The lure of the dark ages : writing the Middle Ages and political rhetoric in humanist historiography from the low countries

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CHAPTER FOUR

Procedures of Rewriting:
Adrianus Barlandus' Cronica Brabantiae ducum *(1526)*
and the Alder excellenste cronyke *of Brabant*

> "The one duty we owe to history is to re-write it. That is not the least of tasks in store for the critical spirit."
>
> Oscar Wilde, *The Critic as Artist: Part I* (1891)*

The history of the dukes of Brabant by Adrianus Barlandus (1486-1538), entitled *Cronica Brabantiae ducum*, first printed in 1526, was a very successful example of early modern historiography in the Low Countries.[1] This concise work, written in elegant humanist Latin and covering the history of Brabant from the seventh century AD up to the year of publication, was the first Latin work of history about the duchy that appeared in print. As Barlandus' biographer Etienne Daxhelet put it, "by the interest Barlandus was able to put in his narrative, by the simplicity and naturalness of expression, by the excellence of the Latin and the note of common sense that one encounters on every page, the *Cronica* became a kind of *locus classicus* for Brabantine

* Wilde, O. (1891) *Intentions (The English Library* 54*)*, James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. (London), p. 106.

[1] The first edition is Barlandus 1526; see Nijhoff & Kronenberg 1923-1971, vol. 1, 80-1 (nº 236). The title page features the title *Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia*, but as the beginning of the narrative and the headers of the main body of text give *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* (with the spelling variant *Chronica Brabantiae ducum* on f. e1^{v}-s7^{r}), the title on the title page seems to be an editorial adaptation (cf. Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 36). Therefore, I will use the title *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* for references (*CBd* in abbreviated form).

history and remained so for over a century."[2] Between 1551 and 1665 the *Cronica* went through six reprints and was translated into Dutch and French.[3]

Barlandus himself is a figure of interest for the subject of my book, since he belonged to the first generation of humanists in the Low Countries and actively participated in the humanist school and university life at Louvain. His activity as a teacher also allowed him to build up a modest political network. He was born in Baerland in the province of Zeeland in the year 1486. After attending a Latin school at Ghent, he went to Louvain to study *artes*, philosophy, and theology, probably in 1501. While studying, Barlandus began to teach Latin. In 1509, he was appointed *legens* of philosophy. He also held the office of *quodlibetarius* in 1512 and 1520, and he was appointed dean of the faculty of arts in 1518 and 1531. In 1518, he also became professor of Latin in the newly founded Collegium Trilingue, and held the office for a year. Barlandus accepted his last official function at the university, that of professor of eloquence (*rhetor publicus*), in 1526, and occupied the post until his death in 1538.

The circle of learned humanists around Erasmus at Louvain constituted Barlandus' main habitat as a scholar.[4] He was a personal acquaintance of Erasmus, and edited a few works by the famous humanist from Rotterdam, notably a selection of letters, an abbreviated version of the *Adagia*, and a translation of some dialogues by Lucian. In addition, Barlandus exchanged letters with many humanists in the Low Countries, including Juan Luis Vives, Johannes Borsalus, Jan Fevijn, Rutger Rescius, Alardus of Amsterdam, Jacobus Latomus, Frans van Cranevelt, Gerard Geldenhouwer, and Martinus Dorpius.[5]

As a public and private teacher, Barlandus had some pupils from the leading aristocratic families of the Burgundian provinces. The most important of these were William II of Croÿ (1498-1521), the later archbishop of Toledo, and Charles II of Croÿ (1506/1507-1564), the future bishop of Tournai. In addition, Barlandus taught the sons of John III of Egmont (1438-1516), the stadtholder of Holland: George of Egmont (ca. 1504-1559), the future bishop of Utrecht, Philip of Egmont (†1529), the

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[2] Daxhelet 1938, 117: "Par l'intérêt que Barlandus sut mettre dans son récit, par la simplicité et le naturel de l'expression, par l'excellence du latin et la note de bon sens que l'on y trouve à chaque page, la *Cronica* devint comme le *locus classicus* de l'histoire du Brabant, et le resta pendant plus d'un siècle."

[3] For the print history of the *Cronica*, see Daxhelet 1938, 113, 117-8; F. van der Haeghen (ed.) 1964-1975, vol. 1, 172-3.

[4] For the importance of Louvain as a humanist centre, see Laureys 1996.

[5] Barlandus' correspondence has been conveniently edited by Daxhelet 1938, 237-331. González González 2003, 178 n. 1 states that he has detected twelve unknown letters from and to Barlandus and utters an intention to publish them. To my best knowledge, he has not done so until now. De Vocht 1934, 321-2 identifies two letters from Barlandus not mentioned by Daxhelet. In addition, two letters from Barlandus to Cranevelt can be found in the Cranevelt letters discovered in 1989: IJsewijn & Tournoy (edd.) 1992, 16-7 (nº 4), 40-1 (nº 13).

lord of Baer, and Maximilian of Egmont (1509-1548), the later stadtholder of Frisia. Furthermore, Barlandus' political affiliation to the Burgundian nobility also shows through in the dedications of his writings. As dedicatees we find, among others, Anthony of Bergen (1500-1541), lord of Bergen op Zoom and Walhain, George of Halewijn (ca. 1470-1536/1537), lord of Halewijn and Comines, Adolph of Burgundy (1489-1540), lord of Veere and admiral of the Netherlands, and Maximilian of Burgundy (†1536), abbot at Middelburg. Barlandus also dedicated his *De literatis urbis Romae principibus* (1515) to the entire Burgundian nobility.[6]

Master of Alkmaar, portrait of John III of Egmont, ca. 1500-1510

The greater part of Barlandus' oeuvre originated in an educational context. This is perhaps most clear in the case of his rhetorical manuals, the *Isagoge rhetorices* (1516), the *Compendiosae institutiones artis oratoriae* (1535), and his *De amplificatione oratoria* (1536). But also Barlandus' philological work, and especially his editions of and commentaries on Aesop, Avianus, Vergil, Livy, and Terence, is often explicitly destined for use by pupils or beginning students. Likewise, Barlandus' anthologies of Erasmian letters and adages as well as his collection of witticisms and his school dialogues in the manner of Erasmus' *Colloquia* must have been primarily intended for educational purposes. Finally, Barlandus also published a pedagogical manual entitled *De ratione studii*.

What has been said about Barlandus' oeuvre in general, is also true for much of his historiography. "Barlandus saw in history," as Daxhelet put it, "not so much a speculative science but rather a practical knowledge. In addition to the effective assistance it offered for moral education, it could also help greatly with the intellectual formation of his pupils."[7] This is especially evident in the case of his *De Hollandiae principibus*, which was first printed in 1519. This work was dedicated to the sons of John III of Egmont. Barlandus describes his booklet as a contribution to the *linguarum studium* and emphasizes that he will relate no vices (*vitia*), since this

[6] For Barlandus' biography, Daxhelet 1938 remains the standard work. For a more recent and much shorter account, see Van Leijenhorst 1985.

[7] Daxhelet 1938, 91: "Barlandus vit dans l'histoire moins une science spéculative qu'une connaissance pratique. En plus de l'assistance effective qu'elle offrait à la formation éthique, elle pouvait aider puissamment à la formation intellectuelle de ses élèves." Also see Daxhelet 1938, 95, 124.

might cause depravity (*turpitudo*) at their tender age.[8] Similarly, Barlandus says about his *Carolus Burgundus* about the life of Charles the Bold, which was first printed in 1520 together with *De Hollandiae principibus*, that "I have collected this material about the deeds of this most glorious duke for students of history in all the intermissions I have always had in my occupations as a teacher."[9]

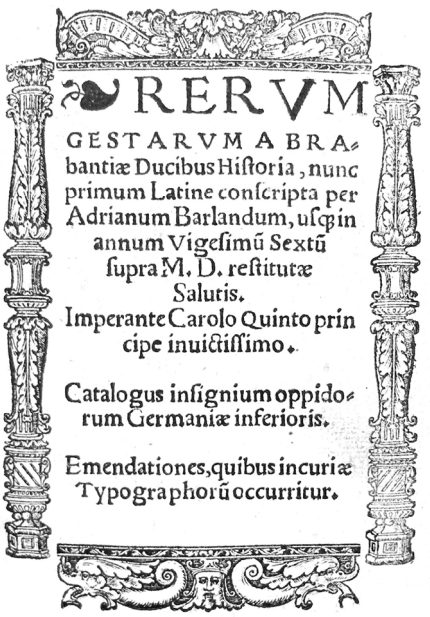
RERVM
GESTARVM A BRA-
bantiæ Ducibus Hiſtoria, nunc
primum Latine conſcripta per
Adrianum Barlandum, uſq; in
annum Vigeſimũ Sextũ
ſupra M. D. reſtitutæ
Salutis.
Imperante Carolo Quinto prin
cipe inuictiſſimo.
Catalogus inſignium oppido-
rum Germaniæ inferioris.
Emendationes, quibus incuriæ
Typographorũ occurritur.

Fig. 1: Title page of the 1526 edition of Barlandus' *Cronica Brabantiae ducum*

In view of the genesis of Barlandus' oeuvre in general, I assume that the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* should also be seen as the product of an educational context. This assumption can be supported first of all by the fact that the book was published in octavo size and must have been relatively inexpensive. In addition, the *Carolus Burgundus*, which Barlandus seems to have destined for use by students, was almost entirely included in the *Cronica*. Moreover, the *Opusculum de insignibus oppidis Germaniae Inferioris*, which had been printed for the first time in 1524 and which was reprinted in the same volume as the *Cronica*, is dedicated to Adrianus a Rivulo, who is explicitly qualified as Barlandus' *alumnus* and as one of the *studiosi iuuenes* Barlandus has taught.[10] Finally, the prologue of the *Cronica*, a pastiche of classical quotations that opens with the schoolmaster's saying *Horatio auctore*, breathes the atmosphere of the school.[11] If my hypothesis is correct, the *Cronica* has special significance for the question addressed in this book, because the reading of history in the schoolroom was probably one of the most evident places in the curriculum where

[8] Barlandus 1520, f. Aij^{v}.

[9] Barlandus 1520, f. Hiij^{v}: "Haec de rebus gestis clarissimi ducis per omnia semper docendi occupationum interualla, rerum studiosis collegi". Unfortunately, the expression *rerum studiosi* is too vague to conclude with certainty that the work was intended for use at schools or in the propedeutic studies at university, even if such an interpretation seems to be supported by Barlandus' reference to his activity as a teacher. The meaning 'student' for the word *studiosus* was very common in Renaissance Latin, though: see *DRL* s.v. 'studiosus', meaning B.

[10] *CBd* f. r5^{r}.

[11] *CBd* f. 2^{r}-3^{v}.

contemporary politics was taught. Thus it may have been in a good position to play a significant role in transmitting political values and shaping the political order.

This is not to say that the readership of the book consisted exclusively of pupils and students. The first edition of *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* was set up and printed in Antwerp, one of the main centres of printing in early sixteenth-century Europe, in the workshop of Johannes van Hoochstraten. This man was the son of the famous printer Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten and produced an interesting series of works, mainly of Lutheran and Erasmian purport. The scope of these works transcends the local interest, in particular the English pamphlets he printed using 'Adam Anonymus' and 'Hans Luft' as his *noms de guerre*. His settlement in Lübeck and Malmö in the years 1531-1535 bears witness to his international orientation as well.[12] Therefore, it was by no means impossible that the *Cronica* was read throughout Europe.

The publication of the *Cronica* took place in a turbulent time span. At Barlandus' city of residence, Louvain, the rise of humanist studies provoked heated debates. Moreover, the political landscape of Europe seemed to be rapidly changing after the outburst of violence between Protestants and Catholics in the Peasants' War (1524-1525) and after the defeat of the king of France at Pavia (1525). In 1523, the first Protestant had been burnt at the stake in Brussels. In this chapter, I will pay attention to the role of Barlandus' work in the brisk political debates that ensued from these events. Focussing on procedures of rewriting, I will demonstrate how Barlandus' kneading of the historical source material resulted in the distinct political flavour of his work.

4.1 From Chronicle to Compendium: Brevity, Selection, Organization

In order to specify in more detail the conventions of reading applied to the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum*, I will start off my discussion of Barlandus' work with the question to which historiographical genre it belongs.[13] A first clue as to the genre of the work can be found in the following lines from its preface: "But perhaps someone will censure me for being too brief (*nimis breuem*). Plain and lucid brevity is commendable. As in Sallust. Someone else will criticize my disparity. I will confront this person with Livy, whom we can see to be alternately brief and copious. Another says that some

[12] For Hoochstraten's life and production, see Kronenberg 1919, especially p. 262-3. This publication also includes a list of all books printed by Hoochstraten.

[13] In this section, attention will be paid to the main genre of the *Cronica*. However, Barlandus inserted two works that had been published before into the *Cronica* in mainly unaltered form, viz. his biography of Charles the Bold and his description of the Battle of Pavia. The former was modelled on the work of Suetonius, the latter on that of Caesar. The generic rules adhered to in these parts of the *Cronica* may therefore deviate from those that apply in the work at large. For Barlandus' imitation of Caesar, see Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 38, 211-25 (especially the notes to the latter passage).

things are omitted and passed over. I will lodge my appeal with Justin the historiographer, with Suetonius, who wrote the lives of the Caesars in such a way that he passed over a lot of things that had been treated more copiously by others or told them rather succinctly."[14]

Perhaps the most striking feature of this passage from Barlandus' preface is its defensiveness: it is imbued with the language of reprehension (*damnabit, reprehendet*) and justification (*obijciam, prouocabo*). Viewed in the light of classical rhetoric, omnipresent in humanist discourse, the exculpations are even more curious, for brevity (*brevitas*) was all too well known as one of the virtues of narration (*virtutes narrationis*).[15] Apparently, the brevity advocated by Barlandus is of a somewhat different order than that of ordinary humanist historiography.

This idea is corroborated by the roots of the passage, which is a slightly rephrased and extended citation from Julius Pomponius Laetus' *Compendium historiae Romanae* (first printed 1499). And this is not the only quote from Pomponius' work of history: at the end of his preface, Barlandus adopts from the *Compendium* another, lengthier section on the use of history.[16] In my view, it is no coincidence that Barlandus seeks alliance with the Italian humanist, in particular on the issues of brevity and utility, for they are closely tied up with a specific method of writing history shared by Pomponius and Barlandus.

The method I am aiming at is the compendious mode of historical writing. Like most genres cultivated by humanist writers, the historiographical compendium (*compendium, epitome, breviarium*) – a sub-genre of historiography – originated in antiquity. Basically, the classical compendium was a shortened version of a larger work of history: the *Epitomae de Tito Livio bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo*

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[14] *CBd* f. 3r-v: "Sed damnabit fortasse me quispiam ut nimis breuem. Datur laudi aperta ac lucida breuitas. Qualis apud Salustium. Alius disparitatem reprehendet. Huic Liuium obijciam, quem modo brevem, modo copiosum uidemus. Dicet alius omitti quaedam & praeteriri. Ad Iustinum prouocabo Historiae scriptorem, Prouocabo ad Suetonium, qui Caesarum uitas ita conscripsit, ut multa uel praetereat uel nimis circuncise narret, quae ab alijs dicta sunt copiosius."

[15] For instance, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.2.31; Cicero, *De inventione* 1.28-9. On the theme of *brevitas* in the Renaissance, see Jansen 1995.

[16] Erasmus (ed.) 1518, 769: "Laudatur etiam in historia breuitas, quae sit aperta ac lucida, ut illa Crispi Sallusti. Liuius modo breuis, modo copiosus, plus eloquentiae addidit." The other quotation is also from Erasmus (ed.) 1518, 769 and can be found at *CBd* f. 3v: "Solet quaeri ab studiosis uiris, utilis ne sit historia? Nos uero non modo utilem & frugiferam, sed necessariam mortalibus esse contendimus. et quemadmodum agricolatione corpora, sic monimentis rerum animi fouentur, uitae cupido, pharmaca pellendis morbis inuenit. Series rerum, ne una cum eo quo gerit, interiret, historiam excogitauit. Quanto nobilior corpore animus, tanto caeteras dotes praecellit historia potissimamque sibi sapientiae partem uendicat. In ea enim est imitatio uiuendi, uitia detestatur, uirtutes ardore quodam imitationis effert, & cum rebus omnibus tempora uetustatem adferant, Historia numero annorum admirabilior est, & sanctior habetur."

by Florus (second century AD) is primarily a summarizing adaptation of Livy; the *Epitome historiarum Philippicarum* by Marcus Junianus Justinus (second, third, or fourth century AD) is an anthology of excerpts from Pompeius Trogus.

Florus described his activity as a historian as follows: "So, as the history of Rome is especially worthy of study, yet because the very vastness (*magnitudo*) of the subject is a hindrance to knowledge of it, and the diversity of its topics (*rerum diversitas*) distracts the keenness of the attention, I intend to follow the example of those who describe the geography of the earth, and include a complete representation of my subject as it were in a small picture (*brevi quasi tabella*)."[17] This accords well with classical rhetoric's insistence that brevity improves the audience's remembrance of what is said.[18] For the actualization of Florus' ideal of the reduction of the sheer volume of information, Justin suggests a double principle of selection based on attractiveness (*voluptas*) and exemplarity (*exemplum*), nicely expressed in the often quoted comparison of his work to a 'small collection of flowers' (*breve florum corpusculum*).[19]

The concept of the compendium as a brief summary of a larger work of history by utilitarian criteria can be encountered again in early modern thought about the genre. Robert Gaguin, for instance, whose *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* (ca. 1495) is referred to in Barlandus' history of Brabant, says that his compendious method consists of "picking out the most useful items from the train of events."[20] In addition, the case of Gaguin makes clear why compendium writers felt compelled to make so much efforts to justify the conciseness of their work: in one of his letters, he tells that some of his readers were offended by the brevity of his *Compendium*, and in the third edition of it he sought to ease this inconvenience by extending passages that seemed all too succinct.[21]

But even if some readers found fault with the terseness of the compendium as opposed to the broader scope of other forms of historiography, the frequent reprint of works like Pomponius', Gaguin's, and Barlandus' bears witness to the attractiveness

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[17] Florus, *Epitome* 1.1: "qua re, cum, si quid aliud, hoc quoque operae pretium sit cognoscere, tamen, quia ipsa sibi obstat magnitudo rerumque diversitas aciem intentionis abrumpit, faciam quod solent qui terrarum situs pingunt: in brevi quasi tabella totam eius imaginem amplectar" (transl. E.S. Forster).

[18] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.2.33, 4.2.31; Horace, *Ars poëtica* 335-6.

[19] Justin, *Epitome*, *praefatio*: "horum igitur quattuor et quadraginta voluminum (nam totidem edidit), per otium quo in urbe versabamur, cognitione quaeque dignissima excerpsi, et omissis his, quae nec cognoscendi voluptate iucunda nec exemplo erant necessaria, breve veluti florum corpusculum feci ut haberent et qui Graece didicissent, quo admonerentur, et qui non didicissent, quo instruerentur."

[20] Gaguin 1500, f. ii^{r}: "de rerum serie utilissima quaeque excerpentes". The reference to Gaguin is on *CBd* f. f1^{v}-f2^{r}.

[21] Thuasne (ed.) 1903-1904, vol. 2, 43.

of works of history combining succinctness and utility – which is precisely the kind of survey Barlandus claimed to present. This brevity and usefulness must have been especially attractive in the schoolroom, given the pupils' limited span of concentration and experience in reading. This is also suggested in *De ratione dicendi* (1532) by Juan Luis Vives. In the section about the *epitome*, Vives explains that are two kinds of compendia: the summary (*summa* or *contractio*) on the one hand, and the anthology of passages (*amputatio*) on the other. In either case, the technique used is "the removal of those things which are not necessary for the understanding or the usefulness of the matter at hand." In line with this general observation, Vives points out that "the goal of a compendium is to take care for the memory, so that it retains more easily what is useful and so that it is immediately refreshed by that brief reminder, as it were, and perfected; and also to take care for the time of students, so that they do not have so many things to read, since the necessary elements have been contracted in little words."[22]

Fig. 2: Title page of the 1518 edition of the *Alder excellenste cronyke*

At least one major question arises from the issue of terseness and the connection with Pomponius' work: if Barlandus' defense of brevity should be regarded as a justification of compendious techniques, what then should his work be a compendium of? Barlandus' biographer Etienne Daxhelet suggested that the quarry of data in question must have been the so-called *Divisiekroniek* (1517). Recently, however, this view was gainsaid by Sjoerd Bijker and Robert Stein, who brought forward the anonymous *Alder excellenste cronyke* as Barlandus' principal starting point, a work left aside explicitly though casually by Daxhelet as

[22] *JLV* vol. 2, 229-30: "Paraphrasi contraria est *epitome*, quasi recisio eorum, quae ad praesentis rei vel intellectum, vel utilitatem non sunt necessaria; ... finis epitomes est memoriae consulere, ut facilius teneat quae expediant, et brevi illa quasi admonitione subinde renovetur, atque excolatur, tum studiosorum tempori, ne tam multa habeant legenda, contractis necessariis in pauca". Note that the quotation from Justin in footnote 19 also points towards an educational context. For the life and works of Vives, see Fantazzi (ed.) 2008.

a possible source.[23] Daxhelet's position is rather awkward, as the *Divisiekroniek* – being a chronicle of Holland – by no means could have supplied Barlandus with sufficient information about the Brabantine dukes from Godfrey the Bearded through Philip of St. Pol (1065-1430).[24] A close scrutiny of the source material (Appendix C) revealed that the *Alder excellenste cronyke* had indeed been Barlandus' chief mine of information, though the *Divisiekroniek* had also been used for minor additions concerning the Burgundian and Habsburg dukes (1430-1517), who reigned in both Holland and Brabant.

This *Alder excellenste cronyke* was first printed in 1498. Living up to its rather presumptuous title – the 'very choicest chronicle,' literally – it formed the culmination and synthesis of medieval historiography in Brabant. As it was the only work of history about Brabant that had appeared in print at the time Barlandus was working on the *Cronica*, it is not hard to understand why he chose to use it.[25]

Barlandus stuck to the *Alder excellenste cronyke* rather closely. At times, his method of writing closely resembles translation. As a result, his compendium of Brabantine history retains the organization of the material he came across in his medieval forerunner. In the *Cronyke*, events were arranged according to the rules of the medieval historiographical genre known as *gesta* ('deeds') – a term explicitly mentioned in its title (*gesten* in Dutch). With this expression, never clearly defined in the Middle Ages themselves, I am denoting the historiographical format characterized by the description of the official terms of a series of secular or clerical authorities who succeeded each other in a certain office. In contrast to more annalistic forms of historiography, the mentioned terms of office are the most important chronological frame of reference. The accounts of the terms of office are not worked up into biographies: the lifetime before (and after) the accession to office is not recounted.[26]

Another traditional contrast that may serve to pin down the historiographical format used by Barlandus is the distinction between writing the history of a territory

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[23] Daxhelet 1938, 115; Bijker & Stein 2004, 16, 24-5. The latter point of view is endorsed by Tigelaar 2006, 18. Daxhelet's only remark about the *Alder excellenste cronyke* and other chronicles of Brabant and Flanders is: "il ne semble pas que Barlandus les ait utilisées".

[24] Except for the episodes involving Jacqueline of Bavaria (1418-1436).

[25] For this *Alder excellenste cronyke* in general, see Tigelaar 2006. For its position in the Brabantine historiographical tradition, see Tigelaar 2006, 39-45. For bibliographical details about the *Alder excellenste cronyke*, see Goldfinch & Van Thienen (edd.) 1999, 106-7 (nº 558); Nijhoff & Kronenberg 1923-1971, vol. 1, 238-40 (nº 652-6). Barlandus must have used the edition *AEC* 1518, for this is the last edition before 1526 and Barlandus used material about the years 1513-1517 (see Appendix C) which was not present in the previous edition (1512).

[26] Grundmann 1965, 38-9; Van Houts 1995, 33-42. About the rather unsharp definition of historical genres in the Middle Ages, see Van Houts 1995, 13; Guenée 1973, 1002-4. For medieval definitions of *gesta* in the sense of the word that I use it, see Guenée 1973, 1006-7.

or that of a dynasty. The former is known as *surrogatio in dominio* ('election in the territory'), the latter as *devolutio dominorum* ('the succession of rulers'). The *Cronica*, with its emphasis on the rulers to the country, is a representative of the second type. This is especially clear in the description of the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers of the duchy, in which Barlandus does not confine himself anymore to the territory of Brabant, but discusses events from all the Burgundian provinces ruled by the dukes.[27]

Barlandus' maintenance of this arrangement of material might well be connected to the propagandistic possibilities offered by the *gesta* genre, which are aptly described by Elisabeth van Houts in her systematic study of medieval chronicles. Apart from sanctioning monarchy as such by presenting the monarch's deeds as the essential constituents of history, the *gesta* legitimize the position of the current dynasty by constructing a continous series of rulers.[28] The same has been explained for the *devolutio dominorum* model of historiography by Robert Stein.[29] This effect is certainly visible in the *Cronica* too. The succession of dukes in Brabant was far from unproblematic. Between 1261 and 1430, almost every change of ruler posed difficulties, because the new duke was either a minor or a foreigner. Significantly, Barlandus is silent as the grave about the Brabantine cities' struggle for emancipation leading up to the extortion of privileges at the accession of John III (1312) and Wenceslas (1356) as well as about the temporary deposal of John IV in 1420. He says nothing whatsoever about the Great Privilege that was wrung from Mary of Burgundy in 1477. The transition to the House of Burgundy with Philip the Good is legitimized with a reference to the law of inheritance and to the testament of John the Fearless, although the pertinence of these arguments was under debate. Thus, Barlandus irons out the succession of dukes to construct a continuous series that could serve as a justification of the *status quo* under Charles V.[30]

4.2 Existing Narrative Reshaped: A Comparative Approach

In an approach to historiography that aims at an estimation of a text's truthfulness and, consequently, its value as a historical source, the observation that Barlandus' historiographical method is essentially that of summarization usually entails the condemnation of his works: they are dull cut-and-paste jobs, providing only

[27] For the model in general, see Melville 1987, 229-54; for its relevance in the Brabantine historiographical tradition, see Stein 1994, 251-64; for its application to the *Cronica*, see Bijker & Stein 2004, 22, 25, 29-30.
[28] Van Houts 1995, 37-8.
[29] Stein 1994, 251-64.
[30] For the problematic succession of dukes, see Blockmans 1988, 148-51; Uyttebrouck 1975, vol. 1, 128-48. For the passage about Philip the Good, see *CBd* f. e8^{v}-f1^{r}. For Barlandus' treatment of the succession of dukes, cf. Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 5, 6, 29-30, 37. See *CBd* f. m7^{v} for stress on the continuity of Charles V's accession with those of the previous three generations.

derivative information about history. Some of Ari Wesseling's remarks about a similar method of excerpting in Barlandus' *Opusculum de insignibus oppidis Germaniae Inferioris* (1524) are quite telling in this respect: according to Wesseling, Barlandus "copied blithely" and his geographical descriptions are "mere compilations."[31]

However, when one is interested in textual patterns and their political implications, the genre of the compendium provides ample opportunity to achieve results by means of comparative analysis. It is precisely Barlandus' reduction of the *Alder excellenste cronyke* consisting of 460 quarto pages to a work of 264 octavo pages that supplies keen interpretive handles.[32] In order to take advantage of this severe selectivity, I suggest three guidelines for a comparative approach to Barlandus and the *Alder excellenste cronyke*. The information that is discarded is irrelevant or inconvenient for Barlandus' view on history (deletion); conversely, the elements that are retained really matter to the representation and interpretation of the past (preservation); thirdly, most significant are those components that are added to the information taken from the source (addition). Thus, offering a glimpse behind the scenes of Barlandus' method of composition, a punctilious comparison between a compendium and its source may well help significantly to draw attention to the political differences between the texts and to bring out the compendium's distinctive ideology in a clearer light.

Let me exemplify this method by a close examination of the first paragraph of Barlandus' main narrative and its relationship to the opening chapters of the *Alder excellenste cronyke*. To begin with, I should note that while the geographical introduction to the *Alder excellenste cronyke* takes two entire chapters – ten full quarto pages –, Barlandus' praise of Brabant – quoted in full above – is no longer than a single paragraph. This attests to the very selective way in which Barlandus uses the *Cronyke*. The nature of the material excluded points towards a political divergence between *Cronica* and *Cronyke*. The first chapter of the *Alder excellenste cronyke* includes enumerations of the cities and abbies of Brabant and an engraving showing the banners of the most important lordships in the duchy. The second chapter describes the nine principal characteristics of the duchy, taking a cue from the letters BRABANCIA. These first chapters furnish a good representation of the two major political concerns of the *Alder excellenste cronyke*: firstly, the presentation of Brabant as a holy country, bringing forth many saints, and the preoccupation with the strict

[31] Wesseling 2000, 246, 247. Cf. Bijker & Stein 2004, 14; Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 37. Tilmans 1988, 175 = Tilmans 1992, 306 about Barlandus' use of the *Divisiekroniek*: "Barlandus gebruikte de *Divisiekroniek* vrij kritiekloos."

[32] I will compare the main narratives of both books: *AEC* 1518, f. A4^{r}-m4^{r} and *CBd* f. a1^{r}-r4^{v}.

observance of monastic rules; secondly, the interpretation of the history of the Brabantine duchy as intimately interwoven with the history of the sacral monarchy of France.[33] Both tendencies are carefully removed by Barlandus, here in the introduction as elsewhere in the narrative. It seems that his view of Brabantine history is to a considerable extent unlike that expressed in the *Alder excellenste cronyke*.

In addition, both passages contain a geographical description of the duchy of Brabant, in which the main differences in presentation technique and political direction can well be discerned. It will be illuminating to discuss these passages in a little more detail.

***Alder excellenste cronyke* f. A4r**

"Bartholomeus int boeck vanden proprieteyten der dinghen vanden provincien scrijft aldus: Brabant es die wterste provincie van Germanien, dats Almanien, ende is legghende aen Gallia belgica, dat is neder vrancrike hebbende den Rijn ende Vrieslant oostwaert. de Britaensche zee, ende den Vlaemschen schoot noortwerts, nedergallyen westwaert. ende hoechvrancrike zuytweert, hebbende veele vermeerde steden, een lant vruchtbaer ende veele volcx hebbende, volck van schoonder bequamer statueren ende van schoonder formen stradtbaer ende moedich teghen sijn vianden mer sonderlinghe behachelic ende rustich, volck warachtich devoet ende goedertieren.'"[34]

***Cronica Brabantiae ducum* f. a1r**

"Brabantia Germaniae prouincia est, multum amoena, & deliciosa. Pecoris ferax, frumenti multo feracior, pomorum abundantissima. Vrbes habet multas illustri nomine, in quibus aedificia publica, pariter & priuata uisendo sunt apparatu. Permulti ad urbium speciem extructi uici. Gens laudatissima, & ad omne humanitatis officium maxime obuia. Doctrinarum quoque & pietatis cultrix, nec bello inutilis. Habet enim (ut poeta dixit) regio haec genus acre virum."

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[33] *AEC* 1518, f. A4r-B2r. Also see Tigelaar 2006, 65-6, 83-4, 157-9. For the idea of a 'holy Brabant', also see Hazebrouck-Souche 2007. In all likelihood, the emphasis on Brabant's holiness is to be seen in the light of the *compositoer*'s membership of a monastic order, most probably the Carthusians: Tigelaar 2006, 156-64. For the sacral aspect of the monarchy of France, see Sainsaulieu (ed.) 1985 or Marc Bloch's famous study *Les rois thaumaturges* (M. Bloch 1924).

[34] This is a partial translation from Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* 15.25 (Anglicus 1601, 636-7). The original Latin is: "Brabantia Germaniae finalis est provincia, quae Galliae Belgicae est contigua, habens Rhenum ab oriente, & Frisiam, Britannicum oceanum, & Flandricum sinum ab aquilone inferiorem Galliam, ab occidente vero superiorem Franciam a meridie, quam amnis Mosa praeterfluit, & Scaldia fluuius intrans cum fluxu & refluxu maris, aliis riuulis variis & fontibus irrigua terra in multa parte vinifera, nemorosa collibus pratis & hortis decora, arboribus fructiferis & syluestribus plena, abundans animalibus domesticis & syluestribus, ceruis, hinnulis, apris, leporibus & cuniculis, multa habens oppida famosa, terra fertilis frugibus & populosa, gens elegantis staturae & venustae

("In the book *On the Properties of Things*, Bartholomew writes thus about the provinces: 'Brabant is the farthest province of Germania, that is, Germany, and borders Gallia Belgica, that is, lower France; it has the Rhine and Frisia on its east side, the British sea and the Flemish gulf on its north side, lower Gaul on its west side, and upper France on its south side; it has many famous cities; the land is fertile and abounds in people; the people have a nice and graceful figure and a beautiful appearance, they are warlike and brave against their enemies, but remarkably agreeable and peaceful; a sincere, pious, and kind people.'")

("Brabant is a province of Germany, very pleasant and delicate, abounding in cattle, abounding even more in grain, teeming most with fruits. It has many cities of illustrious name, in which the public buildings are as magnificent spectacles as the private ones. A very large number of villages is built after the manner of cities. The people are most praiseworthy and very much inclined to every act of humane conduct. In addition, it fosters learning and piety, and it is not unserviceable for war. This region has – like the poet says – 'a valiant breed of men.'")

The anonymous writer of the *Alder excellenste cronyke* – he refers to himself as *compositoer*, that is, compiler – opens his description with an authoritative quotation from the thirteenth-century scholar Bartholomeus Anglicus, which consists of a slightly encomiastic description of Brabant. This passage is Barlandus' point of departure in the composition of his own introductory geography. There are significant transformations, however. Most clearly visible is the application of classical rhetorical precepts to the encomium. The content of the description is largely taken over from Anglicus: fertility of the soil, urbanization, and the qualities of the population in peace and war. But Barlandus, the *rhetor publicus*, lends the text a particularly classical character by the rhetorical technique of amplification.[35] Here, this technique involves a tricolon crescendo (*ferax – feracior – abundantissima*), the use of the comparative and superlative degrees (*feracior, abundantissima, laudatissima*) and of adjectives and adverbs indicating a high extent or measure (*multus, omnis, maxime*), an inclusive formula embellished by alliteration (*publica pariter & priuata*), and the insertion of many value-laden adjectives. The finishing touch to the classical flavour of the section is given by the poetic quotation from Vergil's *Georgics*.[36]

formae, bellicosa, animosa contra hostes, inter se autem placita & quieta, gens benefica, deuota & benigna." In view of the original and of earlier versions of *AEC*, the word *sonderlinghe* may well be a printing error for *onderlinghe*.

[35] The elements of which the descriptions consist, are the commonplaces of the praise of cities, public works, and places: Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 3.7.26-7. For amplification, see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.4; Lausberg 1998, 189-96 (§400-9). About Barlandus' function as *rhetor publicus*, see Daxhelet 1938, 21-5.

[36] The reference is to Vergil, *Georgics* 2.167.

Besides Barlandus' obvious intention to show off his skill as *rhetor publicus*, the marked presence of these rhetorical devices also serves the purpose of demonstrating the readers, and pupils in particular, how proper humanist Latin should be written. It is well known that this was one of Barlandus' key concerns as a teacher. Especially his philological and rhetorical works are first of all designed for both moral and linguistic education (*ad iuventutem linguamque formandam*).[37] As regards Barlandus' historical works, the contribution they were supposed to make to the formation of good stylistic habits is well illustrated by the commentary Barlandus wrote for his *De Hollandiae principibus*, in which he points out on several occasions that particular phrases are examples of pure Latin style, since they have been used by classical authors or Italian humanists such as Lorenzo Valla and Marcantonio Sabellico.[38] As has been shown above, the opening chapter about Brabant in the *Cronica* would also lend itself perfectly to such a teacher's explanation of stylistic devices.

Alongside the stylistic transformation of the source material, a slight shift in emphasis can be shown in the themes of the respective geographies. Most conspicuous is the subtle addition of learning (*doctrinarum cultrix*) whereas the source only mentions piety. Nevertheless, this is an important constituent of society for Barlandus, who probably wished to highlight the presence of Louvain with its university, and its addition to the description is in no way fortuitous. I will return to this point when discussing Barlandus' ideal of the prince as a patron of learning in §4.5.

Another politically significant difference between Barlandus and his main source has to do with their international orientation and can be observed in the very first words of the *Cronica*: "Brabant is a province of Germany." Compared with the quote from Anglicus in the *Alder excellenste cronyke*, Barlandus' phrase features a inconspicuous, though significant shift in emphasis: whereas the *incipit* of the *Cronica* relates Brabant to the German Empire, the *compositoer*'s geography presents the duchy as the utmost exterior of Germany and as bordering the kingdom of France on two sides. [39]

Furthermore, the quote from Vergil at the end of Barlandus' description does not only constitute the rhetorical climax of a classicizing praise of Brabant, but also lends a particular political meaning to the text by an intertextual process.[40] For the competent reader, the reference to the second book of the *Georgics* will immediately

[37] Daxhelet 1938, 87-9.
[38] Barlandus 1520, f. Civ^{r}-Div^{r}.
[39] For the importance of the *incipit* for the ideological effect of a text, see Jouve 2001, 130-3. For an explicit attempt in *AEC* 1518 to dissociate Brabant from the German Empire, see *AEC* 1518, f. h2^{r}.
[40] For the intertextual conveyance of ideology, see Jouve 2001, 139-41.

bring to mind the original context of the quotation, that is, Vergil's praise of Italy. Thus, the original object of the quote will be associated with the object to which the quote is made to refer in the target text. More concretely, Barlandus draws a link between Italy, the heartland of the Roman Empire, and Brabant, which is apparently to be regarded as a central region of the Holy Roman Empire. This attempt to associate the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation with the classical Roman Empire by dint of quotations from Rome's foremost poet Vergil – and from his 'national' epic *Aeneid* in particular – is recurrent in the *Cronica*.[41]

With this preliminary observation on the political orientation of the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* I will close my analysis of the first paragraph of this work of history. We have seen that while adopting the organization of the *Alder excellenste Cronyke*, Barlandus restyled its verbal presentation in humanist rhetoric fashion, thus bringing about a striking fusion of medieval and classical approaches to historiography. Though remaining very close to his source, he seems to manage to impart to the narrative a distinct political flavour. In the following sections, I will go deeper into the structural reshaping of the narrative and the political alterations this causes on the level of the content.

4.3 'Some Things Are Omitted and Passed Over': Brevity and Vividness

I have demonstrated that Barlandus subjects his source material to a rather far-reaching selection process in order to achieve conciseness. The choices made in this transformation process from source to target text have wide-ranging consequences for the nature of storytelling in the *Cronica*. Perhaps the most visible of these consequences is the loss of detail and, as a result, of vividness. As I have shown in Chapter Two, vividness was regarded as a major virtue of narrative to be achieved by means of speeches and other lively particulars (*evidentia*). But in the process of summarization inherent to the writing of compendia, such 'inessential' constituents of the narrative are the first elements to be elided. Thus Sylvie Charrier remarks about Gaguin's method: "Certain procedures bear witness to the adoption of the techniques used by the ancient historians. But the *Compendium* makes little room for the dramatization of events and does not seek to compete with the art of oratory."[42] A

[41] Barlandus quotes Vergil's *Aeneid* at least five times throughout the book, thus linking his history to the foundation myth of Rome: *CBd* f. 4^{v} (Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.286-7), b7^{r} (Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.204), b8^{r} (Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.368-9), e7^{r} (Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.496-9), r1^{r} (Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.150). See Papy 2002, 59-62 for Barlandus' poetic praise of Louvain, published in 1514, which also has Vergil's poetry as its main subtext.

[42] Charrier 1996, 512: "Certains procédés témoignent de l'assimilation des techniques employées par les historiens antiques. Mais le *Compendium* fait peu de place à la dramatisation des événements et ne cherche pas à rivaliser avec l'art oratoire."

similar tendency can be observed in Barlandus' compendious historiography. This section will explore the political views channeled by means of the de-dramatization of the text.

By avoiding the cherished historiographical device of the (invented) speech, Barlandus created a monologistic text. By the term 'monologism' I am pointing to the presentation of the story from only one point of view: the narrator's, if necesssary supported by those who endorse it; other views and voices are suppressed or repudiated.[43] Thus, in the process of streamlining the sources in order to arrive at a terse style of narrating, Barlandus does not only remove irrelevant or inopportune elements, but he also makes sure that there is unity of vision. He tries to minimize the number of valid interpretations of the story that can be discerned within the text. This integrity of vision is achieved by the omission or invalidation of narrative elements that represent the vision of the other, such as the direct representation of discourse, indirect discourse, or other intrusions of a third party's focalization into the narrator's text. Whereas this procedure is far from anomalous in modern history writing, it is a surprising choice in view of the prevalence of direct and indirect speech in humanist historiography.[44]

Risking truism, I must note that such a presentation can be deceptive in the case of conflicts, since these always involve more than one point of view. When Barlandus describes the genesis of a conflict between John I of Brabant and Reynold I of Guelders, which would finally lead up to the Battle of Worringen (1288), he tells us explicitly why John's anger at the presence of Reynold's army in Limburg was justified: "for he had lawfully purchased this land."[45] Barlandus hints at the fact that John had drawn up a deed of purchase for the duchy of Limburg with count Adolph V of Berg at the death of duchess Irmgard of Limburg in 1283. Adolph laid claims to Limburg as the son of Adolph IV of Berg, the eldest brother of duke Walram IV of Limburg, whose line had become extinct at the death of his daughter Irmgard.

Of course, this is only one side of the picture. Reynold believed that as Irmgard's husband, he was entitled to the possession of Limburg, after her death as well as before it. And in fact this view was endorsed by Rudolph I of Habsburg, King of the Romans, who had confirmed the investment of Irmgard with Limburg in 1282

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[43] For a thoughtful discussion of monologism, see Bakhtin 1984, 79-85. Jouve 2001, 88 believes that narrations contain many ideological axiologies which may be hierarchized in several ways. He also discusses procedures by which such a hierarchy can be disturbed so that polyphony can be realized: Jouve 2001, 118-24.

[44] See Kessler 1972, 34-6; Kampinga 1917, 23-5 for the insertion of speech into humanist histories.

[45] *CBd* f. c3v: "Emerat enim legitime eam terram".

Fig. 2: John I's coat of arms (*AEC* f. T2^{r})

with the provision that in case Irmgard should die before her husband, Reynold would be enfeoffed of the duchy until his death.[46]

The *Alder excellenste cronyke* shows the alternative. "As to the cause of duke John's wars, it was the case that duke Henry of Limburg had died. Adolph, count of Berg, was his nearest heir. Some time before, he had sold to duke John all his rights to the duchy of Limburg that would devolve upon him at the death of its duke. So duke John went to his estates in Limburg, which he had acquired by legal purchase, in order to govern them. But count Reynold of Guelders opposed, saying that the usufruct of the estates belonged to him on account of his wife, who was the aforesaid late duke Henry of Limburg's daughter. Duke John, on the other hand, said that the count's wife had died long before her father and that therefore the estates belonged to him in their entirety. And duke John divided his coat of arms in four, as one can observe here, and added the coat of arms of Limburg to it."[47] The passage is of a markedly dialogic nature. Barlandus suppressed this feature, turning a disputable action – or perhaps even an imperialist campaign – into a fully justified act of vindication on John's part. Such legitimation of the Brabantine duke is a recurrent phenomenon in the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* and is not without political significance, because Charles V – duke of Brabant and Holy Roman Emperor when the *Cronica* appeared in print – was almost continuously at war with Guelders until this duchy was finally subjected in 1543.[48]

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[46] Sloet (ed.) 1872-1876, vol. 3, 1017 (charter n^{o} 1053). Also compare Sloet (ed.) 1872-1876, vol. 3, 1041-2 (charter n^{o} 1077) for a charter, in which Guy of Dampierre, count of Flanders, and John II of Avesnes, count of Hainaut, as arbiters put Reynold in the right against John.

[47] *AEC* 1518, f. T1^{v}-T2^{r}: "Ende om te weten den oerspronck van hertoge Jans orlogen so is waer dat hertoghe Henrick van lymborch sterff, welcx naeste erfghenaem was Adolf grave vanden berge, die wilen eer hertoghe Jannen vercocht hadt al dat recht dat hem int hertochdom van Lymborch bi versterffenissen toecomen mocht. So track hertoghe Jan in sijn landt van lymborch om dat te beschicken, twelc hi bi wettighen cope vercreghen had. mer die graue Reynout van Gelre sette hem daer tegen seggende dat die tocht vanden lande hem toe behoerde ter saken van sijnre huysurouwen die des voorseyden wilen hertoch Henrijck van lymborch dochter was. Op dander side seyde hertoghe Jan dat des selffs graven huysurouwe langhe voer sinen vader gestorven was ende so behoerde tlant hem heel toe. Ende hertoge Jan dede sijn wapen quartieren alsmen hier mach bemercken, metter wapenen van Lymborch."

[48] Barlandus mentions the war with Guelders in 1515-1517 at some length and rebukes Charles of Egmond, duke of Guelders, for his cruelty in an apostrophe: *CBd* f. m8^{v}. See also *CBd* f. k1^{v}-k2^{r} for Mary

I shall now discuss a passage from Barlandus' account of the accession of Philip the Good in 1430 that also illustrates the erasure of dialogism and its rhetorical effects. This change of power constituted a major disruption in Brabantine history, as the country entered into a personal union under the duke of Burgundy. The *Alder excellenste cronyke* devotes ample space to the discussion about the succession in the States of Brabant. In this account, the viewpoints of the two main pretenders to the throne – Margaret of Burgundy and Philip the Good – are brought into the limelight livelily and extensively: both parties state their claims and subsequently criticize each other's positions. After the communication of the States' decision in favour of Philip, the *compositoer* discusses Charles of Nevers' pretension to the throne. Finally, he describes Philip's inauguration and the burial of his predecessor. [49]

Barlandus is rather less extensive. "When the children of Anthony [John IV and Philip of St. Pol] had died without progeny, every right to the duchy of Brabant devolved upon Philip [the Good], son of duke John [the Fearless] of Burgundy. For this John had yielded the duchy of Brabant to his younger brother Anthony on this condition, that if either Anthony himself or his children would pass away without necessary successors (*haeredes necessarij*), the rights would revolve to his own stock."[50] The monologic treatment of the succession presents it as unproblematic. This has a specific propagandistic power, as it reinforces the continuity of the series of rulers, that is already present in the organization of the material along the lines of the medieval *gesta* genre. Barlandus thus legitimized the position of the current Burgundian-Habsburgian dynasty. [51] The same tactics of covering up dynastic

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of Burgundy's problems with Guelders and *CBd* f. m3^{v}-m5^{r} for Philip the Handsome's war against this duchy.

[49] *AEC* 1518, f. d5^{r-v}. For an illustration of the dialogism of the presentation, see these extracts from the passage: "ende daer quam bi hen lieden vrou Margriete van bourgondien ... ende si gafte kennen dat ... Op dander side quamen daer notabelic van hertoghe Philippus van bourgondien wegen ... segghende dat ... Tegen dese voerseide dinghen so repliceerde ... Opt welck die voerseyde ambassiateurs vanden hertoge van Bourgondyen weder om antwoerden seggende ... Dese ende meer ander redenen van beyden siden doe aengehoert ende wel gheweghen, so hebben dye drie staten der voerseyder landen eendrachtelick ouerdraghen datse ..."

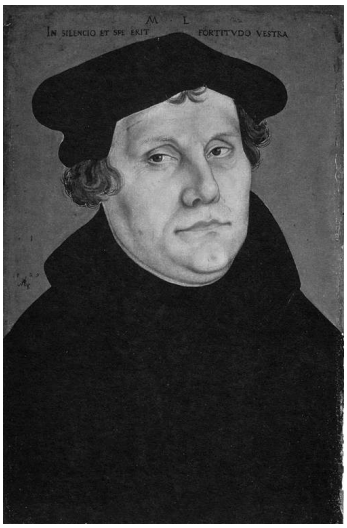
[50] *CBd* f. e8^{v}: "Sine prole iam defunctis Anthonij liberis, omne ius principatus Brabantici deuolutum est ad Philippum Ioannis Burgundiae ducis filium. Is enim Ioannes Anthonio fratri iuniori hac lege ducatum Brabantiam cesserat, ut si uel ipse Anthonius uel eius liberi sine haeredibus necessarijs decederent, ius rediret ad suum genus." The *heres necessarius* is a concept from Roman civil law, which refers to heirs such as children in the *potestas* of their father who cannot refuse their inheritance. See for instance Gaius, *Institutiones* 2.37, 2.152-73 on the different types of heirs. I am aware that Barlandus did not know this specific text, since it was discovered by Niebuhr in the nineteenth century.

[51] See Blockmans & Prevenier 1999, 91-2 for the proceeding of the election of Philip the Good as duke of Brabant. Bijker & Stein 2004, 29-30 note that Barlandus legitimizes the 1430 succession on incorrect grounds. This might be true, but it is slightly besides the point: Barlandus blandly adopts the argumentation as given in the *Alder excellenste cronyke*.

difficulties can be observed with regard to the temporary deposal of John IV and the appointment of his brother Philip of St. Pol as temporary regent (*ruwaard*) in 1420. This measure, taken on the basis of the charter known as the Joyous Entry, which first came into force in 1356 and had been confirmed most recently in 1415, is treated at quite some length in the *Alder excellenste cronyke.*[52] Significantly, Barlandus remains silent about this event, as well as about the provisions of the oath that was administered during the Joyous Entry.

This brings me to another point about Barlandus' presentation of Philip the Good's accession. The *compositoer* had given some attention to the demand of the Three Estates to confirm the privileges of Brabant at Philip's inauguration and the enforcement of their application in John IV's deposal.[53] These privileges had been laid down in the Joyous Entry, to which a specific set of clauses was added for each duke. This confirmation procedure was among the most important legal results of the cities' and districts' struggle for a maximal degree of autonomy during the late Middle Ages. Consequently, the inviolability of the privileges carried great weight for these communities.

We have seen, however, that in Barlandus' universe the repeated confirmation of these rights hardly plays a role. In fact, there are enough cases in which a ruler is said to have nullified such contracts unilaterally without any sign of indignation on the part of the narrator. The same attitude can be discerned in Barlandus' narration of the restoration of certain privileges by Mary of Burgundy, which is said to have happened only by the grace of the duchess, or the refusal to do so by Charles the Bold.[54] Apparently, Barlandus allows his ideal prince to assume a much more autocratic posture than the *compositoer* does and disregards the interests of the cities in doing so.



Lucas Cranach the Elder, portrait of Luther, 1529

It cannot be said, though, that Barlandus never uses the device of the (invented) speech. One of the very scarce places in the *Cronica* in which this device is put to use is Barlandus' representation of the Peasants' War (1524-1525). "In public meetings, at which an enormous

[52] *AEC* 1518, f. c1^{r}-c3^{v}.

[53] *AEC* 1518, f. d5^{v}, c1^{r-v}; see also f. T5^{r}, y2^{r-v}, z1^{r}, a6^{v} for other affirmations of privileges.

[54] Unilateral repeal of privileges: *CBd* f. c7^{v}, f2^{v}, g5^{v}. Mary's restoration of the privileges: *CBd* f. i7^{r}. Charles the Bold's refusal: *CBd* f. g5^{r}. Also see Verweij's comment on the latter event: Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 154 n. 91.

throng of mortals always flocked together, Luther said a lot against princes, against prelates, against bishops: that the emperor was a sack of maggots, that the princes were tyrants, that the Turk was wiser and better than the steersmen of the Christian world, and many other things of this kind, and he wrote in his opuscules and books: 'God, liberate us from these tyrants. Please take away from our midst the leaders of the Church, who are as extraordinarily intolerable as they are haughty.'"[55]

Although this passage undeniably contains speech, there is ample space for doubt whether this type of representation could be termed 'dialogism.' While grammar indicates that another speaker called 'Luther' enters the stage here, a closer investigation reveals that the relationship between this character and the narrator is not that of two independently thinking individuals. Firstly, I must note that there is no similarity between the views of the character 'Luther' and those of the historical person we usually call by this name. To the best of my knowledge, Luther never called the emperor a 'sack of maggots', although he did refer to himself as such in 1521: *ich armer stinckender madensack* ('me poor stinking sack of maggots'). He was a staunch opponent of the violent revolt of the peasants against the authorities.[56] Instead of approximating Luther's views, the ideas presented here as his stem from a pamphlet against the famous Reformer by the harsh anti-Reformation polemicist Johannes Cochlaeus (1479-1552). Quoting Paul's *Letter to the Romans*, Luther had written in an apology that the peasants had brought God's judgement on themselves by rebelling against the government. Cochlaeus objected that although this statement was correct, it had been Luther who had caused the people's recalcitrance by uttering precisely the inflammatory words mentioned by Barlandus.[57] By borrowing Cochlaeus' words

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[55] *CBd* f. q8v: "Lutherus palam in concionibus, ad quas audiendas semper confluebat ingens turba mortalium, multa in principes, in praelatos, in episcopos quum diceret, Caesarem uermium saccum, Principes tyrannos, Prudentiorem esse Turcam, & meliorem, quam Christianae reipublicae gubernatores, & alia id genus permulta, scriberetque in opusculis & libris. Deus libera nos ab hijs tyrannis. Tolle quaeso e medio amarissimos pariter ac superbissimos ecclesiae proceres."

[56] For Luther's stance towards the Peasants' War in general, see Brecht 1981-1987, vol. 2, 172-93. For Luther calling himself a 'sack of maggots,' see Luther 1883ff., vol. 8, 685. This metaphor was used to emphasize the wretchedness of human existence (cf. Luther 1883ff., vol. 10, division 1, second half, 224).

[57] For Cochlaeus' pamphlet, see Laube & Seiffert (edd.) 1978², 376-91, p. 382: "*Luther*: Darumb auch S. Paulus Ro. XIII ein solch urtel uber sie fellet, welche der gewalt wyder streben, die werden ein gericht uber sich uberkumen, wilcher spruch auch die bauren endtlich treffen wirt, es geschehe kurtz oder lang, den Got wil trew und pflicht gehalten haben. *Cocleus*: Das ist alles war, Luther, du soltest aber darvor nicht das widerspil dem armen einfeltigenn volck furgeschryben habenn. Soltest dein lausige fryheit in deiner kutten da heymbd behalten haben. Soltest nit die leuß dem volck an den peltz gesetzt haben, do du schrybst, wie ferr man schuldigh sey der oberkeit gehorsam zu seyn. Soltest nit dem keyser eyn madensack, und die fursten unzuchtlich narren, maulaffen, unsynnige und rasende wueterer und tyrannen geheissen haben. Soltest nit den Turken zehen mal kluger und frummer, dan unsere fursten seind, geachtet haben. Soltest nit offentlig geschryben haben, Got wolle uns von ynen erledigen und andre regenten geben."

instead of Luther's, Barlandus thus creates a character 'Luther' that relies on a stereotype of Luther rather than on Luther's own writings.

What is more, the remarks of this stereotype are related to Barlandus' own thought not as an independent alternative, but rather as a mirror image: Barlandus is merely setting up a straw man that can be easily refuted. While 'Luther' incites the peasants to rebellion, revolts of the 'rumbling rabble' (*tumultuans uulgus*) are unacceptable for Barlandus.[58] His dismissive attitude towards the uprising of the peasants, which he associates with Luther's line of action, surfaced when he said: "If only I could say: 'They have oppressed it.'" 'Luther' and the revolting peasants are further discredited by a reference to a Homeric simile in Vergil comparing the insurrection of people and its suppression with Neptune's curbing the four insubordinate winds.[59] Towards the end of the passage about the Peasants' War, Barlandus neatly deals the final blow: "Thus Germany was afflicted by the folly, nay rather, the mania, of the people so severely in this year, and spoiled and manhandled by greater disasters than once Italy at the hands of the Goths and Vandals."[60] The negative humanist stereotype of the Middle Ages as a period of decay caused by barbarian destruction, never employed in the *Cronica* as a historiographical concept, does find application as a foil to demonstrate the pernicious nature of 'Lutheranism'.

Thus, the 'Lutheran' propagation of resistance to the authorities is made into an unpalatable reversal of truth: heresy as orthodoxy turned upside down. This strategy is best exemplified by Barlandus' apostrophe to 'Luther' which closes off the account of the Peasants' War: "There are people, Luther, who say that you are the cause of all these evils. I have seen books of men who are your fellow countrymen, one of whom calls you an infamous monk, another a firebrand, a third an evil spirit, but none a Christian. I just beg you to come to your senses, to return to the straight and narrow path, to recant everything you thoughtlessly (*inconsulte*) wrote against the truth of

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[58] This horror of the common people and popular revolts shows through in many other passages too: *CBd* f. c8^{r}: "omnis illa fex ciuitatis eo insaniae prolapsa est"; f3^{r}: "tumultuantis uulgi rabiem"; i4^{v}: "Adeo stolidum uulgus non nihil mutatis rebus ea probat, quae antea damnauit"; k2^{v}: "tanto uulgi tumultuantis aduersus magistratum odio"; r1^{r}: "ignobile uulgus", "insanienti ... multitudini"; r1^{v}, r2^{r}: "prophana multitudo"; r2^{v}: "prophano uulgo".

[59] *CBd* f. r1^{r}: "Vtinam dicere possem oppresserunt." For Barlandus' quote from Vergil, see *CBd* f. r1^{r} (Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.150: "iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat").

[60] *CBd* f. r3^{r}: "Sic stultitia, imo uerius amentia uulgi tam grauiter est hoc anno afflicta Germania, ac maioribus etiam deformata, foedataque cladibus quam unquam a Gothis, & Vandalis Italia." It is to be noticed that while polemicizing against Luther as the instigator of the Peasants' War, Barlandus passes over altogether the thought of the peasants themselves. For the pamphlets in which these revolutionary ideas were expressed, see Franz (ed.) 1963. Another attack on Lutheranism is Barlandus' inclusion of the entire Edict of Worms (1521) in his work: *CBd* f. n2^{v}-p2^{v}. See also Daxhelet 1938, 205; A. Bömer 1899, 116, 127.

the Gospel (*contra Euangelicam ueritatem*), to arrive at that form of life, something better and happier than which cannot be wished for, by living in a holy and pious manner."[61] By turning a dogmatic tension into a polarity and by identifying it with the opposition of truth and falsehood, of rationality and irrationality, Barlandus is able to silence Luther by having him speak. The edge has been taken off dialogism, the story toes the line again. [62]

The striking predominance of monologism in the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* should perhaps first of all be understood as a consequence of the educational context in which the work probably originated. After all, it may well seem that such a simplified and unequivocal mode of presentation is the most suitable means of transmitting political and other messages to an audience that was still at a very early stage of its intellectual development. In Barlandus' view, after all, the representation of *vitia* was to be avoided in pedagogic historiography.[63] The relationship between monologism and the communicative situation of the classroom has also been suggested, though with a hint of disapproval, by Mikhail Bakhtin in his famous discussion of dialogism. Referring to the philosophical monologism of idealism, he explains that it "knows only a single mode of cognitive interaction among consciousnesses: someone who knows and possesses the truth instructs someone who is ignorant of it and in error; that is, it is the interaction of a teacher and a pupil, which, it follows, can be only a pedagogical dialogue."[64]

However, Barlandus' tendency to abstain from the expression of deviant points of view should also be seen in the wider context of his abstention from devices aiming at liveliness. In view of the prominent place accorded to *evidentia* in humanist historiographical theory, visually stimulating descriptions are rather scarce in Barlandus' history.[65] They are not absent, to be sure. In his preface, Barlandus stated that only historiography enables one to live in centuries gone by, and indeed there are

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[61] *CBd* f. r3^{r}: "Tantorum te causam esse malorum, sunt qui dicant Luthere. Vidi libros eorum etiam, qui sunt tibi conterranei, quorum alius te monachum infamem, alius seditiosum, alius Cacodaemonem, nemo Christianum uocat. Ego tantum oro, ut resipiscas, ut in uiam redeas, ut eorum omnium quae contra Euangelicam ueritatem inconsulte scripsisti, Palinodiam canas, ut sancte & religiose uiuendo, ad uitam illam peruenias qua melius, feliciusque optari, nihil potest."

[62] Cf. Bakhtin 1984, 80: "And as for polemically repudiated thoughts, they also are not represented, because denial, whatever form it takes, excludes the possibility of any genuine representation of the idea. Someone else's repudiated thought cannot break out of a monologic context; on the contrary, it is confined all the more harshly and implacably within its own boundaries. Another's repudiated thought is not capable of creating alongside one consciousness another autonomous consciousness, if repudiation remains a purely theoretical repudiation of the thought as such."

[63] Barlandus 1520, f. Aij^{v}.

[64] Bakhtin 1984, 81.

[65] For *evidentia*, see §2.3.2.

passages which realize this effect.[66] "A very fierce fight was fought there, the sky was covered with hovering missiles, the earth was shaken terribly by the tramping of charging horses. Innumerable men fell in this battle, 'dire mourning all around, terror everywhere, and manyfold the face of death.'" This evocative account of the battle of Bouvines (1214), fought between duke Henry I of Brabant and king Philip II of France, is taken from the *Alder excellenste cronyke* and embellished with a full arsenal of stylistic devices: historical infinitive, superlative, *figura etymologica*, hendiadys, and a quotation from Vergil calling forth the horrors of the capture of Troy.[67]

But for the most part, Barlandus does not elaborate his narrative in this way. It is in fact more characteristic of his method that he elides descriptive elements present in the *Alder excellenste cronyke*. In the reign of John I, for instance, the *Cronyke* has some delicate suggestive details. In his account of the battle of Worringen (1288), the *compositoer* mentions John's humiliation of the archbishop of Cologne before the battle by watering his horses in the Rhine, by chopping down the archbishop's vineyards, and by hunting in the archiepiscopal forests. In addition, he tells that John's reckless enemies, thinking themselves sure to win hands down, had brought ropes, chains, and cords to the battlefield to tie up the defeated enemies. Moreover, there is the episode about John's sister Mary, wife of king Philip III of France, who is put in prison by the intrigues of the king's councillor Pierre de la Broce, who had fallen in love with her (1277-1278). The *compositoer* vividly depicts her as writing a letter to her brother in her own blood. When John receives this letter, he is said to have rushed to Paris in two nights and one day, taking with him only one man on foot and a greyhound.[68] In his abridgment of the narrative, Barlandus omits all these elements. This adaptation yields a high pace of storytelling and a considerable distance of the narrator from his subject matter. In fact, the same effect of acceleration and decrease of emotional involvement is achieved by the elision of dialogue.[69]

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[66] *CBd* f. 2^{v}: "Vt praeteritis etiam seculis uixisse uideamur, sola praestat historiarum cognitio".

[67] For the importance of *evidentia* in the humanist theory of historiography, see Landfester 1972, 89; Kessler 1971, 41-2. The cited passage is at *CBd* f. b8^{r}: "Hic pugna acerrima pugnata est, tegi coelum telis uolantibus, equorum strepitu, concursuque, terra horrende mota est. Innumeri hoc in proelio cecidere, crudelis ubique luctus, ubique pauor, & plurima mortis imago." The reference to Vergil is *Aeneid* 2.368-9. The source passage is *AEC* 1518, f. S2^{r}: "Ende het quam tot eenen stride, die seere vreeslic begonnen wert. Die lucht wert vervolt mitten gheschutte vanden artchieren. die aerde beefde vanden gedrussche der lopender paerden die so snellijc op malcander in een gedrongen liepen datter menige ter aerden viel, groot volc wertter verslagen". In fact, much more princes were involved than just Henry of Brabant and Philip of France.

[68] *AEC* 1518, f. T2^{r-v}.

[69] For a good account of narrative rhythm, see Bal 1997^{2}, 99-111. For distance as the metaphorical space between situations and events narrated and the narration itself, see Genette 1972, 183-4.

4.4 'History Exalts the Good': The Praise of Princes

In my discussion of the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* so far there have been quite a few indications that rhetoric plays an important role in the design of its narrative. In this section, I propose to go deeper into a specific rhetorical aspect of the text: the praise of princes.

While the centrality of praise and blame in the biographical discourse of antiquity and early modern time is beyond dispute, their application in historiography was a point of discussion. The standard objection to such evaluative procedures was that they seemed to clash with the demands of truthfulness and impartiality. In antiquity, this observation had been made by Lucian of Samosata (second century AD), and shortly after the publication of the *Cronica*, the attack on *laudatio* was launched again in Cornelius Agrippa's sceptical work about human learning.[70] Defenders of praise and blame in history such as Robert Gaguin, Juan Luis Vives, and Johannes Trithemius, however, made a distinction between fair praise (*laudatio*) and flattery (*adulatio*), pointing out that while the latter was indeed pernicious, the former was useful as an incentive for good behaviour.[71]

Barlandus seems by no means discomforted by protests against praise and blame in history. He bluntly states in his preface: "History is an incentive for what is honourable, it rejects vices, it exalts the good, it runs down the bad." Nevertheless, he is aware of the implications of this statement, and immediately adds to it that although his style may be unpolished, everything is alright with his reliability (*optima fide*) and impartiality.[72] Thus, for Barlandus, *laudatio* and *vituperatio* are means of arriving at the moral aims of historiography without endangering his credibility. And like many other aspects of his narrative technique, this facet of his storytelling is probably best understood as part of the pedagogical programme pursued by the *Cronica*: it was probably intended to contribute to the moral training of pupils and *artes* students, and not in the last instance of those young men who were to become the leading aristocrats of the Burgundian provinces.

Having paved the way for encomiastic historiography, Barlandus proceeds to his narrative. I have already shown above that its first paragraph sets the tone for an eulogistic form of history. This aspect is most visible at the end of almost each account of a duke's reign, where Barlandus inserts morally evaluative notices about

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[70] Lucian, *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 7; Agrippa 1531, f. xxii^{v}-xxiii^{r}. Another opponent of praise in history is Leonardo Bruni: Mehus (ed.) 1741, vol. 2, 112.

[71] Thuasne (ed.) 1903-1904, vol. 1, 295; *JLV* vol. 2, 206, 208; Trithemius 1690, vol. 2, 7. Also see Guarino da Verona: Sabbadini (ed.) 1915-1919, vol. 2, 462.

[72] *CBd* f. 2^{v}: "Historia ad id quod honestum est inflammat, uitia detestatur, probos extollit, improbos deprimit." The evaluative side of Barlandus' narrative was already noted by Daxhelet 1938, 114-5.

the prince's life and regime. This technique is not an innovation of our historian, however. It was already present in the *Alder excellenste cronyke* and can be detected in many other works as well.

Wholly in accordance with Quintilian's precept that "praise of character is always true praise," the encomia in *Cronica* and *Cronyke* focus on moral virtue.[73] In many cases, the virtues praised in both works coincide and the encomiastic topics chosen stand in a long classical and Christian tradition of thought about the ideal prince. This leads to the commonplace exaltation of dukes as defenders of justice and paladins of the Christian faith.[74] But there are some transformations as well in the means and topics of glorification. I have already discussed the application of the rhetorical device of amplification in Barlandus' work. I will now move on to consider the change of encomiastic themes in Barlandus.

When the virtues that appear in the eulogies in Barlandus and the *Alder excellenste cronyke* are compared, the similarities are more striking than the differences. Both works praise the cardinal virtues – justice, temperance, prudence, and fortitude. Clemency, piety, and beneficence are the complements that guarantee a good exercise of power. A closer investigation reveals changes in emphasis, however. Whereas the *compositoer* attaches great value to piety, prudence, and beneficence[75] – in that order – , Barlandus is especially inclined to extol clemency, humaneness, and piety[76] – in that order. The differing accents lead to different depictions of the prince. The former author presents a Christian ideal of the ruler as a holy man, whereas the latter's stress on clemency – and possibly humaneness – suggests the duke's possession of autocratic power. Subjects are not *entitled* to good treatment, but a clement and humane prince may *choose* to be benevolent – a commendable choice, to be sure.

This point can be strengthened with a reference to the eulogies of Charles the Bold, Philip the Handsome, and Maximilian I. In these obituaries, there is a strong

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[73] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 3.7.15: "animi semper vera laus". Cf. Cicero, *De oratore* 2.343.

[74] For princely virtues in classical antiquity, see Charlesworth 1937. About the virtues in Habsburg propaganda during the reign of Charles V, see Van Hijum 1999, 163, 173-4, 198-200. To mention just a few examples of just and faithful rulers: the duke as defender of justice: *AEC* 1518, f. B1^{v}, U6^{r}, a1^{r}, a4^{r}; *CBd* f. c4^{v}, d7^{r}, e6^{v}; the duke as paladin of faith: *AEC* 1518, f. I3^{r}, K6^{r-v}, KK3^{r}, KK5^{v}, P3^{r}, R3^{r}, R5^{r}, S1^{r}, S1^{v} (crusades), f. KK3^{v}, P3^{r}, S1^{v}-S2^{r}, S2^{r}, S2^{v} (action against heresy), f. N6^{r}, R3^{r}, S6^{r} (benefactions bestowed on the Church); *CBd* f. a2^{r-v}, a4^{r-v}, a7^{v}-a8^{r}, b6^{v}-b7^{r}, b8^{v}, f7^{r}-f8^{r} (crusades), f. a8^{r}, q8^{v}-r3^{r} (action against heresy), f. a1^{v}, a5^{v}, a6^{v}, a7^{v}-a8^{v}, b2^{v}, b4^{r-v} (benefactions bestowed on the Church). For the *AEC* and crusading ideology, see Tigelaar 2006, 96, 113.

[75] Prudence: *AEC* 1518, f. K4^{v}, KK1^{r}, KK3^{v}, KK4^{r}, N6^{v}, X6^{r}, e5^{r}; piety: *AEC* 1518, f. KK1^{r}, KK3^{v}, KK4^{r}, N6^{v}, S2^{v}, T3^{v}, X6^{r}, d3^{r}, d4^{v}, e5^{r}; beneficence: *AEC* 1518, f. R3^{r}, T3^{v}, X6^{r}, z6^{v}, a1^{r}, d3^{r}, e5^{r}.

[76] Clemency: *CBd* f. b2^{v}, c5^{v}, e6^{v}, f8^{r}, n1^{r} (*clementia*), d8^{v} (*indulgentia*), n1^{r} (*placabilitas*); humaneness: f. b2^{v} (*civilitas*), c2^{r} (*benignitas*), f8^{r} (*humanitas*), c2^{r}, i5^{v} (*facilis*), e6^{v} (*affabilis*); piety: f. b2^{v}, b3^{r}, b4^{r}, c5^{v}, f8^{r} (*pietas*).

emphasis on the dukes' sense of duty that makes them exert themselves for their subjects. Barlandus holds forth on the death of Philip in this manner: "There were no mortals in the entire Burgundian territory who did not learn of such news with lots of tears. For he was a prince born for everyone's well-being. To care for everyone, to seek the best for everyone was his only concern. He regarded the fatherland's advantage as his own interest." This perfectly suits the view of the prince that had been propagated in the Burgundian dominions for decades. Charles the Bold, for example, had been complaining in 1475 that his subjects thwarted his plans, although he had not spared his body nor his property in his extraordinary diligence for his subjects – as befits a Good Shepherd – and although he wanted to associate with them like a father with his children. Thus, the image of the caring prince is connected with fatherly or even divine authority.[77]

This impression is further confirmed by the absence of criticism in the *Cronica*. While both the *compositoer* and Barlandus tend to shift responsibility for offenses from the dukes to their advisors, the former is – as a good Christian – aware of the presence of the old Adam as much in princes as in anyone else. In Barlandus' work, the dukes appear as almost infallible. By and large, the ruler's councillors are blamed for a policy's unpleasant results. This does not happen as a strict rule – Barlandus disapproves of Pepin II of Herstal's adultery and of Charles the Bold's rashness – but the cases in which ducal councillors get the blame are far more numerous and the exceptions are made unobtrusive by compensating for them with heaps of praise. Let me give an example of the blaming of advisors to illustrate my point. In the year 1447, duke Philip the Good demanded a large sum of money from the county of Holland. When the inhabitants of Waterland, a region in Holland, did not want to pay this tribute, Philip exacted payment by force. Barlandus comments: "If only not

[77] *CBd* f. i6^{v}, m2^{v}, n1^{r-v}. Also see the praise of Godfrey I the Bearded: f. b4^{r}. The quote is f. m2^{v}: "Neque ulli sane Burgundicae ditionis mortales fuerunt, qui non eiuscemodi nuncium multis lachrymis exceperint. Erat enim omnium bono natus princeps. Omnibus prospicere, omnibus consulere huic unum erat studium. Patriae commodum, suum ducebat esse lucrum." This passage features a quotation from Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* (1515): "Deliniet igitur coeleste quoddam animal ... omnium bono natum, imo datum a superis subleuandis rebus mortalium, quod omnibus prospiciat, omnibus consulat: cui nihil sit antiquius, nihil dulcius republica, cui plus quam paternus sit in omneis animus, cui singulorum vita charior sit quam sua ... quod patriae commodum suum ducat esse lucrum" (*ASD* vol. IV-1, 154). In contrast to Barlandus' history, Erasmus' mirror of princes features a kind of contract theory. I do not think, however, that a quotation from a work always implies the embracement of the entire philosophical system of that text. For the authoritative prince as Good Shepherd or father, see Blockmans 1978, 563; id. 1988, 146-7, 148. The specific reference to the speech of Charles the Bold is Gachard (ed.) 1833-1835, vol. 1, 255-6, in which he uses a Bible quotation (John 10:11) to present himself as the Good Shepherd.

everyone would follow this pestilent example of the preceding dukes' councillors so diligently today!" [78]

This passage – that does not have the *Cronyke* as its source, but the *Divisiekroniek*, in which there is no such comment – stands out for its particular sensitivity to insults to the person of the prince.[79] This is a peculiar characteristic of an autocratic ideology in which the ruler receives power from God and is answerable to Him alone. Unconditional obedience is required from the citizens: revolt and criticism are inadmissible. As we have seen, the *Alder excellenste cronyke* shows signs of this train of thought too, but they are stronger in Barlandus. Let us compare the following passage about the beginning of the Flemish revolt against Maximilian I, King of the Romans and duke of Burgundy, in 1488:

Alder excellenste cronyke	***Cronica Brabantiae ducum***
"Likewise, after the unwise advice of some people from the circle of the King of the Romans, a guard had risen to protect him. And there were 1800 or 2000 men on horseback and on foot ready to do so; they did exorbitant harm and wrong to the country, robbing and slaying the people, ruining the villages, acting like enemies, and violating women. Most of them were from Burgundy and Hainault. Thus, the country was excessively burdened year after year. For the inhabitants of Bruges and Ghent did not want to obey the King of the Romans to the liking of his councillors, of whom Pieter Lanchals was one of the most important as his treasurer."[80]	"Just at that moment, citizens in Bruges and Ghent – the two largest cities in Flanders – rejected the authority of the King of the Romans. Not because they scorned his majesty, but the councillors were to blame, who mercilessly extorted a lot from the good citizens, dedicated to their prince at all costs. Among others, a certain Pieter Lanchals, the king's treasurer, was very suspect to them."[81]

[78] For the blaming of advisors, see *AEC* 1518, f. b4^{r}-c1^{r}, e3^{r}; *CBd* f. e1^{v}, f4^{v}, g1^{v}, l1^{r-v}. For awareness of the sins of dukes, see *AEC* 1518, f. K6^{v}-KK1^{r}, N6^{v}, S5^{r}, d3^{r}. Pepin II of Herstal's adultery: *CBd* f. a2^{v}-a3^{v}. Charles the Bold's rashness: *CBd* f. i6^{v}. The quote is from *CBd* f. f4^{v}: "Et utinam a superiorum principum consiliarijs omnino pestilens inductum exemplum hodie non tanto studio imitarentur omnes."

[79] For the passage in the *Divisiekroniek*, see Aurelius 1517, f. 292^{r}. About the sensitivity around the person of the duke in Habsburg ideology, see Blockmans & Prevenier 1983, 237-9; Blockmans 1999, 259; Van Hijum 1999, 213-4. A nice example is Gachard (ed.) 1833-1835, vol. 1, 256 in which Charles the Bold interprets failure to pay an aid as *lèse majesté*. Another example from the time of Maximilian can be found in Ward 2006, 88 n. 53. Of course, this theory applies first of all to emperors and kings and not to their vassals, such as dukes. I assume that Barlandus' attitude is shaped by views circulating in his own days, when the dukes of Brabant were also Holy Roman Emperors and Kings of Spain, but also reveals itself in his description of previous dukes even if it is perhaps less apt in some of those cases.

[80] *AEC* 1518, f. h4^{r}: "Item by onwisen rade van eenigen die biden roomschen coninck waren soe was opghestaen een gaerde om hem te bewaren. ende ghereet te syne alstte doen ware van volc te peerde ende te voete weel xviij.C oft ij.M. mannen soe deden sy in dye landen alte grooten schade ende quaet, rouende

In Barlandus' *réécriture* of the source there are two additions that draw attention to his utmost circumspection regarding the person of the duke: the fact that the citizens maintained their respect for Maximilian's majesty and the fact that they kept up their unconditional dedication to him. The extensions show that Barlandus endorsed the absolutist concept of monarchy more emphatically than the *Alder excellenste cronyke* had done before him.

There is one final encomiastic theme I would like to discuss here: the ruler as a prince of peace. At quite some points in the narrative, a duke's antipathy towards war is extolled. In the case of John II (1294-1312), Barlandus heightens the praise of the *Cronyke*: "Only if need be, he would wage war, but if there was no way out, he came into the field of battle like a lion, so that he astonished everyone," which is turned into: "None of our princes ever had such an aversion to warfare, but if he could not avoid war, he waged it with might and main."[82] But the main expression of Barlandus' stance towards war is found in his praise of Philip the Handsome and cannot be retrieved in the *Cronyke*, for it is taken over from Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* (1515): "There was nothing he pursued so whole-heartedly as the perpetuation of public peace, and rightly so. For from war all disasters for the community arise at once."[83]

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ende slaende dye lide ende dye dorpen wt teerende ende tractrende als vianden ende violerende dye vrouwen ende waren meestendeel bourgonschen ende hainewyeren. so was dat lant al te seere verlast deen iaer op dander. Ende want dye van Brugghe ende van Ghendt nyet en wouden obedieren den roomschen coninck na den sin van sinen rade, daer heer Peeter lanchals als sijn tresorier een vanden meesten af was". The account in Aurelius 1517, f. 398^{r} is almost exactly the same.

[81] *CBd* f. l4^{r-v}: "Iam Brugis & Gandaui duarum in Flandria maximarum urbium ciues detrectabant imperium Romani. Non quod huius maiestatem contemnerent, sed in causa erant consiliarij, multa inclementer extorquentes a bonis ac principi suo impensissime deditis ciuibus. Praeter caeteros multum erat suspectus quidam Petrus cognomento Longocollius regi a thesauris factus."

[82] *AEC* 1518, f. T6^{r}: "Node orlochde hi mer als hijs gheen verdrach hebben en mocht, so quam hi te velde als een leeu dat hem een yeghelic verwonderden". *CBd* f. c8^{v}: "Nullus principum sic abhorruit a bellis gerendis, quae tamen si effugere non posset maximo gessit animo." Compare *CBd* f. c2^{r}, c8^{v}-d1^{r}, e7^{v}, m2^{v}. The elision of the metaphor of the lion has to do with the pictorial side of the *AEC*: the lion is part of the ducal coat of arms of Brabant, of which there are several illustrations in the *AEC*. Therefore, it is not without reason that in this work, the dukes are often compared with lions: *AEC* 1518, f. S1^{r} (Henry I), T2^{r}, T2^{v} (John I), T6^{v} (John III), a4^{r} (Anthony), d1^{r} (John IV). However, in Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*, the lion is used as an image for the bloodthirsty tyrant: *ASD* vol. IV-1, 158. Perhaps Barlandus also recognized these connotations of the metaphor.

[83] *CBd* f. m2^{v}: "Nihil aeque studebat, quam pacem publicam reddere perpetuam, & recte. Nam ex bello semel omnia reipublicae mala proficiscuntur." The second half of the first sentence and the last sentence form a quote from Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*. See *ASD* vol. IV-1, 156: "Contra rex omnia facit ac patitur, quo pacem publicam reddat perpetuam intelligens ex bello semel omnia reipublicae mala proficisci."

4.5 'Look Upon Them Like in a Mirror': The Meaning of Medieval History

In the preface to the *Cronica*, Barlandus borrows a few sentences from Erasmus indicating how to read history with a view to reaping as much benefit as possible from it. "History brings the life, manners, and deeds of people, and also their plans and the consequences of their actions before the public, so that all of posterity can look upon them like in a mirror and establish its life and manners. What encourages and excites the minds of good rulers more to act commendably, what bridles the desires of tyrants more, when both groups see that it will happen that what they have accomplished in life will be brought forth as a spectacle for all to see in the theatre of the entire world, nay rather, of all eras?"[84] Barlandus here deploys a historiographical commonplace – also present in the *Alder excellenste cronyke* and many other works – to indicate the exemplary function of history.[85] This exemplarity of history is of a specifically political nature for Barlandus: by giving examples, the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* tries to incite princes to the best kind of rule.

Since Barlandus almost never disapproves of a Brabantine duke – the encomiastic tendency of his work has been discussed in the previous section –, this method of presenting the life of former dukes as models for contemporary princes turns medieval history into something far removed from a hideous example to be eschewed at all costs. As a matter of fact, it becomes something like a blueprint of the position of the prince in society. This way of realizing the significatory potential of history is most conspicuous in passages featuring the juxtaposition of past and present. When Barlandus compares the situation of his own era with that of the past, this yields the most vivid illustrations of his view on the society in which he lived. He uses this device in particular to deliver scathing criticism of the ecclesiastical situation of his day. For instance, he makes no bones about using the burial of John I (1294) as

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[84] *CBd* f. 2r-v: "Vitam, mores, facta hominum, consilia item, atque euentus rerum in medio ponit, in quae posteritas omnis tanquam in speculum inspicere possit, & uitam, moresque componere. Quid bonorum animos principum ad res cum laude gerendas magis accendit, inflammatque, Tyrannorum cupiditates quid magis refrenat, dum utrique cernunt, quae in uita patrarint, futurum ut mox in orbis totius, imo seculorum omnium theatrum omnibus spectanda producantur?" The last sentence is a slightly rephrased quote from Erasmus' preface to his Suetonius edition: *OEDE* vol. 2, 580 (nº 586): "Ceterum ex bonae fidei scriptoribus super alias innumeras hec precipua capitur vtilitas, quod non alia res aeque vel bonorum regum animos ad res cum laude gerendas accendit vel tyrannorum cupiditates cohibet ac refrenat, dum vtrique cernunt horum literis suam vitam omnem mox in totius orbis, imo seculorum omnium, theatrum producendam."

[85] For the *topos* in classical and humanist historiography, see Herkommer 1968, 128-36; Landfester 1972, 132-42. The same theme occurs in the prologue of *AEC* 1518, f. A3r: "stellende daer in niet te min int corte dat leven ende conversatie van somighe der voorseyden heylighe personen tot salighen exempele ende stichticheit van allen heeren ende edelen personen, ende generalic voer alle die geen die geerne duechdelike historien lesen oft horen." See Jouve 2001, 129-30 for the importance of paratext, *in casu* a preface, for the *mise en relief* of ideology in texts.

an occasion for venting his opinion about the Minorites of his day: "After his death, his body was brought to Brussels and buried in the church of the Friars Minor, who were in these times men strongly dedicated to Christ, who did not live it up, did not whore, and did not get involved in human affairs," [86] clearly implying that contemporary Minorites lived a rather different life.

This and other intrusions of contemporary situations into the historical narrative have the powerful effect of turning the Middle Ages into an ideal to pursue. Barlandus' treatment of contemporary priests is a case in point. Dipping his pen in gall, he wrote a gruff statement about the clergy: "[Margaret of York] did not confer the priestly dignity unto anyone if she had not first examined both his erudition and his mode of life. If only princes would do the same today; we would not see so many ignoramuses everywhere in God's church then, who would preferably empty princes' chamber pots instead of presiding over the conscience of people."[87]

It is striking how little such a presentation of the Middle Ages conforms to the humanist commonplace picture of the Middle Ages as a period of decay. In fact, this split is even visible within Barlandus' oeuvre. In his annalistic book of historical memorabilia, the *Liber historiarum*, he speaks about the capture of Rome by the Goths under Totila in 548 as follows: "Rome, once mistress of the world, was now bereft of all refined culture. This could be a great lesson for everyone that nothing should be entrusted to human felicity." Apparently, the Middle Ages in Rome are regarded as a period of decay here, only to be improved by the efforts of pope Nicolas V (1447-1455): "Through this pope the Latin language recovered for the greater part its refinement. For this learned man cared for the learned and incited them with rewards to translate Greek writers into Latin. There is no century in which this saying was more clearly ascertained: 'Let there be Maecenases, my dear Flaccus: the Vergils will not be absent.'"[88]

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[86] *CBd* f. c5^{v}: "Cuius defuncti corpus aduectum Bruxellam sepelitur in aede sacra Minoritanorum, qui per ea tempora uiri erant multum Christo dediti, non conuiuantes, non scortantes, neque miscentes se humanis negocijs." For the severe anti-clerical criticism in Barlandus' *Dialogi*, see A. Bömer 1899, 127.

[87] *CBd* f. i4^{v}-i5^{r}: "Nulli unquam attribuit sacerdotium, nisi prius & eruditionem, & uitam inspexisset. Quod utinam & hodie facerent principes, non tam multos passim uideremus idiotas in ecclesia dei, quos fortasse praestaret defricandis principum matulis, quam hominum conscientijs praeesse." See also *CBd* f. b3^{r-v}, k8^{r}.

[88] The first quote is Gualtherus (ed.) 1603, 20: "Hic omni humano cultu deserta Roma, quondam rerum domina, magnum omnibus documentum esse potuit, nihil humanae felicitati credendum esse." The second is Gualtherus (ed.) 1603, 33: "Per hunc pontificem Latina lingua magna ex parte suum recepit cultum. Doctus enim doctos coluit, & praemijs inuitauit ad Graecos scriptores in latinum vertendos. Nullo vnquam seculo magis verum est compertum illud: S*int Maecenates, non deerunt Flacce Marones*." The verse in italics is a quotation from Martial, *Epigrams* 8.55.5. The passage reaches back to Sabellico: Curio (ed.) 1560, vol. 2, 950. Cf. the following remark about Theodosius I (emperor 379-395) in *De literatis urbis Romae principibus*: "Neque enim visum est pertinere ad institutum meum, de alijs dicere, qui post

The picture is quite different in the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum*, though. The description of the conversion of the Frisians at the instigation of Pepin II of Herstal at the end of the seventh century clearly points to an alternative view of history: "he sent Willibrord, who was regarded a very holy man in these times, over there so that he would illuminate with the brightest light of the Gospel's splendor the peoples blinded by unbelief and kindle in an otherwise untamed nation a desire for the worship of the true and only God."[89] These metaphors of illumination (*clarissima luce, Evangelici splendoris, illustraret, accenderet*) for the Christianization of a people are an indicator of a pre-humanist view of history: man lived in darkness until the Good News enlightened him spiritually, thus bringing about a new era. In this line of thought, it is revealing that, as we have seen, the Catholic Barlandus polemically compares the destructive Peasants' War with the annihilation of Roman culture at the hands of the Goths and Vandals.[90]

Barlandus did not only present the conversion of Europe as a turning point in history, but he also resisted the characterization of the Middle Ages as a period devoid of culture and scholarship. He carefully excerpted passages about the great medieval intellectuals attached to the dukes' courts from the *Alder excellenste cronyke* and added a few anecdotes from other sources. Although a humanist like Erasmus took at best an ambiguous position towards Thomas Aquinas, Barlandus mentioned – and approved of, apparently – the *Doctor Angelicus*. Without discomfort, he adopted the following story about the 'exceptionally distinguished woman' Alice of Burgundy, mother of John I: "In her life, this woman loved Thomas Aquinas – a Dominican, as I said above – dearly and honoured him with every act of kindness. When he was in Paris, she frequently wrote to him and asked him in these letters how she could earn the heavenly fatherland in this ocean of mortality."[91] Barlandus also refers to Albertus

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Theodosium imperauerunt. Nam declinato Imperio, literae magna ex parte sunt destitutae. Quo factum existimo, vt qui postea rerum in vrbe potiti sunt, multo indoctiores atque inelegantes fuerint" (Gualtherus (ed.) 1603, 13). For the occurrence of such ideas in humanism, also see §1.4.

[89] *CBd* f. a2^{v}: "Guilibrordum, quem habebant ea tempora uirum sanctissimum huc misit, qui clarissima Euangelici splendoris luce, caecatos infidelitate populos illustraret, & gentem alioqui indomitam ad ueri & unius dei cultum accenderet."

[90] Mommsen 1942, 227; Kampinga 1917, 177-8. In Dutch humanist historiography, the clearest expression of this idea can be found in the prologue of the work of Willem Heda († 1525): Petri & Fumerius (edd.) 1612, 195. For the statement about the Peasants' War, see *CBd* f. r3^{r}.

[91] *CBd* f. c5^{r}: "illustrissima mulier ... Haec mulier in uita multum dilexit & omnibus officijs beneuolentiae prosecuta est Thomam Aquinatem, predicatorij nominis uirum (ut ante dixi) ad quem Parysii agentem frequenter scripsit, consulens eum per literas, quibus rationibus in hoc mortalitatis pelago, coelestem sibi patriam demereri posset." The reference to the earlier passage is *CBd* f. c1^{v}. See Massaut 1972 for Erasmus' opinion about Aquinas; H. Pirenne 1928 about Alice's contacts with Aquinas (although Pirenne is not right to state that Barlandus was the first to mention them: they are also referred to at *AEC* 1518, f. T3^{r}). In his history of the bishops of Utrecht, Barlandus has a slightly more copious passage

Magnus as a contemporary of duke Henry II (1235-1248). Alcuin and Peter of Pisa are mentioned as an illustration of the intellectual atmosphere around Charlemagne (768-814). There is an honourable reference to the physician John Mandeville (14th century), who wrote a famous book of travels which was rather popular in Barlandus' days. Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson are praised as excellent professors in the time of Anthony of Burgundy (1406-1415); their scholarly work is approved of as pious and useful.[92]

So Barlandus did not enjoy himself by portraying medieval scholars as silly barbarians. Neither were all medieval dukes of Brabant entirely indifferent to culture in his view. He tells us that Charles the Bold (1467-1477) was educated in the liberal arts and had a rather good command of the Latin language. He adds that this was rather exceptional for a Brabantine duke and that such a high degree of learnedness in one's prince is something to be proud of.[93] In fact, Barlandus presents even more achievements to boast of. Charlemagne established important schools in Paris and Pavia. His court was a thriving cultural centre. Duke John II (1294-1312) fostered architecture by commissioning a splendid gallery at his castle in Tervuren. John IV (1415-1427) founded the university of Louvain. Philip the Good (1430-1467) possessed many products of the fine arts.[94] The inclusion of these examples of cultural feats of dukes and scholars is definitely not without significance. It betrays Barlandus' concern for a widespread pursuit of art and literature. In his ideal society, princes favour a rich cultural life. The cultivated dukes of the past make up an incentive for contemporary princes to champion Barlandus and his confrères.

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about Aquinas, in which he says: "qui ingenij sui monumenta reliquit posteris multum profutura" (Gualtherus (ed.) 1603, 327).

[92] *CBd* f. b1^{v}-b2^{r}, c1^{v}, c5^{r}, d2^{r}, d7^{r-v}. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus are also mentioned in the *Historiarum liber*: Gualtherus (ed.) 1603, 27. For these scholars in *AEC* 1518: Thomas Aquinas (f. S3^{r}, T3^{r}), Albertus Magnus (f. S3^{r}), Alcuin (f. KK4^{v}), D'Ailly and Gerson (f. a1^{v}), Mandeville (f. V2^{r}). Peter of Pisa cannot be found in *AEC*; perhaps this is an addition from Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* 25. Erasmus' attitude to Albertus is ambiguous: *OEDE* vol. 1, 332; *ASD* vol. V-1, 80; vol. IX-4, 181. The same goes for Gerson: *OEDE* vol. 6, 100; vol. 7, 240; vol. 8, 119; *ASD* vol. I-3, 329, 528, 746; vol. I-6, 50; vol. V-4, 268, 304, 306; vol. XI-1, 68, 89, 447. By 1526, Mandeville's book (*Itinerarius*) had been printed at least three times in Latin and twice in a Dutch translation (*Reysen int heilighen lant*): Goldfinch & Van Thienen (edd.) 1999, 280-1 (nº 1523-6); Nijhoff & Kronenberg 1923-1971, vol. 3.Inleiding, 120 (nº 0873).

[93] *CBd* f. f8^{v}-g1^{r}.

[94] *CBd* f. a8^{v}-b1^{r}, c5^{v}-c6^{r}, e5^{v}, f8^{r-v}. Barlandus also records that Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of the Romans, was a student of the Latin language and rebuked princes who preferred another language: *CBd* f. d8^{v}. Source passages in *AEC* 1518: Charlemagne (f. KK4^{v}), John II (f. T3^{v}), John IV (f. d2^{r}), Philip the Good (f. e5^{r}). For the stories about Sigismund, about the youth of Charles the Bold and about Charlemagne's wish to have men like Augustine and Jerome around him, Barlandus must have used different sources that I have not been able to trace. For the life of Charlemagne, Einhard might have been used as well: Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 59 n. 36.

Nevertheless, it was not all roses in the history of Brabant. In the depicted wealth of medieval culture, it might almost seem that the notorious decline of culture, regarded by many a humanist as a central characteristic of the period after the ruin of Rome, did not play a role for Barlandus. However, Barlandus tells us that after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, his wife Margaret of York became a patroness of scholarship until her death in 1503. According to Barlandus, her patronage addressed a critical need, since Charles had been interested in war rather excessively, with the concomitant result of cultural crisis.[95] In addition, Barlandus says that during Henry of Bergen's term as bishop of Cambrai (1480-1502), the Latin language was in a ruinous condition and that the bishop's court was a harbour of refuge in this unpleasant situation.[96] Apparently, Barlandus did observe a problem and situated it first and foremostly in the decades before his own activity as a scholar, which started in 1505.[97]

It is also around this time that Barlandus perceives a revival of culture. I did already point to the appearance of Margaret of York and Henry of Bergen as patrons. Maximilian of Burgundy, abbot of Middelburg (1518-1536), can be added to this series.[98] Barlandus' consciousness of humanism as a movement is perhaps best visible when he refers to the most important proponents of the new learning: the 'extraordinarily learned man,' Rudolph Agricola (1443-1485), writes 'a very beautiful letter,' Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) 'a very erudite eulogy,' and Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) gives 'an elegant speech.' He writes an entire section about the death of Martinus Dorpius (1525), in which learning and eloquence occupy an important place. [99] Except Agricola, all of these humanists were Barlandus' contemporaries.

In contrast to the *Alder excellenste cronyke*, in which the relation between past, present, and future still depends on the scheme provided by the history of salvation,[100] the *Cronica ducum Brabantiae* defines the present as a moment of restauration after the cultural lapse between the death of Charles the Bold and the early years of the

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[95] *CBd* f. g1^{r}, i4^{v}.

[96] *CBd* f. k7^{r}.

[97] Barlandus also complained at several occasions about his education at the Pedagogy of the Pork in the period 1501-1503 (his fellow students are *elingues*, for example): Daxhelet 1938, 3-6, 274. He was also disturbed by the use of the 'intolerable' *Epistolarum formule* by Carolus Viruli (1413-1493): Daxhelet 1938, 88, 190.

[98] *CBd* f. l7^{r}.

[99] *CBd* f. h5^{v} ("pulcherrima epistola", "eximie docti uiri"), m2^{r} ("doctissimus Panegyricus"), r2^{r} ("elegantem orationem"), r3$^{r\text{-}v}$. In addition, he mentions Marcantonio Sabellico, Flavio Biondo, Robert Gaguin, Raphael of Volterra, and Ermolao Barbaro: *CBd* f. a3$^{r\text{-}v}$, f1^{v}-f2^{r}, i5^{r}, l3^{v}.

[100] Tigelaar 2006, 153.

sixteenth century. This construction of history allows Barlandus to pursue several rhetorical aims. The positive presentation of the Middle Ages is used as a way to elevate the fatherland and to communicate his ideal society in exemplary fashion, for example with reference to the princely protection of art and scholarship. At the same time it serves as a tool to level criticism at practices in his own day, especially within the Church. Finally, the postulate of a short period of decay carrying on through his own time gives room for the self-presentation of the humanists as the saviours of culture.

4.6 'I Observe': Historical Criticism and the *Persona* of the Historian

The construction of a model to relate past and present is a good foundation for a persuasive historical narrative carrying a political message, but the its persuasiveness depends upon many other factors as well. In historiography, one such parameter – and a decisive one at that – is the extent to which the narrator succeeds in presenting his story as truthful. Indeed, Barlandus emphasizes the importance of truthfulness and his willingness to cling to it in his preface, borrowing a phrase from Sabellico: "There is not a single place in all of this history that I would not be ready – with a solemn promise – to display in good faith in chronicles written in our vernacular or in other writers, who have committed to writing something about these events."[101]

As James P. Ward noted in his article about the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*, Barlandus makes a habit of inserting critical remarks about his sources into his narrative. Similar phrases are frequent in the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum*: "whom we follow," "I read that," "it is said that," "I see that," "like some have written," "I observe that," "it is sufficiently established that," "it is uncertain whether." This is a significant divergence from the practices of the *Alder excellenste cronyke*, where such narratorial intervention is far less frequent; the *compositoer* presents himself more as a director than as a critical investigator.[102]

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[101] *CBd* f. 3^{r}: "Nullus tota est historia locus, quem non sim paratus magna etiam sponsione in Chronicis lingua nostrate conscriptis, aut alijs certe, qui his de rebus aliquid litteris mandauerint, ex fide representare." For the passage in Sabellico, see Curio (ed.) 1560, vol. 2, f. *2^{r}: "Caeterum nullus est, quod ad calumniae vanitatem attinet, in Veneta historia locus, ut publice testari soleo, quem non sim uel magna sponsione paratus, in Venetis annalibus ex fide repraesentare, aut in ijs certe qui commentarios de ea re scriptos reliquere."

[102] Barlandus sometimes acts as a director as well ("ut ante dixi", for example, *CBd* f. c5^{r}), but the critical remarks are much more conspicuous: the examples mentioned are from *CBd* f. b6^{r}-c5^{v} ("quos ... sequimur," "inuenio," "dicitur," "uideo," "ut quidam scribunt," "traduntur," "satis constat," "incertum est"). For the sparse instances of historical criticism in the *Cronyke*, see Tigelaar 2006, 119, 121, 125; *AEC* 1518, f. K3^{r}, K6^{v}, KK4^{r}, P2^{v}, R3^{v}, T3^{r}, V4^{v}. For the *compositoer* as director, see Tigelaar 2006, 153-4. The narrator of the *Divisiekroniek* performs roughly the same function: Tilmans 1988, 73-9 = Tilmans 1992,

From this observation, Ward arrives at the conclusion that "there is evidence that the author, emulating the classical historians, had a critical spirit."[103] His point that these critical phrases stem from an attempt to imitate classical authors is fair enough. Indeed, the majority of the phrases can be traced back to the classical historiographers, in particular to Livy.[104] But I object to the idea of imputing a 'critical spirit' to a writer who – as my analysis and Ward's own investigations have shown – has the habit of composing his history from one main source without devoting great effort at achieving historicity.[105] This is clear, for instance, in Barlandus' comment on John I's death: "In this fight, the same duke sustained a fatal wound – it is uncertain whether it was to his right or his left arm." As the *Alder excellenste cronyke* only says that he suffered a wound in the ball of the arm, the critical parenthesis is an empty gesture, not adding the smallest bit of historical accuracy to the text.[106] Instead of regarding these remarks as embryonic expressions of a scholarly method in development, I therefore propose to dig a little deeper into their rhetorical effect: in my view, it makes more sense to see the classical critical phrases as a means to construe a *persona*, a rhetorical device described in Chapter Two.[107]

We have seen how Barlandus vows faithfulness to his sources, thus turning authorial *persona* into an authoritative surety for the truthfulness of the story. A few pages later, a remark in the same vein follows: "But this matter [sc. the torture of Charles Martel in hell] must be referred to rather hesitantly in order to prevent history from losing its credibility. When the majority brings up lots of nonsense, many

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111-21. For Gaguin's 'source references' and other critical or directive remarks, see Collard 1996, 170-1, 248-9.

[103] Ward 2006, 81. The same point is made by Haitsma Mulier 2002, 34.

[104] *Sequi* for the use of a source: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.24, 26.49. *Invenio* for the discovery of a fact: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.24, 2.8, 2.18, 2.21, 2.40, etc.; Tacitus, *Historiae* 2.37; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 55; *Caligula* 8. *Dicitur*: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.34, 1.35, 1.45, 1.54, 1.55, 1.56, etc.; Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 9, 113, 146, etc.; Nepos, *Aristides* 1, etc.; Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.39, 1.44; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 55; *Divus Augustus* 13; *Claudius* 32, etc. *Traduntur*: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.27, 8.30, 24.17, etc.; Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.80; *Annales* 6.28. *Satis constat*: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.1, 1.24, 1.48, etc.; Tacitus, *Annales* 11.31, 13.2; *Agricola* 13, 41; *Historiae* 1.41; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 1; *Divus Augustus* 10, etc. *Incertum est*: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 9.44, 24.17; Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.40; Tacitus, *Germania* 28.

[105] Ward 2006, 80-4 identifies the *Divisiekroniek* as the main source of the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*. Ward 2006, 85 does recognize that we should not expect Barlandus to meet anachronistic scholarly standards.

[106] *CBd* f. c5^{v}: "In quo certamine dux idem, dextro an laeuo brachio incertum est, loetale uulnus accepit"; *AEC* 1518, f. T3^{r}.

[107] See §2.3.2. For Barlandus' *persona* as a historian, also see Maas 2008, 26-30.

usually add even more nonsensical matter to these brainless stories."[108] The main effect of such utterances is the formation of a literary character for the narrator. By emphasizing his aims of faithfulness and credibility, Barlandus stages himself as a distanced narrator with an air of reliability. The same goes for the short phrases listed above. But in these cases, there is also something else at stake. Although the use of these expressions might well be a matter of imitation of the classics, as Ward suggested, the borrowed idiom has an important side effect: it guarantees authority. By resorting to the language of classical historiography, Barlandus assures himself of the weighty air of a Livy, a Tacitus.

The authoritative posture thus assumed is reinforced by a special device of historiography: the principle of *αὐτοψία*. Despite sceptical criticism, descriptions of places or events the historian himself could bear witness to – authoritative since Thucydides, because they were thought to offer an extraordinary degree of reliability – retained a privileged position in humanist historiographical theory.[109] Barlandus seizes this opportunity of self-presentation with both hands. In several passages about events that took place during his own lifetime, he presents the reader with eyewitness testimonies. So he tells us about the christening of Charles V in 1500 in this manner: "As a boy I have seen how wondrous spectacles were organized in Ghent – where I was learning Latin with a very learned schoolmaster – on every corner of the city and at every crossroad for the birth of this boy."[110] The emphasis on his own presence thus strengthens Barlandus' authority as a narrator. This self-presentation contrasts sharply with the *compositoer*'s claim that "he did not put anything of himself" into his chronicle.[111]

But while these strategies for the bestowal of reality upon the narrative generate authority, they are by no means a surety for a verifiable story. In the main narrative source references are scarce. The *Alder excellenste cronyke* is only vaguely referred to as one of the 'chronicles written in our vernacular' (*Chronicis lingua nostrate conscriptis*) and when Barlandus uses other sources, they are not always mentioned. This happens,

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[108] *CBd* f. a5^{v}-a6^{r}: "Sed haec cunctantius referenda, ne fides historiae abrogetur. Plerisque enim stulte multa asserentibus, temere assertis, multi aliquanto stultius accedere solent."

[109] See Landfester 1972, 105-7. These ideas about the historian as eye-witness are shared by Gaguin (Thuasne (ed.) 1903-1904, vol. 1, 267), Pomponius Laetus (Erasmus (ed.) 1518, 769), and Vives (*JLV* vol. 2, 205). For an instance of sceptical criticism, see Agrippa 1531, f. 22^{v}.

[110] *CBd* f. l7^{v}: "Vidi ego puer, hoc nato puero Gandaui (in qua tum urbe Latinas discebam litteras apud uirum doctissimum) ad omnes ciuitatis angulos, ad omnia compita parari spectaculorum miracula." For other eyewitness testimonies, see *CBd* f. l7^{r}, l8^{v}, m2^{r}, r3^{r-v}. For 'autobiographical' references in Barlandus, see also Daxhelet 1938, 117; Meertens 1943, 40-1.

[111] *AEC* 1518, f. A3^{r}: "niet van den sinen daer in gheset en heeft". For the *compositoer*'s unwillingness to speak about his own time, see Tigelaar 2006, 104-6. This denial is a medieval historiographical commonplace: Tigelaar 2006, 105 n. 76.

for instance, in the account of the rule of Charlemagne, which is directly dependent on Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*. The writer of the *Alder excellenste cronyke*, by contrast, does not assume an emphatically critical posture, but does give an overview of the sources employed.[112]

This lack of references marks the authoritarian stance of the narrator. The reader is forced to assume the veracity of the account as it is hardly liable to verification. This gives the narrator licence to contend whatever he wants and a carte blanche to manipulate history in any direction. His audience will simply have to accept it. The critical expressions mentioned above are only smoke and mirrors; they allow the narrator to present himself as reliable without giving account of his method. In fact, the reader might not even come up with the idea of calling the narrator to book as the latter's self-referentiality is almost zero in the non-contemporary part of the book – which is just another characteristic of an authoritarian narrator.[113]

This attitude, demanding a kind of unquestioning obedience from the reader, though clearly distinct from narrative more prone to explanation, is nothing outrageous. After all, it would create an unreadable story if one rendered account of every fact and judgement it contained. Especially in an educational context, and given Barlandus' concern for moral and linguistic training, it is not difficult to understand why he does not lose himself in long demonstrations of source criticism. Nevertheless, the synergy of this authoritarian mode of communication with the monologic nature of the narrative discussed above results in a strong rhetorical device for the modelling of a narrative imbued with political views. It is tempting to link the autocratic ideology observed a few times above to this way of storytelling. That argument is not entirely cogent, however, because a monologic and authoritarian style of narrating may be used by anarchists, democrats, and dictators alike. Nevertheless, it is to be noticed that Barlandus' narrative rhetoric of constraint is very apt for the task of legitimating a single viewpoint to the exclusion of others, and in particular of defending an autocratic posture, as this is – by definition – prone to the suppression of dissident viewpoints.

Apart from the rhetorical use of critical remarks to create a trustworthy *persona*, I want to show another way of employing historical criticism for political purposes. In the middle of the *Cronica*, there is a considerable lacuna. Barlandus justifies his choice to omit the events of the years 840-1095 from his history as follows: "What happened

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[112] Some of the scarce source references: *CBd* f. a3^{r-v}, a5^{v}, a6^{r}, f1^{v}-f2^{r}, f7^{r}, i3^{v}, i5^{r}. The quotation is at f. 3^{r}. See Bijsterveld (ed.) 2004, 59 n. 36, 60 n. 37, 63 n. 40-1 for Einhard as a source. For *AEC*'s table of sources, see *AEC* 1518, f. A3^{r}.

[113] Bal 1986, 77-8. As we have seen, the person of the narrator is more visible as an eyewitness in the contemporary part of the *Cronica*.

after the rule of this Louis [sc. the Pious] until the time of duke Godfrey the Bearded – who was the first to win back the Brabantine land, which was occupied by the rulers of the Ardennes – and what is furthermore handed down in sources that are far from uncorrupted, I have decided neither to confirm nor to refute."[114] This is a strange omission. In the first place it interrupts the continuous series of dukes from Pepin I to Charles V. From a political point of view, this does not seem a very powerful strategy of historical presentation, since continuity is often used as means of legitimation, as I have shown above with regard to the *gesta* genre. After the lacuna, the series of dukes runs continuously from Godfrey I the Bearded to Charles V and whisks away the main problems in the succession of dukes occurring in the period 1261-1430. Furthermore, Barlandus' argument that the sources for the period were corrupted is flawed: in the *Alder excellenste cronyke*, used so extensively in both the first and the second part of Barlandus' narrative, the intervening period is treated in exactly the same manner as the time before and after it. This begs for explanation.

In the *Alder excellenste cronyke* the ducal line of succession from 840 to 1095 is traced via the Middle-Frankish kings (Lothair I and Lothair II), the West-Frankish kings (Charles the Bald through Louis IV), the dukes of Lower Lorraine (Charles and Otto), and the counts of Louvain (Lambert I and Gerberga through Godfrey I the Bearded). For the *compositoer*, the inclusion of Brabant in the kingdom of West Francia in the years 870-954 is a point of some importance, as he explicitly identifies this political unit with the kingdom of France of his own day.[115] This identification takes its significance from the *compositoer*'s presentation of the duchy of Brabant as closely connected with the sacral monarchy of France.[116]

This view on matters jars with Barlandus' ideas. As we have seen, Barlandus situates Brabant in the context of the Holy Roman Empire. By means of a critical intervention, he separates the bloodline of dukes from Godfrey the Bearded to Charles

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[114] *CBd* f. b3^{v}: "Quae post huius Ludouici principatum gesta sunt usque ad tempora Godefridi barbati ducis, qui Brabanticam terram ab Arduennae principibus occupatam primus recuperauit ea haudquaquam incorruptis rerum gestarum monimentis tradita nec affirmare nec refellere statui."

[115] *AEC* 1518, f. O1^{v}: "west vrancrike, dat den name van vrancrike behouden heeft". From this moment on, he has the habit of using *Vrancrijc* as a synonym for West Francia and *Almaniën* for East Francia, for example on *AEC* 1518, f. O2^{r}: "Ende want die orie van desen voerseiden keyser lotharijs verghinc ende sijns broeders Lodewicx geslachte in Almanien bleef ende oec want die hertogen van Brabant van Kaerlen die Caluwe gecomen sijn so wil ic nu weder keeren totten selven coninck Kaerle dye welcke regneerde xxxiiij iaer in vrancrike." In fact, the *compositoer* even regarded all Brabantine dukes from Pepin III up to Hugh Capet (751-996) as French kings: *AEC* 1498, f. C1^{r}. The copy of *AEC* 1518 I have used in the Museum Meermanno Westreenianum in The Hague (signature 005 C 030) lacks both the fold-out sheet depicting the family tree of the Brabantine dukes and the part of the introduction to this sheet in which the latter passage is found.

[116] Tigelaar 2006, 114-5.

V from that of the West-Frankish kings, which in its turn goes back to the prototypical holy kings of France: Clovis, Pepin III, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious. Barlandus turns Godfrey's reconquest of large parts of Brabant into what seems to be a renewed beginning of the book. He recasts the Horatian precept *utile dulci* quoted in the preface in an adapted wording. Subsequently, he goes on to tell an abridged version of the life of Godfrey as found in the *Cronyke*, while adding a fairly extensive eulogy of him and omitting – significantly! – the observation that he descended from Charlemagne, thus almost suggesting a refoundation of the duchy.[117]

By proposing the detachment of Brabantine from French history as a possible reason for the odd critical intervention, I left an important problem unsolved: if Barlandus did not choose to connect the lineage of the later dukes of Brabant (1095-1526) with the early rulers of Brabant (615-840), why then did he bother to describe that early part of history at all? Part of the answer is supplied by Stein and Bijker, who suggest that Barlandus aimed to describe only those princes who actually bore the title of duke. The *Alder excellenste cronyke* states that Pepin I of Landen was the first to be invested with the duchy by the Frankish king Chlothar II (613-629). This title was lost after the death of Otto of Lower Lorraine around 1012, only to be regained by Godfrey I in 1106.[118]

Indeed, this does explain the caesurae at the accessions of Pepin I and Godfrey I, but not the one at the death of Louis the Pious. What could have made Barlandus include Louis the Pious, but not Lothair I? In the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum*, the first dukes of Brabant seem to stand in isolation from any feudal structure until Charles Martel becomes a kind of proto-emperor. This stands in contrast with the *Cronyke*, in which these dukes are regarded as vassals of the Frankish kings and, later on, of the German emperors, and with early French humanist historiography, in which they appear as Frankish Mayors of the Palace.[119] The significance of the early rulers in the

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[117] *AEC* 1518, f. f4^{v} gives this short catalogue of protypical rulers of France; f. N6^{v} stresses the continuous bloodline from Charlemagne on. *CBd* f. b3^{v} ("delectare," "prodesse") for the allusion to Horace. For the accounts of Godfrey I the Bearded, see *CBd* f. b3^{v}-b4^{v} and *AEC* 1518, f. R1^{r}-R3^{v}.

[118] Bijker & Stein 2004, 29. For the investment of Pepin I, see *AEC* 1518, f. I6^{v}. For the loss of the duchy, *AEC* 1518, f. P3^{r-v}. For the recovery of the title, *AEC* 1518, f. R1^{r-v}.

[119] Barlandus just says about Pepin I of Landen: "Cuius dux primus fuit Pipinus, Carolomanni filius", without mentioning an overlord (*CBd* f. a1^{r-v}). At *CBd* f. a4^{v}-a5^{r}, Charles Martel refuses the Frankish kingship as he rather remains king over kings: "Imperare, inquit, regibus, quam rex esse malo." His progeny retained this role. For the views of the *compositoer*, see most conveniently *AEC* 1518, f. I6^{v}, K1^{v}. The French historian Gaguin 1500, f. xxi^{v} says about Pepin I "qui palatio praeerat", viz. under the Frankish kings Dagobert I and Sigebert III; at f. xxiii^{r-v} he calls the office of Pepin II of Herstal and Charles Martel *palatii praefectura* and *magistratus palatii*, that is, the mayorship of the Frankish king. He also refers to the enfeoffment of Pepin with the duchy of Brabant, however: Gaguin 1500, f. xxi^{v}. Paulus Aemilius uses the term *magister equitum*: Aemilius 1601, 34-8 (first four books published 1517).

Cronica is probably related to the fact that they count a number of (proto-)emperors among them: Charles Martel, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious. This might have been a strong incentive for Barlandus to describe their life, for that other 'Brabantine' emperor, Charles V, functions as the coping stone of his history. It is particularly relevant in this respect that contemporary representations of Charles V often described him as a new Charlemagne.[120]

There still remain a few objections to this view. It might be true that Lothair I and some of his successors could have played the same role, as they possessed the imperial dignity as well; but then again, as Middle- and West-Frankish kings, they were always liable to be claimed as predecessors by Charles' main enemy, Francis I, king of France, which made them much less attractive as exemplary dukes of Brabant. On the other hand, the omission of a number of dukes creates the potential problem of the discontinuity of the bloodline. However, this did not necessarily constitute a hindrance to the appropriation of imperial forerunners, because the imperial dignity was not hereditary, but conferred upon the emperor by election. Hence, for Barlandus the reign of Charles V could constitute something of a return to the glorious primordial situation under his famous medieval namesake, Charlemagne.[121]

4.7 Political Education in the Habsburg Netherlands

Until this point, I have been discussing formal characteristics of Barlandus' work: the reduction of dialogism and of *evidentia*, the encomiastic tendencies of the narrative, the exemplary function of history, and the rhetorical application of historical criticism. I have argued that many of these aspects should probably be understood as elements of an educational mode of discourse. As has been mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the practice of teaching history was in a good position to play a crucial role in the development of children into good citizens by means of internalizing the right political values. Although my observations on the kind of political ideas Barlandus tried to communicate to his readers may have become somewhat dispersed throughout the chapter, it is no doubt clear by now that in many ways, the *Cronica Brabantiae ducum* legitimized the position of the current dynasty. Indications in this direction can be seen, for example, in Barlandus' use of the *gesta* genre with its continuous and unproblematic succession of its dukes, his *laudatio* of medieval princes, whose glory reflected on their direct successors, his support for their autocratic style of government, and his demonstration of a rebirth of classical letters

[120] P.G. Schmidt 1991, 140; Bosbach 2002, 93.
[121] For a similar suggestion by Michiel Verweij, see Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 59 n. 36.

that was at least partly due to contemporary princes. In this section, I would like to elaborate on this important point in more detail, and especially on the place of Barlandus' views in contemporary political discourse.

Broadly speaking, it can be observed that Barlandus sided with the contemporaneous duke of Brabant, the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, Charles V.[122] This involved a reorientation of Brabantine history. While the *Alder excellenste cronyke* presents the history of Brabant as interwoven with the sacral monarchy of France, Barlandus' work is aligned towards the Holy Roman Empire – a comprehensible move in view of the political situation around 1526, when Charles was in uninterrupted conflict with Francis I, king of France. One of these clashes, the battle of Pavia (1525), is described by Barlandus *in extenso*.[123] His support for the Habsburg Empire shows through quite clearly in Barlandus' endorsement of some specific items on its political agenda. The Zeelandish humanist joins Charles' conflict with Charles of Guelders with verbal weapons and even goes so far as to apostrophize the latter and to rebuke him harshly.[124] The same happens to Luther, who is addressed and reprimanded. Moreover, Charles' Edict of Worms (1521) condemning him is quoted in full and the measures of the German Electors against the Peasants' Revolt (1524-1525) are explicitly approved of.

Obviously, Barlandus does not seem to hesitate to take position in the questions of the day, though never in a markedly dissident manner. With reference to the measure of autocracy a prince could indulge in, Barlandus had to position himself in an international debate. The traditional political thought of medieval feudalism regarded society as the result of a contract between lord and subject. In a famous dictum traditionally attributed to Thomas Aquinas, "the kingdom does not exist on account of the king but rather the king on account of the kingdom."[125] Feudalism posited a social contract – often embodied in ceremonies such as coronations –, in which both rulers and subjects had their rights and responsibilities and in which citizens could postpone obedience in case of violation. This constitutionalist tradition

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[122] The same conclusion is drawn for Barlandus' *Opusculum de insignibus oppidis Germaniae inferioris* (1524) by Wesseling 2000, 231-3, 247. Ward 2006, 86-8 observes a different attitude in an early work of Barlandus, the *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* (1519), hinting at a critical attitude towards Maximilian. This is perhaps visible in *CBd* f. m5^{v} too, but the general attitude even towards this duke is very positive: *CBd* f. n1^{r}-n2^{r}. A sign of Barlandus' benevolence towards Charles V is the final entry in *De Hollandiae principibus* (1519), which is addressed to Charles and praises him: Daxhelet 1938, 271-2.

[123] *CBd* f. p4^{v}-q8^{r}.

[124] *CBd* f. m8^{v}.

[125] Mathis (ed.) 1948^{2}, 51: "Regnum non est propter regem, sed rex propter regnum" (transl. J.M. Blythe). The quote stems from the work *De regimine principum*, which nowadays is usually attributed to Ptolemy of Lucca and which was finished around the year 1300.

was taken up by Erasmus, for instance in his adage *Bellum dulce inexpertis* (1515): "You do not have the same right over men, who are free by nature, and over cattle. The very right you enjoy is granted by the consensus of the people; but the privilege to withdraw it, if I am not mistaken, belongs to those who conferred it upon you."[126]

The emphatic adoption of this view in the early modern period can be understood as a critique of an alternative model for the legitimation of power that had come in vogue under the Burgundian-Habsburg rulers Charles the Bold and Maximilian. In this train of thought, the ruler received power from God and was answerable to Him alone. Unconditional obedience was demanded from the citizens.[127] One of the most famous representatives of this theory in Barlandus' time was Guillaume Budé. In his *Institution du prince*, finished around 1518 and dedicated to Charles V's rival Francis I, he argued that kings "are by no means subject to the laws and to the decrees of their kingdom, as the others are, if they do not think it fit to be so. It has to be presumed that they are so perfect in prudence, nobleness, and justice, that no rule or written form is needed to compel them by means of fear and the necessity to obey, as is the case with the others, apart from the divine law, which has the authority of God and not of men."[128] We have seen that Barlandus adopted the latter idea, which belonged to the official propaganda of both the Valois kings and the Habsburg emperors in the early sixteenth century.

Nevertheless, Barlandus does venture beyond the safe path of mere political conformism, for instance in his anti-clericalism. This matter was a veritable bone of contention and the balance was fragile. In his speech against Luther at the Diet of Worms (1521), Charles V presented himself as heir to and imitator of "the Very Christian Emperors of the noble German nation, of the Catholic Kings of Spain, the archdukes of Austria, and the dukes of Burgundy, who have all been faithful sons of

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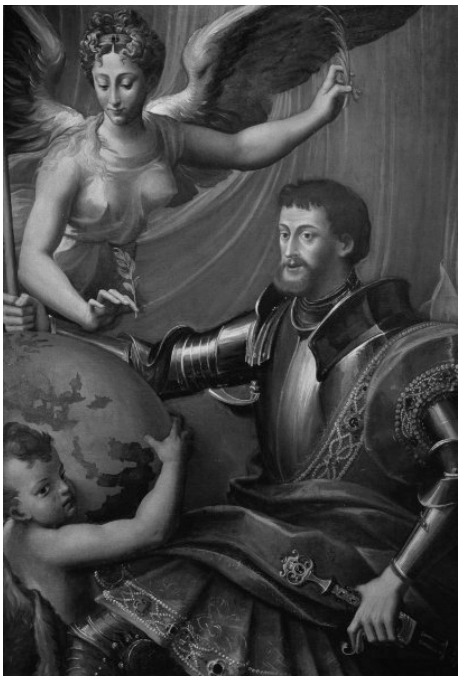
126 *ASD* vol. II-7, 36: "non est idem ius in homines natura liberos et in pecudes. Hoc ipsum ius quod habes, populi consensus dedit; eiusdem autem, ni fallor, est tollere qui contulit." Cf. *ASD* vol. IV-1, 203, 216. Many revolutionary documents like the Joyous Entry (1356), the Twelve Articles of the Peasants' War (1525), and the Articles of Valladolid show the same train of thought. For the last document, see Haliczer 1981, 176-9. For the writings of the Peasant War, see Laube & Seiffert (edd.) 1978². For contract theories in the early sixteenth century, see Blockmans 1999, 229-33; Blockmans 1988, 148-54.

127 Blockmans 1988; Vanderjagt 2005, 334-6. A clear expression of this ideology can be found in an oration of Charles the Bold to the States of Flanders: Gachard (ed.) 1833-1835, vol. 1, 249-59. Compare Kampinga 1917, 158-61 about historiographical presentations of the count of Holland as sovereign resp. constitutional prince.

128 Bontems, Raybaud & Brancourt 1965, 80: "Et pour ceste cause sont les roys honorez et ont prérogatives et prennent les prouffitz par dessus tous les autres, et ne sont point subjectz aux lois et aux ordonnances de leur royaume comme les autres se bon ne leur semble. Car il est à présumer, qu'ilz sont si parfaictz en prudence et noblesse et équité, qu'il ne leur fault point de reigle et forme escripte pour les astraindre par crainte et par nécessité d'obéissance, comme il fait aux autres, sinon la loi divine qui a auctorité de dieu et non pas des hommes".



Parmigianino, allegorical portrait of Charles V, 1530

the Church of Rome until their death: they have been defenders of Catholic faith, of the holy ceremonies, decrees, ordinances, and holy customs in honour of God, the increase of the faith, and the salvation of souls."[129] Criticism was possible to the extent that the Church did not meet the ideals of true Catholic practices, but of course the dividing line was hazy: being harsh brought the risk of being regarded as overly critical, a stance which might catch the angry gaze of the Emperor in his role of defender of the Church and, more particularly, provoke a confrontation with the Inquisition.[130] Although Barlandus' scathing remarks about the clergy might seem to have brought him on a collision course with religious and secular authorities, the history of the dukes of Brabant was never censured. It seems that Barlandus managed to walk the religious tightrope quite successfully, in contrast to his idol Erasmus, who ended up on the 1559 *Index librorum prohibitorum* because of his critical writings.[131]

The theme of war and peace was perhaps a little less sensitive, but it once again demonstrates Barlandus' self-positioning in relation to official points of view. In the circle around Erasmus, pacifism was commonly encountered.[132] After the Battle of Pavia (1525), for instance, Juan Luis Vives wrote a letter to king Henry VIII of England in which he stated: "No war can be so fortunate, that a disadvantageous peace is not preferable to it."[133] Barlandus certainly did not press this line of thought

[129] Wrede (ed.) 1896, 595: "Vous savez que je suis descendu des empereurs très-crestiens de la noble nation Germanique, des roys catholiques d'Espaigne, des archeducz d'Austrie, des ducz de Borgoingne, lesquelz tous ont estéz jusques à la mort filz fidèles de l'église Romaine, ayant tousiours esté deffenseurs de la foy catholique, des sacrées céremonies, décrets, ordonnances et sainctes costumes à l'onneur de dieu, augmentacion de la foy et salut des âmes".

[130] For the ruler as defender of faith and the Church, see Van Hijum 1999, 174-5, 191; Kohler 1999, 65-6.

[131] Some examples of Erasmus' critique of the clergy: *ASD* vol. I-3, 150-4, 289-97, 389-408, 686-99; vol. IV-3, 158-68, 170-6; *OEDE* vol. 3, 361-77 (nº 858), esp. p. 370-7.

[132] Most famously, Erasmus' work *Querela pacis* (1517). Further Van Hijum 1999, 204-5; Tracy 1978. For other supporters of peace in Erasmus' circles, see Van Hijum 1999; 195-8, 211-2; Adams 1962; Dust 1987.

[133] *JLV* vol. 5, 185: "nullum est tam felix bellum, quo non sit potior iniqua pax".

all the way to Vives' conclusion that historiography should avoid describing and praising wars.[134] But although he realized that military conflicts are sometimes inevitable even among Christian rulers and although he praised dukes who were successful in warfare, he intimated more than once that he thought peace preferable to war, most particularly when he quoted Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* in his praise of Philip the Handsome.

This mildly pacificist position stood in some contrast to messages emitted by the Habsburg chancellery. Mercurino Gattinara, the emperor's chancellor, proclaimed in 1522 that Charles "judged nothing ever more venerable, and had nothing more deeply impressed on his heart, than to think about universal peace and the union of Christians."[135] The result of this project, however, was supposed to be that there would be one sheepfold of believers and one shepherd, and that the Roman Empire would be restored. If need be, this universal monarchy had to be enforced – by means of war.[136] Consequently, in negotiations with France, the Holy Empire's most serious rival in its claims on universal monarchy, Gattinara advocated an agressive line of diplomacy aiming at the occupation of French territory, particularly Burgundy.[137]

For sure, Gattinara's universal monarchy was not spared criticism. It is not entirely clear whether the Emperor himself backed the ideas of his chancellor.[138] In the intellectual *respublica litterarum*, Gattinara found an impressive opponent in Desiderius Erasmus: "I do not think the mind of one mortal man capable of such extensive rule ... The world will not greatly feel the absence of such a monarch, if Christian princes are united in concord among themselves. The true and only monarch of the world is Christ." In the course of time, Erasmus even went so far as to state that Charles' war against France was only motivated by greed and could better have never been waged.[139] Barlandus seems to support Erasmus in this matter. He never

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[134] *JLV* vol. 2, 206.

[135] Bornate (ed.) 1907, 396: "nihil unquam antiquius censuit, nilque magis cordi infixum habuit, quam de ipsa universali pace ac christianorum unione cogitare".

[136] For ideas about universal monarchy during the reign of Charles V, see Bosbach 1988; König 1969; Kohler 1999, 94-103; Headley 1982; Bosbach 1998.

[137] The legal tradition of France encompassed the argument that "Primum liliorum ius altum et precipuum serenissime corone francie est quod rex nullum in temporalibus recognoscit: nec recognoscere tenetur." (Ferrault 1512, f. A3^{r}). For Ferrault's ideas about the privileges of the French king, see Poujol 1957. For Gattinara's policy, see Bornate (ed.) 1915, 470-2; Lanz (ed.) 1853, 358-60; also see Van Hijum 1999, 186; Walser 1959, 172; Headley 1998, 62-3.

[138] Kohler 1999, 100; Van Hijum 1999, 162.

[139] *OEDE* vol. 2, 585-6 (n^{o} 586): "non arbitror capacem esse tantae ditionis vnius mortalis animum. ... Non admodum desyderabit orbis monarcham, si Christianos principes inter se iunget concordia. Verus et vnicus orbis monarcha Christus est" (transl. R.A.B. Mynors & D.F.S. Thomson). For the statements about the war against France, see a passage in *Querela pacis* (*ASD* vol. IV-2, 80) and a dedication letter

suggests either explicitly or implicitly that the French king should be subjected to the Empire by force of arms. A Vergilian quotation linking Charles V with Augustus as ruler of the world might give a different impression, but in fact Barlandus seems to put Charles on a par with Francis I when he calls them 'the two mightiest princes of Christendom.' In the same passage, he criticizes their bitter strife and evidently hopes that the war between them would end as soon as possible.[140] Finally, I regard it very meaningful that Barlandus concludes his book – a strongly marked place – with a paragraph on the captivity of Francis, during which peace negotiations were carried on, which – in Barlandus' words – could not be brought to a conclusion *yet*.[141]

Despite such minor deviations from the official propaganda, which can be attributed to Barlandus' Erasmian mindset, the *Cronica* can generally be described as legitimizing the position and policies of Charles V. If the work was intended to contribute to the political training of pupils or students, it was certainly Barlandus' aim to bring them up as loyal subjects of the Habsburg dukes.

4.8 'The Rest of Them Hates Literature': Heated Debates in Louvain

However, the educational aspects of the *Cronica* also suggest there may be another political context that could further illuminate the rhetoric of Barlandus' *Cronica*, and not in the last place its medievalism, viz. the academic world at Louvain. In a letter dated 20 April 1526, Erasmus made an urgent request of Barlandus. "There is a matter on which I would like your help. It is something that calls for good faith rather than a lot of trouble and effort. There are people at Louvain who have very great influence with the bishop to whom I am writing; but I do not know how well disposed they are towards me, because of some close friends of his. You can guess, I imagine, whom I mean. Please keep this business secret from them. I am sending my letter unsealed so that you can understand the situation from it. Please seal it and hand it to the bishop of Tournai, and when you do so, encourage him to deal with the matter as quickly as possible. If there is anything you would like me to do for you in exchange, just say the word."[142]

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to Francis I, dated 1 December 1523 (*OEDE* vol. 5, 352-61 (nº 1400), esp. p. 353). Also see Van Hijum 1999, 188; Kohler 1999, 66.

[140] *CBd* f. p3^{r}: "duos potentissimos orbis Christiani principes". Cf. *CBd* f. p3^{v} about the negative effects of quarrels between Christian princes. The quote from Vergil is *Aeneid* 1.286-7 ("origine Caesar / imperium Oceano, famam qui terminat astris") and can be found in *CBd* f. 4^{v} at the end of a list of Brabantine dukes. For other examples of Barlandus' pacifism, see his *Dialogi* 10 ('Philippus et Augustus') and 56 ('Augustinus et Gregorius'): Daxhelet 1938, 161, 163.

[141] *CBd* f. r4^{v}: "Sed res ad exitum perduci nondum potuit".

[142] *OEDE* vol. 6, 319 (nº 1694): "Est in quo velim operam tuam mihi commodes; nec tam studium curamue requirit causa quam fidem. Sunt Louanii qui plurimum possunt apud Episcopum cui scribo;

The letter is deliberately written in vague terms. Nevertheless, the historical context points out that among the confidants of bishop Charles of Croÿ of Tournai mentioned by Erasmus were theologians such as Jacobus Latomus and Johannes Driedo – teachers of the bishop and avowed enemies of Erasmus. The hostility of Latomus and Driedo had arisen during a series of theological disputes between, on the one hand, members of the faculty of theology and, on the other hand, Erasmus and his followers. This debate had been lingering since Martinus Dorpius sparked it off with a letter to Erasmus (1515), criticizing the latter's *Praise of Folly*. The main issues at stake were the necessity of knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and of the Greek and Hebrew Bible in particular, the authority of scholastic writings, and the proper place of rhetoric and poetry.[143] Since Luther's rise to prominence, the discussion had acquired a new dimension: the theological 'faction' diligently tried to identify the ideas of the circle around Erasmus as Lutheran. At some point, this caused the humanist from Rotterdam to complain that the Louvain Carmelite Nicholas Baechem called everything he loathed 'Lutheran' and 'heretic', including unsavoury beer, wine, and broth.[144]

Erasmus, engraving by Albrecht Dürer, 1526

What position did Barlandus take in this polarized environment? As a correspondent of Erasmus, a professor of rhetoric (since 1526), a friend of humanists

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caeterum quam amico in me sint animo nescio, ob quosdam illi familiares. Diuinas, opinor, quos iudicem. Hos velim celatum hoc negocium. Mitto litteras apertas, vt ex his rem intelligas. Eas obsignatas reddes Episcopo Tornacensi, simulque extimulabis vt quam primum id fiat. Si quid erit quod per me fieri voles, vicissim impera." (transl. A. Dalzell). Perhaps it would be better to read *sit* instead of *sint*, so that the phrase would mean that Erasmus does not know how Charles thinks about him. This is also how Dalzell translates the sentence ("how well disposed he is towards me"). For biographical data about Croÿ, see Moreau 1985.

[143] For the debate between Erasmus and the Louvain theologians, see Rummel 1989. Before the debate between Erasmus and the Louvain theologians began, Barlandus seemed to have been on friendly terms with Latomus, considering the letter he wrote to him in 1514: Daxhelet 1938, 250-1.

[144] In a letter written in 1522 or 1523: *OEDE* vol. 5, 94 (apparatus) (nº 1301): "Isti quicquid odit Lutheranum est et haereticum. Sic, opinor, tenue zuthum, vapidum vinum et ius insipidum isti Lutheranum vocabitur". Of course, the connection between humanism and Lutheranism was not entirely imaginary: see, for instance, Mout 2000.

like Vives, Craneveldt, and Geldenhouwer, and as a professor of Latin (1518-1519) at the *Collegium Trilingue* – at which, as its name indicates, Latin, Greek and Hebrew were taught –, Barlandus definitely belonged to the humanist camp.[145] It was probably also in his capacity as a man of letters that he, like Latomus and Driedo, was appointed teacher of Charles of Croÿ. When Barlandus dedicated his collection of dialogues to the bishop in 1524, he clearly tried to win him for the humanist cause. He stated that he thought that "no variety of men has deserved better of its fatherland and of the community, than those men who give youth the best moral and literary instruction, on which pursuit I have spent the better part and the very prime of my life now, and I do not refuse any effort, if I could help and contribute with it to the belles-lettres (*bonis literis*), which are already being born again (*renascentibus*) and which raise themselves, completely by the favour of the gods." Barlandus went on by drawing a flattering picture of Croÿ as the only among the young members of the nobility to appreciate purified literature and learned men. The rest of the bishop's aristocratic peers, however, "hates literature, hates schools, hates, in a word, the name of the Muses."[146]

Despite his devotion to the rebirth of letters, though, the author of the *Cronica ducum Brabantiae* shows himself to be a man with a sense of diplomacy.[147] In the field of tension between the advocates of Aquinas and the champions of Cicero, Barlandus manoeuvers adroitly in order to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. As we have seen, Barlandus' allegiance to the humanist movement is betrayed by many passages in the *Cronica*. He adopts the commonplace humanist self-presentation, portraying scholars and patrons as the restorers of lost cultural standards. Among these scholars are humanists such as Erasmus, Agricola, Melanchthon, and Dorpius. In the Louvain context, his support for Erasmus, the humanist around whom the entire discussion revolved, is especially significant. Moreover, he shares the ideal of the prince as a patron of scholarship – a plea which is definitely to be considered an *oratio pro domo*.[148] As to the humanist furtherance of rhetoric, the application of

[145] About Barlandus' humanist vocation, see Nève 1890 194-7; A. Bömer 1899, 127; Daxhelet 1938, 235.

[146] Daxhelet 1938, 294-5: "Equidem fui semper in ea sententia claris prognate Carole, ut putarem nullum genus hominum melius de patria, de republica mereri, quam qui optimis pariter & moribus & literis iuuentutem erudiunt, quo in studio nunc mihi consumpta transactaque est pars aetatis melior, & flos ipse, neque tamen adhuc laborem detracto, si qua iuuare possim & aliquid opis adferre iam renascentibus et erigentibus passim fauore superum bonis literis. ... Caeteri enim oderunt literas, oderunt scholas, oderunt denique Musarum nomen."

[147] For a similar observation, see Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 38.

[148] See also Daxhelet 1938, 114: "Barlandus dévoile une fois de plus son souci d'enseigner au monarques leur devoir de protection à l'égard des lettres et des lettrés. ... c'est comme s'il y voyait une approbation de ses propres idées, un encouragement à continuer ses propres efforts pour le redressement intellectuel de son époque."

classical rhetorical precepts in Barlandus' work clearly testifies to his participation in this project. Finally, I should point to intertextual references to the most classical of Roman poets: Vergil.

This promotion of classical learning is only one side of the picture, however. In this respect, the ample treatment of Dorpius' death is telling. Although Dorpius initiated the anti-Erasmian polemic, he was soon persuaded by Erasmus and More to join the other side.[149] Therefore, he is a somewhat intermediate figure and Barlandus praises him both as a classicizing Latin stylist (*Latinus & elegans, planeque Romanus sermo*) and as an outstanding practitioner of dialectical subtleties (*dialecticorum argutias callebat … subtiliter & accurate disputarit*).[150] Clearly, Barlandus does not show himself altogether hostile to scholasticism. In fact, some passages even betray a rather positive attitude towards the tradition championed by the Louvain theologians. The attention to the foundation of the University of Paris by Charlemagne is an interesting case in point, as in Barlandus' days, the Sorbonne was a major centre of scholasticism and the institutional home of another formidable opponent of Erasmus: the theologian Noël Beda.[151] Moreover, we have seen Barlandus' praise of Aquinas, founding father of scholasticism, and his benevolent words about other scholastic authorities such as Albertus Magnus, Pierre d'Ailly, and Jean Gerson. In particular, the presence of Gerson could be seen as endeavour to forge a diplomatic version of Brabantine history, for Gerson (1363-1429) was a reform-minded scholastic theologian, cited as an authority by both camps in the Louvain controversies.[152]

As regards Luther and Lutheranism, another attempt at an acrobatic feat of negotiation can be identified. On the surface level, Barlandus tries to rebut in advance any charge of Lutheranism. He firmly rebukes Luther and quotes the entire condemnation of Luther by Charles V, the Edict of Worms – a very remarkable move in view of the compendious brevity strived for. But in the meantime, he endorses the anti-clerical criticism that had become a stick to beat Catholicism with for Protestant groups. Moreover, he praises the eloquence of Luther's right-hand man, Philipp Melanchthon, who by 1526 had clearly shown his support for the Reformation in his *Pro M. Luthero oratio* (1520) and his *Loci communes rerum theologicarum* (1521).[153] As regards the medieval past in general, it is striking how little attention Barlandus pays to the religious aspects of history as compared to the *Alder excellenste cronyke*,

[149] For the Dorpius affair, see Rummel 1989, vol. 1, 1-13.
[150] *CBd* f. r3^{r-v}.
[151] *CBd* f. a8^{v}-b1^{r}.
[152] For the role of Gerson's writings in these discussions, see Rummel 1995, 34-9.
[153] Cf. some dispersed observations by Michiel Verweij: Bijsterveld & Verweij (edd.) 2004, 38, 208-9 n. 178, 227 n. 219.

especially at a time when the process of confessionalization began to turn ecclesiastical history into a battlefield between Protestant and Catholic historians.[154] This might also be regarded as a symptom of Barlandus' attempt not to take position in the religious debates all too emphatically.

In the end, it is no coincidence that medieval history turns out to be a suitable laboratory for experiments with the issues central to the strife between humanism and scholasticism. In Chapter One, I have pointed out that discussions about theology and literature – with all the institutional interests involved in them – were deeply implicated in the formation of concepts of the Middle Ages. Such debates may pose challenges for historical representation, and, in turn, historical representation may be an instrument to reflect on solutions by historicizing them. In the course of this process, Barlandus partly succeeded in overturning the binary oppositions rooted so strongly in humanist thought about the Middle Ages: the simplicity of Scripture vs. the hair-splitting of scholasticism, the refinement of classical rhetoric vs. medieval barbarism, humanist learning vs. the ignorance of the Middle Ages.

[154] See §1.4.