

‘Imprimé en la ville marchande et renommée d’Anvers’:

Antwerp Editions of Jean Molinet’s Poetry

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The work of the *rhétoriqueur* Jean Molinet (1435-1507) was not confined to the Netherlands, either thematically or in its distribution. Yet the region looms large in his career, for most of which he was based in Valenciennes (Hainaut) and served as the *indiciaire*, or official historian, of the Valois and Hapsburg Dukes of Burgundy. His imposing body of work includes a chronicle, a number of plays, a moralized prose version of the *Roman de la Rose*, a manual of versification, and a wide range of poetry. In his poetry and chronicle Molinet focuses on events in the Burgundian Netherlands to a greater extent than had George Chastelain, his predecessor as *indiciaire*. Though much of Molinet’s work remained in manuscript form until after his death, various printed editions appeared during his lifetime.¹ Among the posthumous publications are two editions produced in Antwerp by printers whose output covered various languages, notably Dutch, French, and English. Both editions exhibit very significant textual variation from other witnesses; one is a complete reworking of its source. In what follows I explore how these editions respond to changing socio-historical circumstances, and consider the role of their multilingual publishing context in the process of textual transformation. I conclude by reflecting on the role of so-called ‘masterplots’ in the adaptation of topical literature, and on what these cases reveal about the processes of exchange between French- and Dutch-speaking cultural agents in the Burgundian Netherlands.

The texts: ideology and legitimation

¹ J. Devaux, *Jean Molinet, Indiciaire bourguignon* (Paris: Champion, 1996), outlines Molinet’s career and ideological stance. A. Armstrong, *Technique and Technology: Script, Print, and Poetics in France 1470-1550* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 17-90, examines the manuscript and print transmission of Molinet’s poetry. On Chastelain, see E. Doudet, *Poétique de George Chastelain 1415-1475: Un cristal mucié en un coffre* (Paris: Champion, 2005).

The first of the posthumous Antwerp editions is *La Recollection des Merveilleuses Advenues* (Compendium of Extraordinary Things), a verse chronicle begun by Chastelain and continued by Molinet. Published by the prolific Willem Vorsterman, it has been dated to around 1510.² The second, entitled *La Complainte de la Terre Sainte* (The Lament of the Holy Land), was printed in 1532 by Martin Lempereur for the Tournai bookseller Jean de la Forge. A second edition, printed by Vorsterman the following year, is known only from an entry in a nineteenth-century catalogue. Though no author is acknowledged, this piece is a version of Molinet's earliest datable work, *La Complainte de Grèce* (The Lament of Greece), originally composed in 1464 to support Philip the Good's projected crusade.³ An initial outline of the *Recollection* and *Complainte*, as known from other witnesses, will help give the measure of the changes made for the Antwerp editions.⁴

The *Recollection* is much the more straightforward composition. Its most complete version covers a period from 1429 to 1495 in 148 stanzas. The first forty-three of these are ascribed to Chastelain; they end with a stanza in which, apocryphally or otherwise, Chastelain hands the task over to Molinet.⁵ Claude Thiry has observed that the two poets have different approaches to their subject-matter, reflecting their broader socio-cultural attitudes. Most importantly, Chastelain covers events across Europe, and makes relatively few explicit value judgements; Molinet concentrates much more heavily on the Burgundian Netherlands, and often includes polemical or propagandist comments.⁶ Neither author, however, supplies much concrete historical detail: their accounts are brief and heavily allusive, apparently prompting readers to remember what they

² This dating is proposed in *French Vernacular Books: Books published in the French Language before 1601*, ed. by A. Pettegree, M. Walsby, and A. Wilkinson, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2007), FB 12907.

³ *Ibid.*, FB 38094. For Vorsterman's second edition (FB 38095), see *Catalogue de livres et manuscrits rares et précieux, ayant formé la bibliothèque de feu M. Rymenans, en son vivant amateur distingué à Malines* (Ghent: Hoste, 1842), p. 182 (no. 2980).

⁴ For fuller details of the textual traditions outlined below, and the formal and linguistic effects of reworking, see A. Armstrong, 'Dead Man Walking: Remaniements and Recontextualisations of Jean Molinet's Occasional Writing', in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland*, ed. by J. Britnell and R. Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 80-98.

⁵ This version is edited in *Les Faictz et Dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. by N. Dupire, 3 vols (Paris: SATF, 1936-39), I, pp. 284-334. References are supplied in the text.

⁶ Cl. Thiry, 'Le vieux renard et le jeune loup: l'évolution interne de la *Recollection des merveilleuses advenues*.' *Le Moyen Âge*, 90 (1984), 455-85.

already know. The following stanza – whose opening expression, *j'ay veu* (I saw), introduces the vast majority of stanzas in the *Recollection* – exemplifies the poem's characteristic style:

J'ay veu roy d'Angleterre
Amener son grand ost,
Pour la franchoise terre
Conquester brief et tost;
Le roy, voiant l'affaire,
Si bon vin luy donna
Que l'autre sans riens faire,
Content, s'en retourna (vv. 457-64).

(I've seen an English king come over, with his great army, to conquer French territory quickly and smartly. Seeing this, the king gave him such good wine that he went home happily and didn't do a thing.)

Molinet is referring to a large shipment of wine that Louis XI sent to Edward IV of England in 1475, in advance of the peace talks that led to the Treaty of Picquigny; but unless readers already know of this event, his account is difficult to understand.⁷ The *Recollection* is known to have existed in three manuscripts, of which two are now destroyed; the third transmits Chastelain's portion alone. A version was also printed in the *Faictz et Dictz*, a posthumous edition of Molinet's collected poetry that went through three editions in Paris between 1531 and 1540.⁸

⁷ On this technique, see also A. Armstrong and S. Kay, with the participation of R. Dixon, M. Griffin, S. Huot, F. Nicholson and F. Sinclair. *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the 'Rose' to the 'Rhétoriciens'* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 58-59.

⁸ For the *Recollection's* presentation in the *Faictz et Dictz*, see also A. Armstrong, 'Cosmetic surgery on Gaul: the printed reception of Burgundian writing in France before 1550', in *Print and Power in France and England*, ed. by D. Adams and A. Armstrong (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 13-26 (pp. 19-22).

The *Complainte de Grèce*, in its original version, is a *prosimetrum* allegory whose protagonists are three queens: France, England, and Greece. Greece is enslaved to a seven-headed dragon, and appeals to Western rulers to come to her rescue. France claims that a prophecy by one of the ancient Sibyls refers to Greece's predicament. According to the Sibyl, a monster will come out of the East; two planets will resist it, and eventually a lion will overcome it. France interprets the dragon as the Turks, and the planets as Mercury and Mars, which stand for the Church and the nobility. The lion represents Philip the Good, in a heraldic image that was to become commonplace in Burgundian occasional writing: the lion appears on the arms of various provinces governed by Philip.⁹ Only one manuscript contains this first version of the *Complainte*; most transmit only the verse sections, while other manuscript and print witnesses have been updated to take account of more recent historical events.¹⁰

These two compositions use broadly similar techniques to convey their ideological content, techniques that can be illuminated through the work of Jean-François Lyotard. In *La Condition postmoderne* Lyotard outlines various traditional ways in which cultures have legitimated knowledge, i.e. enabled the recipients of a discourse not only to know a fact or a value, but to *know* that they know it. One of these models of legitimation involves accompanying a narrative with an explicit appeal to understand its significance (e.g. 'the moral of this story is...').¹¹ The *Recollection* and *Complainte de Grèce* both employ this model, which we might call 'exhortative'. In the *Recollection*, the opening two stanzas prompt a particular kind of response:

Qui voeult ouyr merveilles

Estranges a compter,

Je sçay les nonpareilles

⁹ Doudet, pp. 514-16, discusses the lion image.

¹⁰ The initial redaction (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 3521, fols 186^r-193^r), is edited in *Faictz et Dictz*, I, pp. 9-26.

¹¹ J.-F. Lyotard, *La Condition postmoderne* (Paris: Minuit, 1979). For the ways in which Lyotard's work offers perspectives on late-medieval didactic poetry, see Armstrong and Kay, pp. 19-20, 202-3.

Que homme sçaroit chanter
Et toutes advenues
Depuis longtemps en cha,
Je les ay retenues
Et sçay comment il va.

Les unes sont piteuses
Et pour gens esbahir
Et les aultres doubteuses
De meschief advenir;
Les tierces sont estranges
Et passent sens humain,
Aucunes en loenges,
Aultres par aultre main (vv. 1-16).

(If you want to hear marvels, amazing to relate, I know some the like of which you could never tell. They all took place a long time ago. I've remembered them, and I know what they're all about. Some of them are pitiful, apt to move people; others are frightening, and involve cases of misfortune. Still others are extraordinary and beyond human understanding – some are praiseworthy, others are of another kind.)

Readers subsequently find that the events are predominantly recent – especially in Molinet's portion – and indeed recounted in ways that appeal to their own memories. Hence the claim that these 'marvels' occurred 'Depuis longtemps en cha' (v. 6) proves rather misleading. More pertinent is the invitation to react to the various events with amazement, fear, or admiration.¹²

¹² Thiry, pp. 456-57.

When the recency of the events is taken into account, it becomes clear that the stanzas gloss the historical accounts as evidence that the audience lives in exciting times. In the *Complainte de Grèce*, by contrast, exhortative legitimation takes the form of allegoresis. France invites Greece (and hence the wider audience) to relate the ancient prophecy to the present day, urging acceptance of her interpretations through a barrage of rhetorical questions: ‘O Grece, ma chiere amie, qui sera celle horrible beste venant des parties d’Orient? N’est ce mie ce tres furieux dragon, le Turc infidelle?’ (p. 17, ll. 45-47) (O Greece, my dear friend, what will be this terrifying beast from the Eastern lands? Is it not that most ferocious dragon, the infidel Turk?). This stokes the crusading enthusiasm of Burgundian courtly élites, Molinet’s original audience, by making Philip the Good’s anti-Turkish venture seem both righteous and destined to be successful.¹³

The Antwerp *Recollection*

The techniques of legitimation outlined above undergo some fascinating changes in the Antwerp editions. In the *Recollection*, Molinet is much more prominent than Chastelain in Vorsterman’s paratext. Both authors are named on the title-page, but only the later poet is mentioned in the colophon: ‘Cy finent les merueilleuses avenues jusqu’au tamps presens, recueillies par maistre Jehan Molinet et imprimé en la ville marchande et renommée d’Anvers, hors la porte de la chambre au lycorne d’or, de par moy, Guillume Vorsterman’ (fol. E6^v) (Here end the extraordinary events up to the present day, collected by Master Jean Molinet and printed in the famous commercial city of Antwerp, outside the Kammerpoort at the sign of the golden unicorn, by me, Willem Vorsterman).¹⁴ Moreover, the order of stanzas is very different from that of other versions. Chastelain’s valedictory stanza appears after only twelve stanzas; thirty of Chastelain’s

¹³ On the *Complainte*’s public, see Devaux, *Jean Molinet*, pp. 588-90; idem, ‘Le *Saint voyage de Turquie* : croisade et propagande à la cour de Philippe le Bon (1463-1464)’, in “‘À l’heure encore de mon escrire”’: aspects de la littérature de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire’, *Les Lettres romanes*, hors série (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, 1997), pp. 53-70 (pp. 60, 63-67).

¹⁴ Punctuation, capitalization, and accentuation in quotations from sixteenth-century editions have been normalized in accordance with standard editorial practice.

stanzas appear in Molinet's portion, so that Molinet is credited with over 90 percent of the poem. Whether this redistribution was Vorsterman's own initiative or reflects a lost source, its effects are very significant. Identifying the two poets' thematic preferences, Thiry establishes that ten of Chastelain's forty-three stanzas are concerned with violent deaths; eight with military action, including urban revolts; eight with political, diplomatic, or dynastic issues; and three with natural wonders.¹⁵ In Vorsterman's edition, *all* Chastelain's stanzas on violent death and military action, and two of those on natural wonders, have been displaced to Molinet's portion.¹⁶ Molinet devotes a much higher proportion of his own stanzas to these themes in any case, so this displacement accentuates the contrast between his contribution and Chastelain's. Conversely, Molinet's expanded portion includes just four of Chastelain's eight stanzas on political, diplomatic, or dynastic subjects, themes in which Molinet had invested less than his predecessor. Only four of Chastelain's stanzas concern the Burgundian Netherlands; three of these are moved to Molinet's portion in the Vorsterman edition, making the region almost imperceptible in the earlier poet's contribution.¹⁷ Eight stanzas from Molinet's portion are absent from Vorsterman's text; these are mostly devoted to non-Netherlandish material and small-scale human interest stories. A single stanza, about a monstrous birth in Bruges, appears in the Antwerp edition but is not attested in other witnesses.¹⁸ Hence, in various ways, Vorsterman's edition gives the *Recollection* a stronger regional flavour. Firstly, its internal proportions and paratextual attributions privilege the poet whose name was better known to the region's book-buying public: Molinet had died only a few years previously, and more of his work than Chastelain's had already been printed in the Netherlands (often with his authorship explicitly indicated).¹⁹ Secondly, the reordering of stanzas accentuates the contrast between the poets. Molinet now practically monopolizes certain themes, notably feats of arms and the ducal territories. Thirdly, and consequently, the *Recollection's*

¹⁵ For these and the other figures cited in this paragraph, see Thiry, pp. 460-65.

¹⁶ The non-displaced stanza is numbered 40 in *Faictz et Dictz*.

¹⁷ The displaced stanzas in these categories are numbered 22-23, 27-28, 34-35, and 39 in *Faictz et Dictz*.

¹⁸ The Molinet stanzas omitted are numbered 54, 72, 110-11, 138, 141, and 147-48 in *Faictz et Dictz*. The additional stanza (vv. 865-72) is unnumbered.

¹⁹ On early Netherlandish editions of these authors' work, see Armstrong, *Technique and Technology*, pp. 71-82; idem, 'Cosmetic surgery', p. 14.

centre of gravity shifts. In Vorsterman's hands it is no longer a memory-jogger for sensation-seekers; rather, it becomes a chronicle of conflict in the Burgundian Netherlands. Its reshaping is hardly surprising: the region had been a battleground during much of Molinet's career as *indiciaire*, and was always likely to see further hostilities. In 1513, for instance, Henry VIII and Emperor Maximilian would besiege the town of Théroouanne and rout a French army at the Battle of the Spurs, on almost the same spot at which the young Maximilian had defeated a French force in 1479.²⁰

What impact did Antwerp's polyglot publishing culture have on the transformation of the *Recollection*? Vorsterman is almost a microcosm of that culture: he printed in a variety of languages over a career that lasted from around 1504 to 1543. Around 60% of his publications were in Dutch, but he also produced texts in French, Latin, English, Spanish, even Danish. He was very much an entrepreneur rather than a specialist publisher: his output covers a wide range of genres, and includes numerous works already proven to be commercial successes.²¹ This professional profile suggests that certain widely-held assumptions about vernacular printing in the Netherlands should be revised. Modern historians have sometimes concluded that when Dutch-speaking printers published work in French, they were essentially developing sidelines, or marketing experiments, aimed at a courtly élite.²² Such views are based on an overly binarized image of society – the ducal entourage had no monopoly on literate French-speakers in the region – and certainly do not seem tenable in the case of Vorsterman's *Recollection*. Its title-page indicates that the work was printed 'Avec grace et privilege' (by permission and with a privilege):

²⁰ On the Battle of the Spurs, see S. Gunn, D. Grummitt, and H. Cools, *War, State, and Society in England and the Netherlands 1477-1559* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 251. Molinet alludes to the 1479 engagement in the *Recollection* (vv. 665-72).

²¹ See Y. G. Vermeulen, *Tot profijt en genoegen: motivering en productie van nederlandsstalige gedrukte teksten 1477-1540* (Groningen: Wouters-Noordhoff/Forsten, 1986), pp. 128-53; R. Schlusemann, 'De uitwisseling van houtsneden tussen Willem Vorsterman en Jan van Doesborch', *Queeste*, 1 (1994), 156-73; eadem, 'Buchmarkt in Antwerpen am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Laienlektüre und Buchmarkt im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by Th. Kock and R. Schlusemann, Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift: Mediävistische Beiträge, 5 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 33-39; H. Meeus, 'Printing Vernacular Translations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in: *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64 (2014), 108-37 (113).

²² See, for instance, H. Pleij, *De wereld volgens Thomas van der Noot, boekdrukker en uitgever te Brussel in het eerste kwart van de zestiende eeuw* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1982), p. 20.

in other words Vorsterman had obtained a temporary monopoly on printing, implying that the book was a sound commercial proposition that was worth protecting from competition. This can only mean that he anticipated a substantial regional Francophone public, far beyond court circles. At the same time, the edition's presentation is strongly Netherlandish in flavour. Its *textura* typeface was common for vernacular printing in the region, in French as well as Dutch, but differed from the *bâtarde* typically used in France.²³ More specifically, the *Recollection's* title takes on a particular significance when read through the conventions of Dutch vernacular printing. The key term *merveilleuses* (extraordinary) is a close equivalent of two Middle Dutch terms that commonly appeared in the titles of vernacular editions, often in conjunction: *wonderlijc* and *vreemt*. As Yves Vermeulen has explained, these terms were widely used to describe not only prose romances and folktales, but also prognostications and, significantly, history books. When they appear together, they seem to appeal to a public taste for the sensational.²⁴ The cross-linguistic resonance of the *Recollection's* title thus draws particular attention to its focus on the outrageous and the startling.²⁵ But French and Dutch resonate even more strikingly in the edition's colophon: the reference to 'la ville marchande et renommée d'Anvers' (the famous commercial city of Antwerp) derives from an expression that the city's printers very often used in their Dutch-

²³ *Textura* is used, for instance, in the three Valenciennes editions of Jean Molinet's poetry, and in Vorsterman's French-and Dutch-language editions of Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Pompe funérale des obseques du feu roy dom Phelippes*. See Armstrong, *Technique and Technology*, pp. 74-77, 138-40; J. Lemaire de Belges, *Chronique de 1507*, ed. by A. Schoysman and J.-M. Cauchies, Collection des Anciens auteurs belges, in-8°, nouvelle série, 10 (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 2001), p.33). On the use of different typefaces in the region, see also Vermeulen, pp. 166-67; J. A. A. M. Biemans, 'Handschrift en druk in de Nederlanden rond 1500', in *Geschreven en gedrukt: boekproductie van handschrift naar druk in de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Moderne Tijd*, ed. by H. Pleij and J. Reynaert (Ghent: Academia Press, 2004), pp. 19-46 (p. 30).

²⁴ See Vermeulen, pp. 174-76. The Vorsterman edition may in fact be the earliest known witness of Molinet's portion, and the first to use the title *La Recollection des Merveilleuses Advenues*. Of the other witnesses where this title occurs, the *Faictz et Dictz* dates from 1531. Tournai, Bibliothèque communale, ms. 137 was copied in 1562: see P. Faider and P. Van Sint Jan, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Belgique, VI: Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Tournai (Bibliothèques de la Ville et Séminaire)* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1950), pp. 169-71. Tournai, Bibliothèque communale, ms. 105 may have predated Vorsterman's edition, but relative dating cannot be confirmed: see Armstrong, *Technique and Technology*, p. 23. The single manuscript to contain Chastelain's portion alone is also the only witness where the piece bears another title: this is Brussels, KBR, ms. 7254-63, where the poem is entitled *Les Croniques abregies faites par Jorge l'Aventurier* (*Faictz et Dictz*, III, p. 989).

²⁵ The poem itself bears no more traces of Dutch linguistic influence in this edition than in any other witness. Its editor notes that the Antwerp edition provides the best readings in more than twenty lines: N. Dupire, *Étude critique des manuscrits et éditions des poésies de Jean Molinet* (Paris: Droz, 1932), pp. 124-25. This suggests that Vorsterman's copy-text was reliable, and that he took seriously the linguistic quality of his French-language production.

language publications: *die vermaerde coopstat van Antwerpen*.²⁶ As a result, the edition bears the marks of the region that the poem has come to celebrate: distinct from France, and not exclusively Francophone. All this means that the *Recollection*'s exhortative legitimation now operates in a different dimension. The opening stanzas gloss the historical episodes for a regional public, as evidence that they live not in exciting *times*, but in an exciting *place*.

The Antwerp *Complaincte*

Printed a generation after the *Recollection*, the *Complaincte de la Terre Sainte* reworks Molinet's *Complainte de Grèce* to take account of new Turkish threats to Christendom. All the speeches in the prose sections are delivered by two new voices: the appeal for help is now delivered by the Holy Land and other regions under Ottoman rule; the Sibylline prophecy is interpreted by 'ung procureur fiscal des royaumes et provinces occidentales' (fol. B1^v) (a prosecutor of the Western kingdoms and provinces), in other words a representative of Emperor Charles V.²⁷ The prophecy's interpretation is updated to make Charles the current hope of Christendom, but the new glosses lack coherence. Besides representing the Church and the nobility, Mercury and Mars now have more individual referents: 'Ou aultrement Mercure ce prince de beau parler nostre saint pere le Pape, et Mars le plus que renommé nostre sire l'empereur Charles cinquiesme de ce nom' (Alternatively, Mercury [represents] this prince of fine speech, our holy father the Pope, and Mars our lord, surpassing all renown, Emperor Charles V) (fol. B3^v). But Charles is also symbolized by the lion who, according to the Sibyl, will defeat the dragon: 'N'est ce plus oultre ce tresfort aigle leonicque de qui Seville dict ainsy: *Porro leo fortissimus?* Consequamment ce tresfort lion rugira' (Is he not, moreover, that most mighty leonine eagle mentioned as follows by the

²⁶ See H. Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Stads cultuur in de late Middeleeuwen*, 2nd edn (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1998), p. 312; Meeus, p. 109. The formulation appears, for example, in the colophon of *Een warachtighe historie van broeder Russche* (Antwerp: Adriaen van Berghen, [c.1520]); this edition is numbered 1091 in W. Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 8 parts in 3 vols ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1923-71).

²⁷ A *procureur fiscal* normally represented the sovereign authority: see, for instance, B. Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon 1363-1477* (Paris: Perrin, 1999), p. 247.

Sibyl: “*Porro leo fortissimus*: then the most mighty lion will roar”?) (ibid.). Thus two distinct entities, which each have their own role in the prophecy, have an identical referent in Charles. Confusion is compounded by the obvious mismatch between the Sibyl’s lion and the ‘aigle leonique’ to which Charles is compared. This hybrid beast is admittedly a powerful heraldic image, expressing both Charles’s role as Emperor and his descent from the house of Burgundy.²⁸ As a means of linking Charles to the prophecy, however, it is distinctly tenuous. Hence legitimation undermines itself, as Lyotard suggests it is apt to do. The interpretation does not fit adequately with the prophecy: a gap opens up between the story and its ostensible moral.

However, further textual changes bring a compensatory clarity. Two blocks of verse have been added to the original *Complainte*: five stanzas are inserted into the Holy Land’s appeal, and three into the *procureur*’s interpretation of the prophecy. The latter insertion briefly narrates the unsuccessful Turkish siege of Vienna in 1529:

Devant Vienne, en la Duché d’Austrice,
A le Grand Turc depuis ung peu de temps
Mis son effort, pensant au sacrifice
De la loy faulse et plaine de malice
Mectre Chrestiens dedens la ville estans (fol. B2^r).

(Recently the Grand Turk laboured with all his might outside Vienna, in the duchy of Austria, intending to sacrifice its Christian inhabitants according to his false, wicked law.)

²⁸ On the literary use of heraldic imagery in praise of Charles, see Gunn, Grummitt, and Cools, p. 314. Charles’s Burgundian affiliations and role as defender of Christendom were often underlined in occasional writing from the region: see B.-O. Dozo, ‘Représentations de la figure de Charles Quint: des espoirs suscités aux traces dans une chronique française de la fin de sa vie. Comparaison de trois représentations: Molinet, Ladam, Le Blond’, *Le Moyen Français*, 57-58 (2005), 123-38. The analysis above draws on and develops that in Armstrong, ‘Dead Man Walking’, pp. 91-92.

One of the stanzas in the earlier insertion is devoted to an even more recent event, the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece held at Tournai in December 1531. The Holy Land apostrophizes Charles V, who had selected Tournai as the venue for the event:

Dedens Tournay, ta cité magnifique,
Par ton sçavoir a[s] faictz la diligence
De ton toyson donner tresautenticque
En grand amour, comme vray catholicque (fol. A4^r).

(In your wisdom and great love you have taken the trouble to bestow your most illustrious fleece in your magnificent city of Tournai, as a true Catholic.²⁹)

These additions both provide factual information and encourage readers to admire the achievements of Charles and of Vienna's defenders. As such they offer a different model of legitimation: a model that we might call 'incarnational', in which exemplary figures or events are depicted (as in traditional epic poetry). In the reworked *Complaincte* it is this technique, rather than the awkward exegeses of the *procureur fiscal*, that most effectively validates the narrative's ideological meaning.

But the shift from exhortative to incarnational legitimation is not the only issue at stake in the *Complaincte*. The reference to Tournai has a particular significance, for the *Complaincte* was printed for a bookseller in that city. Tournai had a recent past as contested ground: traditionally a French enclave, and often a military and political thorn in the flesh of the surrounding southern Netherlands, it had been occupied by English forces for six years and only passed to imperial rule

²⁹ The expression 'ton toyson donner' alludes to the admission of twenty-four new members to the Order. These are listed in I. de Lannoy, *Le Chapitre de l'ordre de la Toison d'or tenu à Tournai en 1531*, Tournai – Art et histoire, 15 (Tournai: Archives du Chapitre Cathédral; Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, 2000), pp. 70-71.

in 1521.³⁰ Its integration into the Hapsburg body politic was still fragile: a pro-French coup had been planned in 1527 but thwarted, and not until the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529 did the French crown definitively renounce claims to the city.³¹ Indeed, Charles's decision to hold the Chapter of the Golden Fleece in Tournai was partly motivated by the necessity of integrating it into the Empire, securing his authority and defining his image for his relatively new subjects while simultaneously honouring their city.³² This, then, was the market for the reworked *Complaincte*: a piece that glorifies the Empire, but also reminds its public that Tournai has a significant part to play within that Empire. Tournai and Vienna are in fact the only cities to be mentioned in the *Complaincte*, so that a flattering and politically useful connection suggests itself between these eastern and western outposts of empire: the Tournai Chapter celebrates the very ethos of Christian chivalry that had been displayed in defence of Vienna.

It is impossible to establish whether the *Complaincte's* *remaniement* and publication were some kind of official commission to promote a sense of imperial belonging among Tournai's literati, or whether Jean de la Forge simply spotted a commercial opportunity. Very little is known about La Forge – this edition is one of only two with which he is associated – though he does seem to have occupied a unique position in his city's cultural life. At this point he is the only active bookseller, or at least the only one to have left a documentary trace, in a city that would see no actual printing for another half-century.³³ The *remanieur* himself is an equally shadowy figure: in a short preface he describes himself simply as a lover of literature who worked in various

³⁰ On Tournai as a French outpost, see G. Small, 'Centre and Periphery in Late Medieval France: Tournai, 1384–1477', in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. by Christopher Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 145–74. The classic study of the English occupation is C. G. Cruickshank, *The English Occupation of Tournai 1513–1519* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). The most detailed near-contemporary account of Tournai's absorption within the Empire is *Le Journal d'un bourgeois de Tournai: le second livre des chroniques de Pasquier de le Barre (1500–1565)*, ed. by G. Moreau (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1975), pp. 108–201.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 246–56, recounts the 1527 plot. On the Treaty of Cambrai, see D. Potter, *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy 1470–1560* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 272–73.

³² De Lannoy, pp. 21–22, 65–67.

³³ For details of Jean de la Forge's activity, and printing and the book trade in Tournai during the sixteenth century, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), pp. 117, 120, 265. The other publication associated with La Forge, also printed in Antwerp, dates from over twenty years later: see É. Desmazières, *Bibliographie tournaisienne: recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs et des libraires de Tournai* (Tournai: Casterman, 1882), p. 20.

trades during his youth (fol. A1^v). He gives the misleading impression that he has composed the *Complaincte* on the basis of work by a variety of poets:

a faict à son semblant comme font les mouches faisant le miel, allant sur plusieurs fleurs,
mais font leurs labeurs sur celles qui leur sont propices. Ainsi a faict ledict acteur,
empruntant des aulcuns orateurs aulcuns coupletz servantz à son œuvre (ibid.).

(He considers himself to have acted like bees making honey, visiting many flowers but doing their work on the suitable ones. This author has composed in the same way, borrowing stanzas that are useful for his work from various orators.)

In fact the work is essentially based on Molinet's composition alone; though the absence of Molinet's name from Martin Lempereur's edition is perhaps understandable in view of its target market.³⁴ The *remanieur* claims that his undertaking expresses his admiration for a figure who, once again, is identified in the vaguest terms: 'pour et à l'honneur d'ung personage pour lequel, se en luy estoit, en plusgrande chose se vouldroit employer' (ibid.) (for and in honour of someone for whom, if he had the ability, he would like to apply himself to greater things). Yet, despite these gaps in our knowledge, it is clear that the *Complaincte* edition is orientated towards a very specific urban public; a public that it interpellates quite differently from Molinet's courtly audience of the 1460s. The *Complainte de Grece* was an example of what Jacques Ellul has called *propagande d'agitation* (agitation propaganda): a discourse that attempts to mobilize people towards achieving a new goal, in this instance the reconquest of Greece.³⁵ That discourse is still present in the *Complaincte de la Terre Sainte*, but something else is at work; not only in the reference to the

³⁴ No friend of Tournai in his lifetime, Molinet had fulminated against the city more than once, and elicited the ire of the Tournai poet Jean Nicolai. See Devaux, *Jean Molinet*, pp. 317-20, 467-68; A. Armstrong, *The Virtuoso Circle: Competition, Collaboration, and Complexity in Late Medieval French Poetry* (Tempe AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 135-51.

³⁵ J. Ellul, *Propagandes* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1962), pp. 84-88.

Chapter of the Golden Fleece and the implicit affiliation between Tournai and Vienna, but also on the title-page, framed by stock images of saints that reflect traditional forms of piety in a city where Lutheranism had begun to gain followers.³⁶ The citizens of Tournai are positioned as Charles's subjects, and as loyal Catholics. In Ellul's terms, this is a different kind of propaganda: *propagande d'intégration* (integration propaganda), which builds solidarity among its audience.³⁷ In short, a joint venture between an Antwerp printer and a Tournai bookseller is performing the work of state formation.

Martin Lempereur's edition of the *Complaincte* is less obviously Netherlandish than Vorsterman's *Recollection*. It is printed in a *bâtarde* type 'd'esprit très français' (very French in character), giving the text an appearance with which Tournai's reading public would be thoroughly familiar.³⁸ Moreover, although cross-cultural exchange informs Lempereur's career – in his relocation to a Dutch-speaking city, his frequent publication of translations, and his production of work in Dutch, French, and English alongside the inevitable Latin – the *Complaincte* is the product of a commercial arrangement between partners who were both native speakers of French.³⁹ At the same time, the *Complaincte*'s publication draws together two *urban communities* whose principal languages are different; and it does so very visibly, on the title-page and in the colophon: 'Imprimé en Anvers par Martin Lempereur, pour Jean de la Forge, demourant à Tournay devant la court de l'evesque' (fols A1^r, B4^v) (Printed in Antwerp by Merten de Keyser, for Jean de la Forge, whose shop is in Tournai opposite the bishop's court). This publicly advertised relationship underlines what is already apparent from the processes of reworking: the transformation of Molinet's *Complainte* is prompted not just by changing times, but also by

³⁶ The title-page is reproduced in É. Picot, *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, 5 vols (Paris: Morgand, 1884-1920), IV, p. 141. The first execution of a Lutheran in Tournai had taken place in 1528: *Journal d'un bourgeois de Tournai*, p. 263. Martin Lempereur, the *Complaincte*'s printer, had moderate evangelical sympathies that had prompted him to relocate from Paris to Antwerp: see J.-F. Gilmont, 'La Production typographique de Martin Lempereur (Anvers, 1525-1536)', in *Le Livre évangélique en français avant Calvin: études originales, publications d'inédits, catalogues d'éditions anciennes*, ed. by J.-F. Gilmont and W. Kemp, *Nugæ humanisticae sub signo Erasmi*, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 115-29 (pp. 117-18).

³⁷ Ellul, pp. 88-93.

³⁸ Gilmont, p. 117.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119, notes that 52% of Lempereur's production (calculated on the basis of printed sheets rather than titles) was in Latin, as against 27% in French, 11% in Dutch, and 10% in English.

changing places. While Vorsterman's reorganized *Recollection* exhibited a generalized affinity with the region, the *Complainte de la Terre Sainte* has a much more precise and explicit affiliation with a particular city. Not that the text's appeal was restricted to that urban context: it is difficult to imagine that a single city would constitute a large enough market both for the Lempereur/La Forge edition and for the edition that Vorsterman brought out a year later. Indeed, Vorsterman's decision confirms not only that the Antwerp/Tournai joint venture had been commercially successful, but also that potential demand was by no means exhausted: Vorsterman knew a saleable proposition when he saw one. We should, therefore, probably assume that the 1533 *Complainte* was directed at a broader regional public, quite possibly including Tournai but not at all limited to it; after all, other cities in the southern Netherlands needed to be persuaded that the new addition to the Empire could be relied on.⁴⁰ Taking all these factors into consideration, the multilingual context of Martin Lempereur's press is subordinate to more 'site-specific' considerations as an influence on the *Complainte's* reworking. But the links between communities, between Antwerp and Tournai, are not simply contingencies of publishing economics. Rather, the formulations on the title-page and colophon take on a thematic value, and complement the other elements through which the *Complainte* integrates Tournai to its host state.⁴¹

Conclusions: Masterplots and cultural exchange

The Antwerp editions of the *Recollection* and *Complainte* raise two larger questions that merit some reflection. The first of these concerns the role played by 'masterplots' in the adaptation of topical literature. Coined by H. Porter Abbott, the term 'masterplot' designates a familiar narrative schema that bears a strong ideological charge, through which a story can tap into its audience's

⁴⁰ On tensions between cities in the region in general, and between Ghent and Tournai in particular, see Gunn, Grummitt, and Cools, pp. 209, 315; *Journal d'un bourgeois de Tournai*, pp. 206-12.

⁴¹ Commercial relations between Antwerp and Tournai had also been relevant to the festivities surrounding the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Some of the materials for Charles's ceremonial entry into Tournai had been bought from Antwerp: *ibid.*, p. 268 n. 5.

desires or fears.⁴² In the *Recollection*, beyond the particular events that Chastelain and Molinet recount, there is very little narrativity: the series of micro-narratives is not bound together in ways that clearly delineate an overall story⁴³. The *Complaincte*, however, manifests two structures that might be called masterplots. One is a scenario of oppression, which prompts an appeal to a potential liberator. This remains the same from the *Complainte de Grece* to the *Complaincte de la Terre Sainte*, though some of the roles are filled by different agents: Greece gives way to the Holy Land and other regions, and Philip the Good to Charles V. The second masterplot is a discursive sequence, in which a lament is answered by a consolation. Deriving primarily from Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, this sequence enjoyed widespread currency in medieval literary culture, and was adopted in a wide range of late medieval French narrative poems that responded to the Boethian model.⁴⁴ As Molinet's narrative is reshaped, the lament and consolation take on new elements, most obviously in the additional stanzas, but the basic sequence remains intact. It is easy to explain the resilience of such masterplots: they are not only powerful and replicable, but also easily recognizable. Indeed, this is why texts that manifest clear masterplots lend themselves to adaptation; the underlying structures are visible enough for a *remanieur* to see that they can be filled up with new content. Masterplots, then, both signal and facilitate the adaptability of a narrative. Wider-ranging research on the literary and publishing culture of the southern Netherlands in this period might seek to establish which particular plots are most powerful and influential; which are most attractive to scribes, printers, and *remanieurs*; and why.

The second general question concerns relationships between French- and Dutch-speakers in the region, in particular the exchanges between cultural agents: in the literary field this category includes patrons, translators, and book producers of all kinds, as well as authors. Research into the region's literary history has tended to assume that the two languages follow essentially

⁴² H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 24-29, 236.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25, outlines the notion of narrativity.

⁴⁴ See *The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by C. E. Léglu and S. J. Milner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Armstrong and Kay, pp. 89-96.

independent paths, with authors drawing on influences from their own language community; addressing a public that lies squarely within that community; and engaging with the parallel tradition only in highly specific ways, for instance when Dutch-language authors translate French texts.⁴⁵ Yet if we venture outside a traditional definition of authorship, and consider cultural agents in the broader sense, the cross-linguistic interactions suddenly appear much more frequent and diverse. Scholars have begun to undertake valuable work in this field.⁴⁶ Similarly, modern translation theory has encouraged us to consider the ways in which translation is bound up with ideology and cultural capital.⁴⁷ From this perspective, translation from French into Dutch is emphatically not a one-way process. Translators often significantly recast their sources, building on them in assertive ways: thus when Colijn Caillieu composes his *Dal sonder wederkeeren* on the basis of Amé de Montgesoie's *Pas de la mort*, he raises the poem to a higher level of formal and narrative complexity by adding an allegorical dream framework and adopting a longer stanzaic form.⁴⁸ Cultural activities of this kind suggest that it is useful to consider the southern Netherlands as a 'contact zone', to use a term coined by the postcolonial Hispanist Mary Louise

⁴⁵ See, for example, S.A.P.J. Iansen, *Verkenningen in Matthijs Casteleins 'Const van Rhetoriken'* (Assen : Van Gorcum, 1971), pp. 85-161; Cl. Lemaire, 'La Langue néerlandaise sous Charles le Téméraire et la littérature néerlandaise d'inspiration bourguignonne', in *Charles le Téméraire: Exposition organisée à l'occasion du cinquième centenaire de sa mort*, ed. by P. Cockshaw, Cl. Lemaire, and A. Rouzet (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 1977), pp. 20-33; D. Coigneau, 'Het Testament vande Oorloghe (1607)', in *Cultuurhistorische Caleidoscoop: Aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. Willy L. Braekman*, ed. by Ch. De Backer (Ghent: Uitgeverij Stichting Mens en Cultuur, 1992), pp. 103-27 (pp. 118-20); idem, 'De Const van Rhetoriken: Drama and Delivery', in *Rhetoric – Rhétoriciens – Rederijkers*, ed. by J. Koopmans, M.A. Meadow, K. Meerhoff, and M. Spies (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), pp. 123-40; S. Raue, 'Een nauwsluitend keurs: aard en betekenis van *Den triumphe ende't palleersel van den vrouwen* (1514)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 79-122; W. Waterschoot, 'Luc D'Heere, peintre et traducteur de Clément Marot', in *Première poésie française de la Renaissance: Autour des Puy's poétiques normands*, ed. by J.-Cl. Arnould and Th. Mantovani (Paris: Champion, 2003), pp. 477-88.

⁴⁶ Studies include J. Oosterman, 'Tussen twee wateren zwem ik: Anthonis de Roovere tussen rederijkers en rhétoriciens', *Jaarboek De Fonteyne*, 49-50 (1999-2000), 11-29; D. Coigneau, 'Les Concours de "referain": une introduction à la rhétorique néerlandaise', in *Première poésie française de la Renaissance*, ed. Arnould and Mantovani, pp. 489-503; M. Spies, 'L'Universalité et l'originalité des poètes flamands d'après Matthijs de Castelein', in *Première poésie française de la Renaissance*, ed. Arnould and Mantovani, pp. 505-17; G. Small, 'When Indiciaires Meet Rederijkers: A Contribution to the History of the Burgundian "Theatre State"', in *Stad van koopmanschap en vede: Literatuur in Brugge tussen Middeleeuwen en Rederijkerstijd*, ed. by J. Oosterman (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 133-61.

⁴⁷ See especially A. Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); L. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); G. Sapiro, 'Translation and the Field of Publishing: A Commentary on Pierre Bourdieu's "A Conservative Revolution in Publishing"', *Translation Studies*, 1 (2008), 154-66

⁴⁸ *Colijn Caillieu's Dal sonder wederkeeren of Pas der doot*, ed. P. de Keyser, Universiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 73 (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1936), includes both the French and the Dutch poems. See A. Armstrong, 'Translating Poetic Capital in 15th-Century Brussels: from Amé de Montgesoie's *Pas de la Mort* to Colijn Caillieu's *Dal sonder Wederkeeren*', *Queeste*, 22 (2015), in press.

Pratt: a space where cultures interact to generate new expressive products, rather than forming discrete linguistically-bounded communities.⁴⁹ In the printed *Recollection* and *Complaincte*, it is in ways specific to this contact zone that explicit and implicit ideology are legitimated in new ways. Vorsterman, a primarily Dutch-language printer, takes French-language publishing very seriously and presents French material in ways that are both materially and linguistically influenced by Dutch practices. The Lempereur/La Forge partnership is closely bound up with cross-regional integration, and gives thematic significance to a commercial relationship between Antwerp and Tournai. Textual transformations, then, both reflect and stimulate larger processes of cultural exchange.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ M. L. Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession* (1991), 33-40.

⁵⁰ This study derives from research undertaken for the project 'Transcultural Critical Editing: Vernacular Poetry in the Burgundian Netherlands, 1450-1530', supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) [grant number AH/J001481/1].