after arriving in Athens), see Lieve De Wachter, 'Interculturele communicatieve competentie in de "Roman van Limborch"', in *Maar er is meer: Avontuurlijk lezen in de epiek van de Lage Landen. Studies voor Jozef D. Janssens*, ed. by Remco Sleiderink, Veerle Uyttersprot, and Bart Besamusca (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2005), pp. 415–31.

¹⁴ *Grimbergse oorlog*, i, v. 3630.

Tiere foreine).¹⁵ We find explanations of French names, like the name of Charles Martel: 'Martel in walsch, dat weet wale, | Es een hamer in dietscher tale' (Martel in French, for sure, is a hammer in Dutch).¹⁶ There are linguistic comments on the meaning of certain words: 'Cancer es de kervetse in walsch | in dietsch de creverse als ende als' (*Cancer* is *écrevisse* in French, in Dutch it is doubtless called *kreeft*).¹⁷ And we find some references to 'all' written sources:

Alle die yeeften, die nu sijn
In dietsche, in walsce, in latijn,
Die en maken niet cont.

[all the histories which now exist in Dutch, French and Latin, none of them relate,]¹⁸

Passages such as the latter confirm that in the eyes of Dutch authors, Dutch, French, and Latin were the most important languages in their region.¹⁹

I will not comment on all the passages where the word French is mentioned, but focus on those passages where something is said about French literature to determine whether there are certain tendencies. The most important category here are the references to French sources: for example, 'Dat walsch seget, daer ict ut screef' (The French [source], on which I base my writings, states ...);²⁰ 'Alsic in dien Walsce las' (As I read in French ...);²¹ 'Alsict int walsc hebbe gehord' (As I heard in French ...);²² 'Mi seit aldus die walsche tale' (The French tale tells me as follows ...);²³

¹⁵ *Roman van Lancelot* (= translation of the French *Lancelot en prose*), v. 15,006; see also vv. 11,374 and 14,882.

¹⁶ *Brabantsche yeeften*, i, vv. 788–89.

¹⁷ *Der naturen bloeme*, vv. 9722–23.

¹⁸ *Rijmkroniek van Woeringen*, vv. 3175–77.

¹⁹ 'Dietsch' or 'Duutsch' seems sometimes to include all Germanic languages, and 'Walsch' all Romance languages; see, for example, *Van den derden Eduwaert*, vv. 1585–87, where it is said that half of Christianity is 'French'-speaking, the other half 'Dutch'-speaking. Cf. also *Korte kroniek van Brabant*, 'lange versie', v. 315.

²⁰ Abridged version of *Wrake van Ragisel* (= translation of *Vengeance Raguidef*), v. 12,773. See also the fragments of the longer version, Aa, v. 264 ('[D]at walsch doet ons verstaen').

²¹ *Roman van Cassamus* (= translation of *Voeux du paon*), v. 442.

²² Abridged version of *Roman van Perchevael* (= translation of *Conte du Graal*), v. 40,354.

²³ *Loyhier en Malaert* (= adaptation of *Lohier et Mallart*), Anrwerpen fragment, v. 103.

the influence of French literature has indeed been enormous. Most of these texts are translations or adaptations of French texts, and when they are not, they borrow names, motives, and other material from French literature.

Dutch Authors Using the Status of French Literature

It is noteworthy that Dutch authors were quite eager to express their dependence on French literature. Stating that a Dutch text was based on a French source seems to have been a guarantee of quality.²⁸ This must also be the reason why some authors even overstated their dependence on it. A fascinating case in this respect is the prologue to the Dutch version of *Ogier le Danois*, which has recently been studied by Bart Besamusca.²⁹

Of the Dutch version of the *Enfances Ogier*, only some minor fragments have come down to us. The whole text, however, is conserved through a very literal High German translation, probably dating from the fifteenth century. It is only in this translation that we find the prologue by the anonymous Dutch author.³⁰ This

²⁸ What I did not examine, however, is whether some authors tried to mask their dependence on a French source. Is it significant that in the *Roman van Fergaut*, we do not find a reference to its French source, the *Roman de Fergaut*? Or was such a reference present in the (now lost) prologue? Remarkable is also the *Rose* (Brabant, c. 1300), which is a translation of the *Roman de la Rose*. In this text we find just one reference to the French source (in v. 11,159: 'Alse ic int Walsche hebbe gelesen'), and this place is probably corrupt. The reference is wanting in the other extant manuscript, *Het Comburgse handschrift: Sutgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et phil. 2° 22*, ed. by Herman Brinkman and Janny Schenkel, 2 vols (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), 1, 377, v. 10,990: 'Daer ic haue hebbe ghelesen'. The author probably avoided references to the French source in order not to disturb the autobiographical illusion; cf. D. E. van der Poel, *De Vlaamse 'Rose' en 'Die Rose' van Heinric: Onderzoekingen over twee Middelnederlandse bewerkingen van de 'Roman de la Rose'* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1989), pp. 148–53.

²⁹ Bart Besamusca, 'Zingende minstrelen, een jonge dichter en een voortdracht in Vlaanderen: Over de twee prologen van "Ogier von Dänemark"', in *Karolus Rex: Studies over de middeleeuwse verhaadtraditie rond Karel de Grote*, ed. by Bart Besamusca and Jaap Tigelaar (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), pp. 141–52.

³⁰ This translation is not included on the CD-ROM *Middelnederlands* (there we find only a few Middle Dutch fragments). The full text of the translation became available in 2002: *Ogier von Dänemark, nach der Heidelberger Handschrift CPG 363*, ed. by Hilbert Weddige and others (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002). The prologue is edited on pp. 1–2 (vv. 1–30). In point of fact, the medieval Dutch *Ogier* consisted of two parts, written by two authors. The second author, a certain Johan de Clerck, started his continuation with a prologue as well (vv. 4137–4234, pp. 118–21); see Besamusca, 'Zingende minstrelen', pp. 146–51.

'Twalsce seit ons vor waer' (The French [story] tells us for sure ...);²⁴ and 'Also mi tWalsce wille verclaren' (As my French source explains to me ...).²⁵

References like these are illustrative of the ascendancy of French literature in the Dutch-speaking area.²⁶ W. P. Gerritsen sketches the literary situation as follows: 'Au point de vue de la littérature néerlandaise, je crois pouvoir dire que celle-ci, en ce qui concerne les genres épique et romanesque, doit presque toutes ses impulsions à la littérature française.'²⁷ Especially in the field of epic and romance,

²⁴ *Madelgijis* (= adaptation of *Maugis d'Aigremont*), fragment Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Lrk 203, v. 19; the shorter version of *Madelgijis* also contains many references to the French source, see Antwerpen fragment, vv. 111, 131, 331. Cf. the High German translation, *Der deutsche Malagis, nach den Heidelberger Handschriften CPG 340 und 315*, ed. by Annegret Haase and others (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), vv. 57, 1723, 2914, 18,792, 22,519 (and p. lviii).

²⁵ *Jourdain van Blaves* (= adaptation of *Jourdain de Blaye*), v. 103. The fragments are not included in the CD-ROM *Middelnederlands* as they were only recently edited by Willem Kuiper and Jos Biemans, *Jourdain van Blaves. Editie van de bewaard gebleven fragmenten*, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 120 (2004), 211–46.

²⁶ Explicit references to a French source are also in *Brabantse yesten*, VI, vv. 1673–98 and 10,548–55 (= translation of French charters); *Historie van den Grale / Merlijn* (= translation of *Suite-Vulgate du Merlin*), vv. 10,420 and 36,193; *Lantsloot van der Haghechothe* (= adaptation of *Lancelot en prose*), v. 179; *Queste van den Grale* (= translation of *Queste del Saint Graal*), v. 3 (cf. also vv. 11,147 and 11,152); *Rinclus* (= translation of *Li Misirere*), v. 3; *Roman der Lorreinen* (= adaptation and continuation of *Garin le Lohereain* and *Gerbert de Metz*), frag. 8, vv. 41 and 57; *Roman van Florimont* (= translation of *Florimont*), v. 5 etc.; *Roman van Saladin* (= translation of *Saladin*), v. 75; *Van den vos Reynaerde / Reynaerts historie* (= adaptation of *Roman de Renard*), v. 8; *Des coninx summe* (= translation of *Somme le Roi*, 1–IV), p. 219; *Expositie op het Pater Noster* (= translation of *Somme le Roi*, v), colophon, p. 500; *Sidrac* (= translation of *Liure de Sidrac*), prologue, v. 52. For references in the *Florent ende Durant*, *Ogier van Denemeken*, *Parthoneus van Bloys*, *Rose*, *Roman van Limborch*, *Roman van Walewein*, and in the works by Jacob van Maerlant, see below. Explicit references to sources in medieval Dutch epics and romances, French or not, are studied more thoroughly by An Faems, *Hier namaels seldijt bat verstaen: Vertellerscommentaar in de Middelnederlandse ridderepiiek* (Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 2006), pp. 281–339.

²⁷ W. P. Gerritsen, 'Les Relations littéraires entre la France et les Pays-Bas au Moyen Âge: quelques observations sur la technique des traducteurs', in *Moyen Âge et Littérature Comparée: Actes du septième congrès national, Poitiers 27–29 mai 1965* (Paris: Didier, 1967), pp. 28–46; also available online: <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/gerr010rela01_01/>. Cf. Bart Besamusca, 'Unidentifizierte mittelniederländische Karlsepen: Die Idee fixe der mittelniederländischen Literatur als Übersetzungsliteratur', in *Chanson de geste im europäischen Kontext: Ergebnisse der Tagung der Deutschen Sektion der ICLS am 23. und 24.4.2004 in Köln*, ed. by Hans-Joachim Ziegeler (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008), pp. 26–35.

author first reveals the literary context in which he was working, beginning 'Many adventures about the noble King Arthur are being read'. Then he lists the names of several Arthurian heroes, among those 'Lantsloot vander Haghedochte', that is, Lancelot's name in one of the Dutch translations of the *Lancelot en prose*, probably written in Flanders around 1250. Against this background of interest in Arthurian literature in translation, the author introduces his own topic, the youth of Ogier de Danemarche. According to him, some minstrels sing other parts of Ogier's story in Dutch, but they do not know how it all began, and that is the part he will now translate from the French, word for word: 'uß dem Welsch von wort zû wort'.³¹ Once again, we have a Dutch author expressing his dependence on a French source. What is remarkable, however, is that the Dutch *Ogier* is not in fact a verbatim translation of the *Enfances Ogier*. And there is no evidence supporting the assumption of a closer, now lost, French source.³² How then can this be accounted for? On the basis of the Dutch *Ogier* and other similar cases, Gerritsen formulated the hypothesis that some Dutch epic authors were not translating from a written text, but from memory, recalling what they had heard from French performers:

Dans certains cas, par exemple dans celui de l'*Ogier le Danois*, les divergences entre les textes français et néerlandais sont si profondes. [...] Je me demande si cet état des choses ne pourrait pas s'expliquer par l'hypothèse que le remanieur n'a pas travaillé d'après une copie manuscrite de la chanson française, mais d'après ses souvenirs de la récitation par un jongleur français.³³

Although this assumption is hard to substantiate, it would explain the numerous divergences between French epics and their Dutch counterparts.³⁴ But whatever the reason for the discrepancies between the French and the Dutch *Enfances Ogier* — a lack of memory or a deliberate adaptation — the Dutch author was certainly

³¹ *Ogier von Dänemark*, v. 29; see also the detailed discussion by Besamusca, 'Zingende minstrelen', pp. 142–46.

³² Hans van Dijk, 'Ogier van Denemarken', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*, 47 (1997), 39–48, esp. pp. 41–42.

³³ Gerritsen, 'Les Relations littéraires', p. 35.

³⁴ For other examples, see *Middle Dutch Adaptations of the Matière de France*, ed. by Bart Besamusca and Hans van Dijk, special issue, *Olifant*, n. s., 23 (2004), 1–110, esp. pp. 37–38 (on the Dutch version of *Renaut de Montauban*); p. 72 (on the Dutch version of *Girart de Vienne*); pp. 102–04 (on the Dutch version of *Maugis d'Aigremont*); and the edition by Kuiper and Biemans, 'Jourdein van Blaves', esp. p. 219. Also interesting are the fragments of *Florent ende Durand*, which have a reference to a French source (perhaps an oral source) in v. 85 (cf. P. Gorissen, 'Florent ende Durand', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, n. s. (1972), 349–91).

not telling the truth when he said he was translating word for word from French. He undoubtedly thought his audience would be pleased to learn that the text was a literal translation.³⁵

The high status of French literature is also discernible when Dutch authors explicitly state that the story they are about to tell is very popular in French-speaking milieus. One of the surviving fragments of the *Wrake van Ragisel* (Flanders or Brabant, c. 1260?), the Dutch translation of the *Vengeance Raguidel*, ends with the following statement:

Nu willic u van hem die tale
laten bliuen ende seggen voort
Ene aventure die men hort
Gerne lesen in walsche tale.³⁶

[I will not continue the story about them, but will tell you an adventure which people love to hear read in the French language.]

In the prologue to his *Trojeroman* (Brabant or Flanders, c. 1240?), Segher Diengogaf explicitly situates his own text in the context of the French text about Troy, known to so many:

Dies is leden menghen dach
Dat grote heer voer Troyen lach.
Een deel van dien dat daer gesciede,
Hebben ghehoert veel lude,
Mer diet Romans maecten ende sceef,

³⁵ There are more examples of overstating the dependence on French literature. In the *Roman van Limborch* (Brabant, c. 1320) we find repeated references to a French source (i, vv. 1862, 2494, 2749; II, v. 1922; III, v. 1170; IV, v. 1460; V, vv. 1710, 2016, 2168; VI, vv. 271, 1449, 1915, 2105, 2611; VII, v. 1652; VIII, vv. 971, 1173, 1223; see also the prose version, p. 71), but none of them seems to be genuine. The author borrowed a lot from other texts, but these were mainly Dutch sources as shown in the doctoral dissertation by Lieve De Wachter, 'Een literair-historisch onderzoek naar de effecten van ontleeningen op de compositie en de zingeving van de "Roman van Heinric en Margriete van Limborch"' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Brussel, 1998). The reference to a French source at the end of *Parthonopeus van Bloys* (= translation and continuation of *Partonopeus*), v. 8401, may also be 'false', as argued by Anne Reynders, *De Middelnederlandse Parthonopeus van Bloys' en zijn Oudfranse origineel: Een studie van de vertaal- en bewerkingstechniek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 290–95. In this case, however, we should not rule out the existence of a (now lost) French continuation of the *Partonopeus* (cf. Sleiderink, *De stem van de meester*, p. 180, n. 58).

³⁶ *Wrake van Ragisel*, fragment Bb, vv. 25–28. A passage in one of the fragments of *Willem van Oringen* (= adaptation of *Le moniage Guillaume*), vv. 232–35, should probably be interpreted in the same way.

Hy vergat — ic en weet waert bleef —
Een deel der bester aventueren.³⁷

[It has been a long time since the great army besieged Troy. Many people have heard some of what happened there but he who composed and wrote the French text, forgot some of the best adventures. I do not know what happened to them.]

The text opens with an original episode, but then continues with the translation of two episodes from Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*.

Another significant case is the *Roman van Walewein* (Flanders, c. 1260). This romance of Gawain — or Walewein as he is called in Dutch — is not based on a French source, but on an orally transmitted fairy tale known as *The Quest for the Golden Bird* or *Firebird* (AT-550). The author, Penninc, feels obliged to apologize in the prologue for not translating from French. If he had found this beautiful story in French (which he did not), he would have translated it into Dutch, he says:

Constricse wel in tWalsche vinden
Ic soudse jou in Dietsche ontbinden
Soe es uermaten scone. (*Roman van Walewein*, vv. 5–7)

It is revealing that when Penninc's unfinished romance was completed by Pieter Vostaert, the latter nonetheless refers to a (non-existent) French source, as if by force of habit.³⁸

Overstating the dependence on French literature, linking an original text with popular French texts, or apologizing for not using a French source: these examples from epic and romance all point in the same direction. Those Dutch authors were certainly not trying to diminish the status of French literature. On the contrary, they were trying to be part of it, to use its status for their own benefit. All of this implies furthermore that French literature enjoyed an immense prestige among Dutch-speaking audiences.

Paradoxically, this Francophile audience of Dutch literature was not very familiar with French literature itself. Although the prologue to the *Trojeroman* by Segher Diengotgaf seems to suggest that many people in the audience already knew the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, this is not very plausible. Had they had ready access to this text, there would not have been a demand for a partial

³⁷ Segher Diengotgaf, *Trojeroman*, ed. by Jozef Janssens and Ludo Jongen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), vv. 5–11. Segher's text only survived as an interpolation in Jacob van Maerlant's *Historie van Troyen* (vv. 14,591–15,864 and 16,493–17,500).

³⁸ *Roman van Walewein*, v. 11,141. On both passages, see Bart Besamusca, *Walewein, Moriaen en de Ridder metter mouwen: Intertekstualiteit in drie Midde nederlandse Arturomanen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), pp. 174–75.

translation of it.³⁹ With regard to the *Roman van Walewein*, Bart Besamusca has argued that Penninc's intended audience was able to deal with very subtle intertextuality between the Dutch romance, the French Lancelot-Grail Cycle, and the continuation of the *Conte du Graal* by Gerbert de Montreuil. This view, however, has caused some controversy. If Penninc had really intended an intertextual play — which is not at all sure — it could have been with a Dutch translation of the Lancelot-Grail Cycle or other translations of French texts. Moreover, if the audience had been so familiar with French literature, why would Penninc consider translating a French tale for them, as suggested in his prologue?⁴⁰

Many Dutch texts must have been intended for a monolingual Dutch-speaking audience. A clear example is *Floris ende Blancefloer* (Flanders, c. 1260), the Dutch version of *Floire et Blanceflor*. In his prologue the author, Diederic van Assenede, says:

Hets worden herde te sure
Van Assenede Diederike.
Dien seldijs danken ghemeeenlike,
Dat hijt uten Walsche heeft ghedicht
Ende versandelike in Dietsche bericht
Den ghenen, diet Walsche niet en connen.⁴¹

[This was a difficult task for Diederic van Assenede. Therefore, you should thank him all for translating this from French into Dutch, making it comprehensible to those who do not understand French.]

The situation seems quite clear. On the one hand, we have a Francophile but monolingual Dutch-speaking audience longing for access to French literature. On the other hand, we have Dutch authors functioning as mediators. As long as the audience

³⁹ Cf. Jozef D. Janssens, *Dichter en publiek in creatief samenspel: Over interpretatie van Midde nederlandse ridderromans* (Leuven: Acco, 1988), pp. 51–52.

⁴⁰ Cf. Besamusca, *Walewein, Moriaen en de Ridder metter mouwen*, and reviews by J. H. Winkelman in *Queste: Journal of Medieval Literature in the Low Countries*, 1 (1994), 85–96, and Frank Willaert in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde*, 111 (1995), 258–61.

⁴¹ *Floris ende Blancefloer*, vv. 22–27 (see also vv. 1356–57); cf. Jozef D. Janssens, 'Wereldse literatuur in het dertiende-eeuwse Vlaanderen', in *Van vader- naar moedertaal*, ed. by Beyers, pp. 119–35; also available online: <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jans061wer01_01/>. A similar passage is to be found in the prologue to *Sidrac* (Antwerpen, c. 1328), the Dutch prose translation of the *Libre de Sidrac*. Also interesting is the second prologue to the *Ogier*, where the author explains that once, after reciting the Dutch version of the *Enfances Ogier* to a noble and female audience in Flanders (in the fourteenth century?), one of the ladies present begged him to translate the sequel as well. Apparently, the French text itself would not do for these ladies. See Besamusca, 'Zingende minstrelen', pp. 148–50.

does not have a thorough understanding of the French language, Dutch authors are needed to guarantee the entry into a world of magic, adventure, and courtliness. It is therefore not at all surprising that in these chivalric texts, the elevated status of French and French literature is not contested, but rather strengthened.

Discrediting French and French Literature

Not all Dutch authors, however, were so positive about French and French literature. In the prologue to the *Boec van Seden* (Flanders, first half of the thirteenth century), the translation of the Latin *Facetus 'cum nihil uilius'*, the author sounds quite Francophobic. He states explicitly that his didactic poem is based neither on French-speaking informants nor on French romances. He gathered his information in the 'scrifture', that is, learned texts in Latin:

Ende wet wel, dat ic hier bediede
Es niet ghetrocken uut Walschen lieden,
Noch uiter Walscher aventuren;
Soe es ghetrect uiter scrifture.⁴²

Discrediting French literature, as well as showing a clear preference for Latin sources, is also typical of Jacob van Maerlant, who was born in Flanders and probably received his education in the city of Brugge.⁴³ Around 1259 the poet started to work for patrons in Zeeland and Holland, the principality just north of Flanders, where he wrote some Dutch romances. His debut was *Alexanders geesten*, a translation for a lay audience of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*, the Latin text about Alexander the Great which was frequently used for educational purposes. In the beginning of his career, though, Maerlant did not depend exclusively on Latin sources. The three works he wrote after *Alexanders geesten* were all translations of French texts: the prose *Joseph-Merlin* by the Pseudo-Robert de Boron, the now lost French romance about *Torrez, le chevalier au cercle d'or*, and the *Roman de Troie*

⁴² *Bouc van Seden*, vv. 1–8, as cited by Bart Besamusca and Hans Kienhorst in their anthology of medieval Dutch comments on the practice of translating, *De crumen diet volc niet eten en mochte: Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen tot 1550* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Bibliographia Neerlandica, 1999), p. 41. On the CD-ROM *Middel Nederlands* only the surviving thirteenth-century fragments of this work are included. The full text of the *Bouc van Seden* is edited in *Het Comburgse handschrift*, ed. by Brinkman and Schenkel, I, 515–41. On the function and audience of the *Bouc van Seden*, see Janssens, 'Wereldse literatuur', pp. 130–31.

⁴³ The most comprehensive study on Jacob van Maerlant and his work is by Frits van Oostrom, *Maerlants wereld* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996).

by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. Maerlant probably translated these French texts because his audience asked him to do so, but he did not do it wholeheartedly, repeatedly stressing how inferior these French sources are. With regard to the prose version of Robert de Boron's *Joseph* and *Merlin*, he informs his audience that he considers this history in French very unreliable, using the significant rhyme *valsche* (unreliable) — *walsch* (French):

Je wille dat gy des zeker sijt,
Dat ick die historie vele valsche
Gevonden hebbe in dat Walsch.⁴⁴

Again and again, Maerlant points at *logene* (lies) in the French text, often with reference to passages from the Bible contradicting the text by Robert de Boron.⁴⁵

In his *Historie van Trojen* Maerlant shows more respect for Benoît's *Roman de Troie*. Nevertheless he fills out the story with interpolations based on classical authors like Homer (*Ilias latina*), Vergil, Ovid, and Statius, and on the *Vitae Patrum*. He also includes Segher Diengotgaf's *Trojeroman* and a passage from his own *Alexanders geesten*. And in many cases, Maerlant explicitly argues why these interpolations represent an improvement on Benoît's text.⁴⁶

The *Historie van Trojen* was the last text Maerlant translated from French; the rest of his oeuvre is deeply rooted in Latin. Around 1270, when Maerlant was back home in Flanders but still working for patrons in the north, he finished his Dutch adaptation of Thomas of Cantimpré's *De natura rerum*. In the prologue he tells his audience that one of his predecessors once tried to write a Dutch *bestiaris* but failed because he used a French text as source.⁴⁷

Maerlant's criticism of French fiction comes to a climax in his *Spiegel historiae*, the adaptation of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. In his lengthy discussion on Charlemagne, he incorporates a very committed chapter, entitled *Tscelden tegen die borderers* ('the fulmination against storytellers'), in which he openly

⁴⁴ *Historie van den Grale / Merlijn*, vv. 20–22. On the rhyme *valsche / walsch*, see Van Oostrom, *Maerlants wereld*, pp. 404 and 496 (and *Historie van Trojen*, vv. 31,429–30). Cf. also *Rijmkroniek van Woeringen*, vv. 59–60 and 6049–50 and *Nieuwe doctrinael*, vv. 575–76.

⁴⁵ *Historie van den Grale / Merlijn*, vv. 51–641 (words like 'logentlike sake', 'logene', and 'gelogen' in vv. 225, 228, 243, 621).

⁴⁶ Ludo Jongen, *Van Achilles tellen langhe: Onderzoekingen over Maerlants bewerking van Statius' 'Achilleis in de 'Historie van Trojen'* (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1988), esp. pp. 16–21 and p. 38, n. 61 where all explicit references to sources in the *Historie van Trojen* are listed.

⁴⁷ *Der naturen bloeme*, prologue, vv. 101–16.

attacks 'these sweet, French, fake poets, who rhyme more than they know' ('Die scone Walsche valsche poeten, | Die meer rimen dan si weten').⁴⁸ What angers Maerlant is the way French poets have treated the history of Charlemagne, suggesting that a man like Guillaume d'Orange could be more virtuous than the Emperor himself: 'these French books are worthy of great curses'. 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).⁴⁹

French Literature Dethroned

With his didactic poems — based on Latin but adapted for a lay audience — Jacob van Maerlant acquired a following. Not without reason did the Antwerpen poet and city clerk Jan van Boendale call Maerlant 'die vader der dietschen dichtren algader' (the father of all Dutch poets).⁵⁰ In the fourteenth century Dutch literature became emancipated: the local vernacular was used for more and more literary genres.⁵¹ At the same time, many people in the Dutch-speaking area seem to have lost interest in French literature, judging by the less frequent references to French literature and the lack of translations of works by authors such as Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and Eustache Deschamps.⁵² The gap between French and

⁴⁸ *Spiegel historiael, Vierde partie*, I, Ch. 29, vv. 27–28.

⁴⁹ Evert van den Berg and Bart Besamusca, 'Middle Dutch Charlemagne Romances and the Oral Tradition of the chansons de geste', in *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*, ed. by Kooper, pp. 81–95, esp. pp. 81–83.

⁵⁰ *Der leken spiëghel*, III, cap. CXXXVI, vv. 119–20.

⁵¹ Geert Warnar, 'Men of Letters: Medieval Dutch Literature and Learning', in *University, Council, City: Intellectual Culture on the Rhine (1300–1550)*, ed. by L. Cesalli, N. Germann, and M. J. F. M. Hoenen, *Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale*, 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 221–46. On Jan van Boendale and his literary views, see W. P. Gerritsen and others, 'A Fourteenth-Century Vernacular Poetics: Jan van Boendale's "How Writers Should Write"', in *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*, ed. by Kooper, pp. 245–60. See also Orlanda S. H. Lie, 'What is Truth? The Verse-Prose Debate in Medieval Dutch Literature', *Queeste: Journal of Medieval Literature in the Low Countries*, 1 (1994), 34–65; also available online: <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/lie_002what01_01/>.

⁵² Of course, not everything fits in this general development. Lodewijk van Velthem, for example, tried around 1320 to revive the Arthurian literature which Maerlant had rejected; see Remco Sleiderink, 'Lodewijk van Velthem: De onnoemelijke ambitie van een Brabantse dorpspastoor', in

Dutch literature was widening. Inspiration was found within Dutch literature, or in the *Latinitas*, but much less in French fiction.

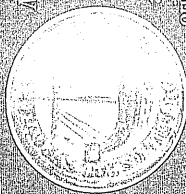
Presented as such, it may seem as if the developments within the literary field had a considerable impact on the nature of diglossia in the Low Countries. From the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, the status and function of French really did change, but this was due not only to literary developments. In fact, the dynamics in the literary sphere coincided with those in other areas. Of critical importance was the continuing struggle of the Flemish people — the craftsmen in the wealthy cities first and foremost — to become more independent of France. This went hand in hand with a real Francophobia. It is said that in the days before the battle of Kortrijk in 1302 — the Battle of the Golden Spurs — the Flemish insurgents were out for the blood of all French speakers: 'wat Walsch es, valsch es; slaet al doot!' ('Whoever speaks French is unreliable: kill them all!').⁵³ In the duchy of Brabant the atmosphere was less revolutionary, but here the cities demanded more political influence, too. It is striking that Duke John I (the patron of the *Puissance d'amour*), when he urgently needed money in 1290, obliged his people with a chronicle in their native Dutch as well as the promise that Dutch would be promoted in court life. In the fourteenth century this became a reality, when Dutch became — at the court of Brabant and among the nobility of Brabant — the most important language of culture.⁵⁴ But most linguistic and literary innovations in the Southern Low Countries are to be found in the cities. In the duchy of Brabant, Antwerpen (with Jan van Boendale) and Brussels (with Jan van Ruusbroec) became thriving literary centres in Dutch. In Brabant, as well as in Flanders, Dutch had become the standard, an H language as never before. Diglossia had changed fundamentally.

Maer er is meer, ed. by Sleiderink, Uyttersprot, and Besamusca, pp. 109–29, esp. pp. 117–18 and 124, and more recently Thea Summerfield, 'Schrijven in Maerlants schaduw: Lodewijk van Velthem, Edward I en koning Artur', in *De boeken van Velthem: Auteur, oeuvre en overlevering*, ed. by Bart Besamusca, Remco Sleiderink, and Geert Warnar (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009), pp. 183–205. And according to the surviving manuscripts, chivalric literature, inspired by French fiction, was still quite popular in the fourteenth century; see Hans Kienhorst, *De handschriften van de Middelnederlandse ridderepiëke*, 2 vols (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1988).

⁵³ *Kronyk van Vlaenderen van 580 tot 1467*, ed. by C. P. Serrure and Ph. Blommaert, vol. 1 (Gent: Vanderhaeghe-Hulin, 1839), p. 155.

⁵⁴ Sleiderink, *De stem van de meester*, chaps 4 and 5, and Remco Sleiderink, 'Une si belle histoire de nos propres seigneurs': la noblesse brabançonne et la littérature en néerlandais (première moitié du XIV^e siècle), *Le Moyen Âge*, 113 (2007), 549–67.

MEDIEVAL TEXTS & CULTURES OF NORTHERN EUROPE



Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe is a series which opens up a dedicated forum for comparative work on northern European medieval literature, history, and society and their significance in the modern world. It promotes dialogue between anglophone and continental medievalists and addresses the need for transcultural perspectives on Europe's medieval origins in a way that is distinctive both in scope and in academic orientation. The focus is on the medieval texts and cultures of the British Isles, northern and central mainland Europe, and Scandinavia. The chronological range of the series is from c. 800 AD to c. 1600 AD. Each volume makes available to an international readership excellent new work, offering ways of reading texts, cultures, and institutions that speak to the contemporary world.

MEDIEVAL MULTILINGUALISM

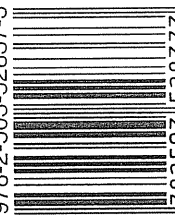
THE FRANCOPHONE WORLD AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

This volume contains essays on various aspects of multilingualism in medieval France, Italy, England, and the Low Countries. The fifteen contributions discuss the use of the different vernaculars and Latin in both literary and non-literary contexts, showing how cultural and social factors determined the choice of language for a particular purpose or type of text. The role of French in non-French contexts is a major theme of these essays: in the British Isles after the Norman Conquest, in Italy as a response to the need for mainly secular types of literature which did not exist in Italian, and in the Low Countries by virtue of geographic contiguity and change of rulers. Special attention is paid in the French context to the use of French and Occitan in areas of the South. Some essays examine specific cases or text-corpora, while others examine questions of multilingualism from more theoretical, linguistic, and rhetorical points of view. Together, they form an invaluable introduction to the topic of medieval multilingualism, illustrated by meticulously executed case studies, which future work in the area will have to take into account.

Cover image: *Building the Tower of Babel*, Dijon, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, MS 562, fol. 9r.
Reproduced with permission.

Series logo by permission of Hull City Archives

978-2-503-52837-3



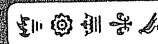
9 782503 528373

TCNIE 20

MEDIEVAL MULTILINGUALISM

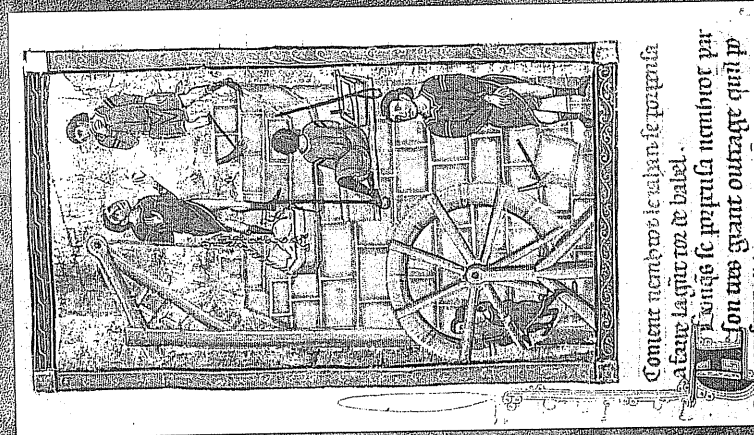


THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL
CENTRE FOR MEDIEVAL STUDIES



MEDIEVAL MULTILINGUALISM

THE FRANCOPHONE WORLD AND ITS NEIGHBOURS



EDITED BY

CHRISTOPHER KIEHNHENZ AND KEITH BUSBY

BREPOLS

MEDIEVAL TEXTS AND CULTURES OF NORTHERN EUROPE

*Editorial Board under the auspices of the
Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Hull*

Wendy Scase, Chair, *University of Birmingham*
Adrian P. Tudor, Secretary, *University of Hull*

John H. Arnold, *Birkbeck College, University of London*
Julia Barrow, *University of Nottingham*
Lesley A. Coote, *University of Hull*
David Crouch, *University of Hull*
Paul Hardwick, *Leeds Trinity and All Saints*
Alan Hindley, *University of Hull*

Advisory Board

Andrew Ayton, *University of Hull*
David Bagchi, *University of Hull*
Keith Busby, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
Olle Ferm, *Stockholm's universitet*
Wim Hüskens, *Stedelijke Musea Mechelen*
Gerhard Jaritz, *Central European University, Budapest*
Peter Meredith, *University of Leeds*
Veronica O'Mara, *University of Hull*
Nigel F. Palmer, *St Edmund Hall, Oxford*
Brigitte Schludermann, *University of Hull*
Michel Zink, *Collège de France, Membre de l'Institut*

Previously published volumes in this series are listed at the back of this book

VOLUME 20

MEDIEVAL MULTILINGUALISM
The Francophone World and its Neighbours

edited by

Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby



BREPOLS

Medieval multilingualism in England, France, and Italy : the francophone world and its neighbours. – (Medieval texts and cultures of Northern Europe ; v. 20)

1. Multilingualism – England – History – To 1500. 2. Multilingualism – France – History – To 1500. 3. Multilingualism – Italy – History – To 1500. 4. Multilingualism and literature – England – History – To 1500. 5. Multilingualism and literature – France – History – To 1500. 6. Multilingualism and literature – Italy – History – To 1500. 7. Language and culture – England – History – To 1500. 8. Language and culture – France – History – To 1500. 9. Language and culture – Italy – History – To 1500. 10. French language – Europe – History – To 1500.

I. Series II. Kleinhenz, Christopher. III. Busby, Keith.

404.2'094'0902-dc22

ISBN-13: 9782503528373

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	vii
Introduction: Medieval Francophonia AD PUTTER AND KEITH BUSBY	1
Creole Grammar and Multilingual Poetics MARK AMSLER	15
Language Labels, Language Change, and Lexis DAVID TROTTER	43
Institutions and Multilingualism in the Middle Ages DOUGLAS A. KIBBEE	63
Multilingualism in England and Wales, c. 1200: The Testimony of Gerald of Wales AD PUTTER	83
<i>Aultre manier de language:</i> English Usage as a Political Act in Thirteenth-Century England MARK N. TAYLOR	107
From Francophile to Francophobe: The Changing Attitude of Medieval Dutch Authors towards French Literature REMCO SLEIDERINK	127

© 2010, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2010/0095/52

ISBN: 978-2-503-52837-3

Printed in the E.U. on acid-free paper

Literary Evidence for Multilingualism: <i>The Roman de Tristan</i> in its Italian Incarnations GLORIA ALLAIRE	145	
Lecteurs et interprètes des romans arthuriens en Italie: un examen à partir des études récentes DANIELA DELCORNO BRANCA	155	
Manuscrits en français, italien, et latin entre la Toscane et la Ligurie à la fin du XIII ^e siècle: implications codicologiques, linguistiques, et évolution des genres narratifs FABRIZIO CIGNI	187	
Les Aspects de multilinguisme dans <i>Aquilon de Bavière</i> MARIE-JOSÉ HEIJKANT	219	Cigni, 'Manuscrits en français, italien, et latin'
Aspects of Legal Multilingualism in the States of Savoy FRANCESCO AIMERITO	237	Figure 1, p. 200. 'Fin du <i>Bestiaire d'Amours</i> – début du <i>Jugement d'Amours</i> , Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 123, fol. 7 ^v . Figure 2, p. 202. Début des <i>Distiques de Caton</i> , Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo- Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 123, fol. 8 ^r . Figure 3, p. 214. Supplée de St Maurice, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS Alfa T.4.14, fol. 74 ^r . Figure 4, p. 215. San Domenico consigne la Règle de l'Ordre à un frère prêcheur, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS Alfa T.4.14, fol. 174 ^r . Figure 5, p. 216. Explicit de Taddeus, Pisa, Biblioteca Santa Caterina, MS 43, fol. 26 ^v . Figure 6, p. 217. <i>Sermons</i> de Maurice de Sully (Table italien-français-latin), Pisa, Biblioteca Santa Caterina, MS 43, fol. 50 ^r .
The Vernacularization of Late Medieval Sermons: Some French and Italian Examples CAROLYN MUESSIG	267	
French and Occitan in Fourteenth-Century Auvergne R. ANTHONY LODGE	285	
Musical Multilingualism in <i>Le Roman de Fauvel</i> (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 146) MICHELLE BOLDUC	303	Aimerito, 'Aspects of Legal Multilingualism'
		Figure 7, p. 246. Gaspard Bally, <i>Recueil des édits et règlement de Savoie</i> [...] (Chambéry: Estienne Riondet, 1679). Figure 8, p. 248. The eighteenth-century <i>Regie Costituzioni</i> . Figure 9, p. 250. Alexandre Jolly, <i>Compilation des anciens édits des princes de la royale maison de Savoie</i> [...] (Chambéry: Estienne Riondet, 1679).