

**Family Feuds and the (Re)writing of Universal
History: The *Chronique dite de Baudouin
d'Avesnes* (1278-84)**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University
of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Florent Valère
André Noirfalise**

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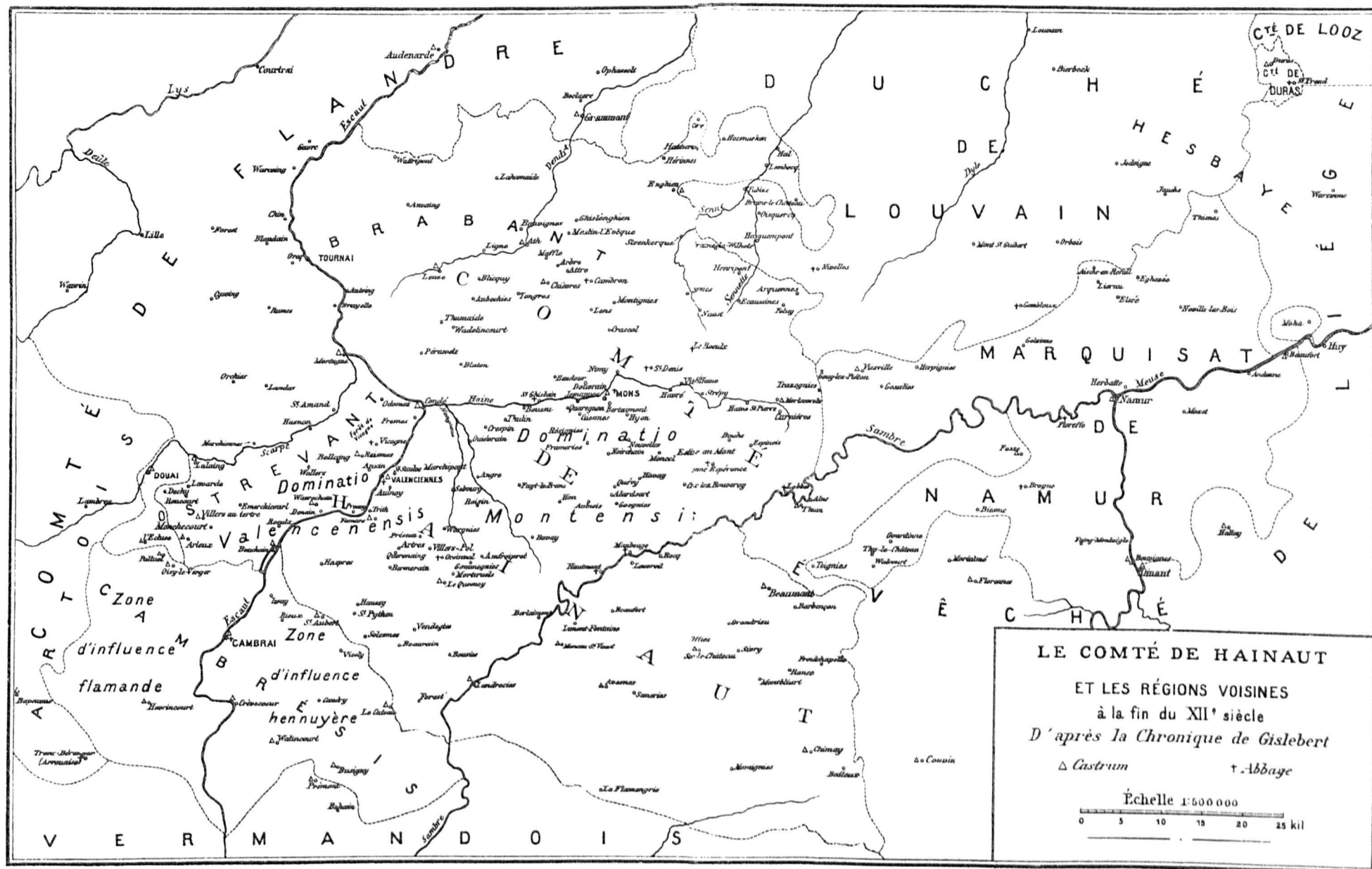
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The road leading to a PhD is long and bumpy. Along the way, Laura shared my joys and sorrows, blessing me with her presence and her love. I feel extremely fortunate to have her at my side. This work is dedicated to her.

List of Abbreviations

<i>ACAM</i>	<i>Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons</i>
<i>BCRH</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire</i>
<i>CBA</i>	<i>Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes</i>
<i>CH</i>	Gilbert of Mons, <i>Chronicon Hanoniense</i>
'CHanBA'	Heller, Johannes, ed., 'Chronicon Hanoniense quod dicitur Balduini Avennensis', in <i>MGH SS</i> , XXV (Hanover: Hann, 1880), 414-67
<i>FG</i>	<i>Flandria generosa</i>
<i>HA</i>	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum</i>
<i>HDN</i>	Anonymous of Béthune, <i>Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre</i>
<i>Istore</i>	Kervyn de Lettenhove, Joseph M.B.C., ed., <i>Istore et croniques de Flandres, d'après les textes de divers manuscrits</i> , 2 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1880)
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum</i>
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
<i>SFW</i>	<i>Souvenirs de la Flandre wallonne. Recherches historiques et choix de documents relatifs à Douai et aux anciennes provinces du Nord de la France</i>

Map of Hainault around the End of the Twelfth Century¹



¹ Reproduction from *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. by Léon Vanderkindere (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1904).

Table 1: The Offspring of Margaret of Constantinople and Bouchard of Avesnes

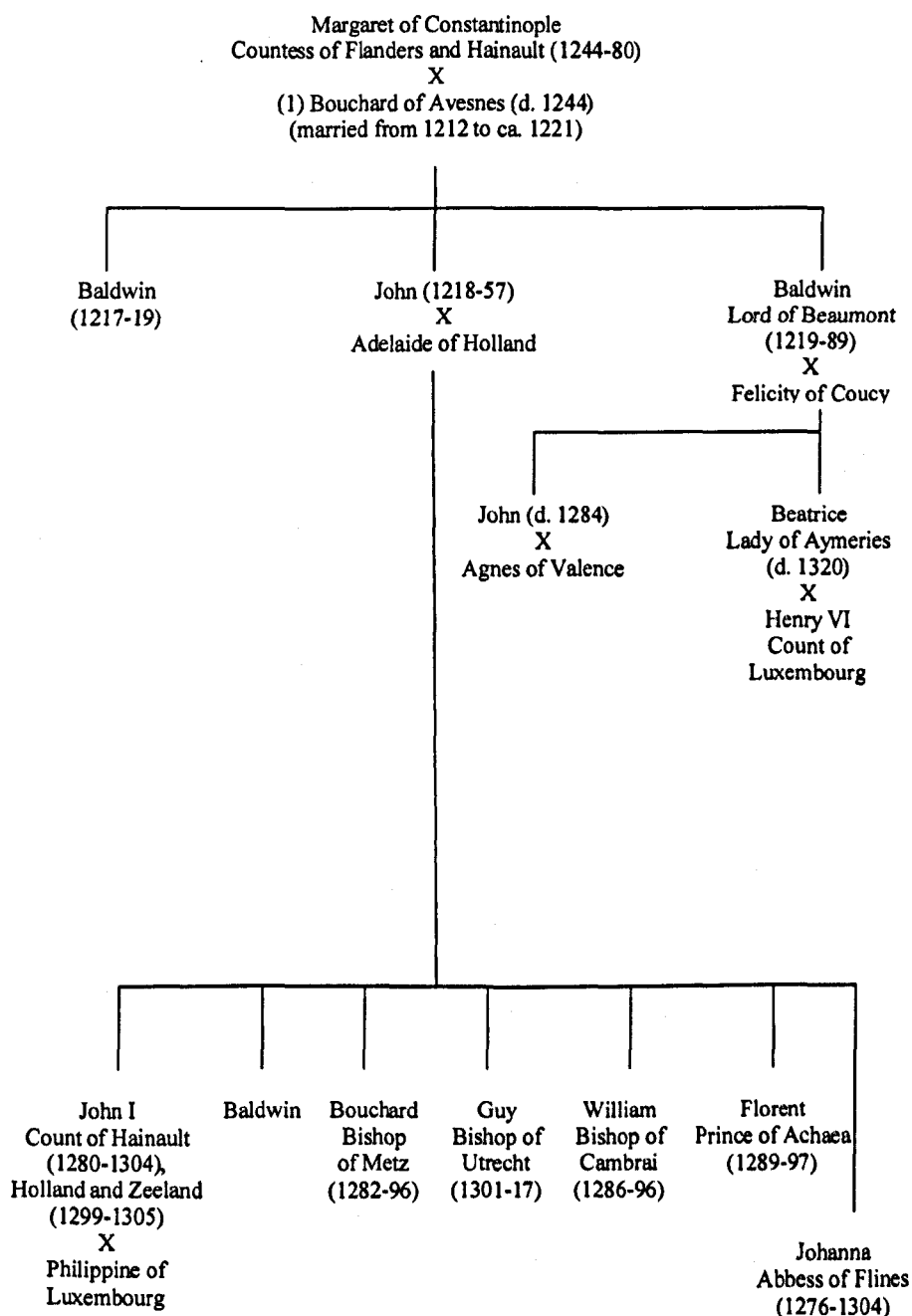
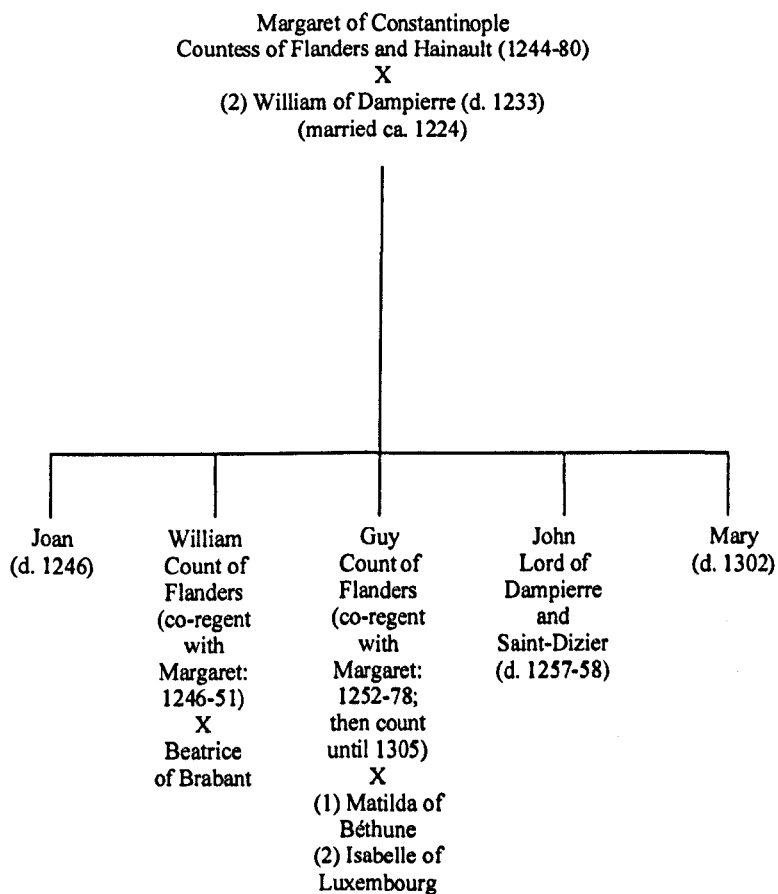


Table 2: The Offspring of Margaret of Constantinople and William of Dampierre



Introduction

The story of Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, has all the ingredients of an exciting work of fiction or a Hollywood film. He and his elder brother John were the children of Bouchard of Avesnes and Margaret of Constantinople, sister of the countess of Flanders and Hainault, Joan of Constantinople. Early in their childhood John and Baldwin were separated from their parents, whose union had been condemned by the papacy because Bouchard had been ordained. Their mother then married William of Dampierre, a noble from Champagne, with whom she had five more children. When Countess Joan died childless in 1244, Margaret inherited Flanders and Hainault. The situation became problematic: who would succeed to these territories after Margaret's death? John of Avesnes, supported by his brother Baldwin, defended his rights as the eldest; however, Margaret intended to have her son William of Dampierre succeed her and there thus ensued a feud between the offspring stemming from Margaret's two marriages. After arbitration of the case by King Louis IX of France in 1246, the county of Hainault was assigned to the Avesnes and the county of Flanders to the Dampierres. Nevertheless, John and Baldwin continued to make a claim on Flanders by means of armed conflict and political manoeuvres, until they were forced to accept the arbitration in 1256 because most of their main allies were now dead.

In December 1257, John of Avesnes himself passed away, at which time Baldwin felt the urge to be reconciled with his mother. Although this marked a more peaceful period in his life, the lord of Beaumont was in a delicate and, to say the least, ambiguous position: he was now a committed supporter of his former foes, the Dampierres, while still having frequent dealings with the children of his late brother John. His ability to manage his own interests from this position was possibly one of the reasons why the *Livre de Coucy* would, a dozen years after his death, describe him as 'ly ungs des plus saiges chevaliers de sens naturel qui fut en son temps'.² Another reason might have been that Baldwin of Avesnes is the presumed sponsor of a voluminous universal chronicle in French composed in several different redactions

² Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1158, fol. 73'.

between 1278 and 1284. This anonymous work, which is the object of the present study, is today usually called *Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes* (hereafter *CBA*).³

Medieval historiography has received a good deal of scholarly attention over the past thirty years, in particular following the groundbreaking work of Bernard Guenée.⁴ The Medieval Chronicle Society was created in 1996 and holds a triennial conference and publishes an annual journal.⁵ Several large-scale projects have been undertaken such as the electronic database on the narrative sources of the Low Countries or the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, currently nearing completion.⁶

Until recently, specialists in Old French literature seemed to take notice only of the few historiographical texts which were considered to be part of the canon of medieval French literature, e.g. the works of Wace, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Villehardouin, etc. However, research into chronicles has become increasingly broader, especially as a result of the seminal book by Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*, published in 1993. The latter study examines the beginnings of Old French prose, a development that is closely connected with historiography (the first narratives in French prose are translations of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, a fictional eyewitness account of Charlemagne's campaign in Spain). Thanks to careful

³ Early manuscripts do not include any title. Later manuscripts, however, often give the title *Tresor des histoires*, but this title has also been used for hybrid versions of the *CBA*, which can be confusing. The designation of *Tresor de sapience*, based on the first sentence of the prologue, was recently used by Marc-René Jung, 'La Morale d'Aristote: l'utilisation du livre du trésor dans le trésor de sapience', in *A scuola con ser Brunetto. Indagini sulla ricezione di Brunetto Latini dal medioevo al rinascimento*, ed. by Irene Maffia Scariati (Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008), pp. 93-117. However, this part of the prologue is actually the translation of a Latin source and there is no indication that the author meant it as the title to his text.

⁴ To only name a few studies, *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1^{er} avril 1989*, ed. by Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris: CNRS, 1991) or more recently *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003) and *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005). The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris has recently held a number of seminars on chronicles (in 2008-09). Guenée's numerous articles on historiography are reprinted in *Politique et histoire au moyen âge: recueil d'articles sur l'histoire politique et l'historiographie médiévale, 1956-1981* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1981). See also *Le Métier d'historien au Moyen Âge. Etudes sur l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. by Bernard Guenée (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1977) and, above all, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1980).

⁵ *The Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam: Rodopi).

⁶ <http://www.narrative-sources.be> (Resp.: Vakgroep Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis UGent, Departement Geschiedenis KULeuven, Afdeling Geschiedenis RUGroeningen); *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

observation of the interaction between text and context, she shows how a 'contest over the past' (p. 272) between the aristocracy and the Capetian royalty took place in thirteenth-century France. Old French historiography in prose was fostered by the Flemish nobility, which was undergoing an existential crisis, in order to promote and defend aristocratic values through textualisation. However, it was soon appropriated by royal historiographers to advertise the new defining features of the royalty. This groundbreaking study covers the most important historiographical works in Old French prose from the first half of the thirteenth century, with the notable exception of crusade-related texts. With respect to Old French chronicles from the second half of the thirteenth century, royal historiography seems to have attracted most of the scholarly attention. Spiegel's earlier study of historical writing at the abbey of Saint-Denis and, above all, Guenée's article on the *Roman aux roys* sparked renewed interest in the *Grandes chroniques de France* and in Dionysian historiography in general.⁷

Many scholars of medieval French historiography are aware of the existence of the *CBA*, but the actual content of the text remains by and large unknown. The *CBA* received considerable scholarly attention during the nineteenth century in Belgium because it was viewed as a national monument: numerous descriptions of the manuscripts, as well as a biography of Baldwin of Avesnes and two partial editions were published ('CHanBA' and *Istore*, II, 555-696).⁸ During the twentieth century and until today, the *CBA* has either been exploited as a historical source or examined for specific passages, namely its sections compiling the sayings of ancient philosophers and its genealogies.⁹ The considerable length of this universal

⁷ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, MA and Leyden: Classical Folia Editions, 1978); Bernard Guenée, 'Les "Grandes Chroniques de France". *Le Roman aux roys* 1274-1518', in *Les Lieux de mémoire. II. La nation*, ed. by Pierre Nora, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), I, 739-58.

⁸ See the three articles by Emile Gachet, 'Rapport de M. Gachet sur les manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de la Belgique, qu'il a examinés à la Bibliothèque de La Haye', *Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire*, 2nd series, 2 (1851), 6-79 (pp. 23-39), 'Les Chroniques de Bauduin d'Avesnes', *BCRH*, 2nd series, 9 (1857), 265-319 and 'Bauduin d'Avesnes et sa chronique', *BCRH*, 2nd series, 5 (1853), 255-80. See also <http://www.narrative-sources.be> (select index; select the field 'ID – Identification Number' and type in 'C038').

⁹ Ernest Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility before 1300*, 4 vols (Kortrijk: Desmet-Huysman, 1975-76) relied to a great extent on the genealogies of the *CBA* as a historical source. Recently Godfried Croenen, 'Princely and Noble Genealogies, Twelfth to Fourteenth Century: Form and Function', in *The Medieval Chronicle, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht, 13-16th July 1996*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), pp. 84-95, examined the genealogies of the *CBA* as an example of 'descent-oriented' genealogies. For the sections on philosophers see Ernstpeter Ruhe, *Untersuchungen zu den altfranzösischen Übersetzungen der Disticha Catonis* (Munich: Hueber, 1968), pp. 193-210 and *Les Proverbes Seneke le philosophe*.

chronicle, consisting of three volumes of two- to three-hundred folios each, partially explains why it has never been studied as a whole. Its confusing textual tradition is another reason.

The *CBA* is a compilation based for the most part on bookish sources, which means that it includes only a limited amount of original material. Nonetheless, it is a text which deserves greater scholarly attention for several reasons.¹⁰ First of all, it is one of the earliest universal chronicles written in the vernacular, and the first ever completed in Old French prose. One could argue that this innovative project led to an appropriation of universal history by Capetian historiographers at the beginning of the fourteenth century, in much the same way as they had appropriated historiography in French prose (see above). The ‘contest over the past’ described by Spiegel was now taking place at the level of universal history with works such as the *Manuel d’histoire de Philippe VI de Valois* or John of Vignay’s *Miroir historial*, an unabridged translation of Vincent of Beauvais’ *Speculum historiale*.¹¹ Secondly, the *CBA* is an invaluable witness to the historical culture of a given social class at a given time and in a given place: the northern French nobility at the end of the thirteenth century. This universal chronicle is a fascinating reader’s digest of all the historical topics which were popular at the time. It is also interesting because its presumed sponsor, Baldwin of Avesnes, came from the princely nobility and was involved in a family feud affecting the counties of Flanders and Hainault during a large part of the thirteenth century. Spiegel (*Romancing*, p. 3) has demonstrated how a text derives from a specific historical and political context.¹² In this respect a study of the *CBA* also seems of interest. Its silence on all issues connected with the Dampierres and Avesnes feud is indeed telling.

Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des ‘*Speculum historiale*’ von Vinzenz von Beauvais und der ‘*Chronique dite de Baudouin d’Avesnes*’ (Munich: Hueber, 1969) and, very recently, Jung, ‘La Morale’.

¹⁰ See the conclusions of Helen Meyer-Zimmermann, ‘La Chronique dite de Baudouin d’Avesnes. Erste volkssprachliche Geschichtsenzyklopädie. Eine adlige Nachahmung des *Speculum historiale* von Vinzenz von Beauvais?’ (unpublished thesis, University of Zurich, 1989), pp. 51-52. This undergraduate thesis is the only existing global study of the *CBA*.

¹¹ Both works have been under greater scrutiny recently: see André Surprenant, ‘“Unes petites croniques abregees sur Vincent”: nouvelle analyse du manuel dit “de Philippe VI de Valois”’, in *Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réception d’une œuvre encyclopédique au Moyen Age*, ed. by Monique Paulmier-Foucart, Serge Lusignan and Alain Nadeau (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1990), pp. 439-66; Laurent Brun and Mattia Cavagna, ‘Pour une édition du *Miroir historial* de Jean de Vignay’, *Romania*, 124 (2006), 378-428.

¹² See also Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2005) for similar observations regarding monastic communities.

Given some of the obvious *desiderata* surrounding the *CBA*, and in view of recent scholarship on medieval historiography, which stresses the importance of analysing texts within their original historical context, the present thesis consists of an analysis of the *CBA* in light of its textual tradition, sources, patronage and historical context. The decision to work on a single text might seem somewhat limited, but it is entirely justified. Recent monographs have shown the validity and fruitfulness of this approach, in particular for historiographical works involving the compilation of sources.¹³ Moreover, this approach is the indispensable first step for comparative studies involving a larger body of texts. A further limitation was required so that useful results would be gained from the analysis of the *CBA*: even though I have considered the work as a whole, I have focused first and foremost on the sections involving local history, i.e. the history of the regions familiar to the compiler and his patron, chiefly Hainault and Flanders. This choice was made for two reasons: (i) because these were undoubtedly the most interesting sections to examine in connection with the historical context of the patron; (ii) because the textual tradition of the *CBA*, which includes several revisions or 'redactions' of the text, features mostly additions regarding the history of these same territories.

At the heart of the methodology used for this study is concern for the text, its context and the interaction between these elements. The starting point has been the text itself, from both a philological and literary perspective. My initial preoccupation was to determine the divergences between the different versions of the text. Another was to carry out a textual analysis of the passages concerning the history of Flanders and Hainault, notably by comparing the text of the *CBA* with its sources and observing what changes had been made.

The next step for both analyses was to examine the results in relation to the context, to understand the 'social logic of the text', as Spiegel puts it:¹⁴ how can this or that addition, or this or that ideological choice be explained with regard to the patron, his entourage and the historical context? In order to avoid forced interpretations, it was essential methodologically to analyse the text before looking at the context. However, the structure of the thesis, inevitably, does not always reflect

¹³ J.W.J. Burgers, *De Rijkroniek van Holland en zijn auteurs. Historiografie in Holland door de Anonymus (1280-1282) en de grafelijke klerk Melis Stoke (begin veertiende eeuw)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999) and Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, *Le Memoriale historiarum de Jean de Saint-Victor. Un historien et sa communauté au début du XIV^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

¹⁴ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles', in *The Medieval Chronicle I*, ed. by Erik Kooper, pp. 1-12 (pp. 6-7).

the methodological steps used in the investigation: as Spiegel has argued, frequent interchange between text and context is inevitable in this sort of analysis.¹⁵

In this work, a major difficulty has been the lack of a full critical edition of the *CBA*. Knowledge of the manuscript tradition was also insufficient to determine which copies could be used as reference texts: Ruhe's classification (*Proverbes Seneca*, pp. 54-57) is limited to manuscripts which include the section on Seneca's sayings, and there were several copies of which scholars were unaware. Johannes Heller, the editor of 'CHanBA', has determined that the *CBA* existed in two different redactions, which he named A and B. For redaction A two early manuscripts, which were certainly produced in the same workshop,¹⁶ have been used, namely Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 683 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 2633. For redaction B New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 339 was used, mainly because this is a recently identified copy and one of only two complete manuscripts of redaction B.¹⁷ These copies were employed as supplements to the existing partial editions ('CHanBA' and *Istore*, II, 555-696) for quotations relating to literary analysis. In turn, for the study of the textual tradition of the *CBA*, almost all the early copies (i.e. from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) as well as a few later manuscripts have been examined.¹⁸

My intention has been to contribute to the understanding of the textual genesis and evolution, patronage, authorship and aims/functions of the *CBA*. I hope to provide a clearer picture of the chronicle's textual tradition, and in particular, of the redactions composed under the presumed sponsorship of Baldwin of Avesnes. One of my main objectives will be to demonstrate that the *CBA* is actually preserved in three, not two, redactions. Furthermore, some scholars have questioned that Baldwin of Avesnes was the true patron of the *CBA*. I will thus try to verify the claim that Baldwin was the sponsor of the *CBA* by offering deeper insight into the sponsorship of the chronicle and by attempting to assess the nature of the patron's actual intervention in the composition of the text. The personality of the author or compiler of the *CBA*, about whom very little is known, will also be considered, although to a lesser degree than that of the patron: it will be viewed first and

¹⁵ 'Theory into Practice', pp. 9-10.

¹⁶ I would like to thank Marc-René Jung for this information.

¹⁷ The other copy was used both by 'CHanBA' and *Istore*, II, 555-696.

¹⁸ I have not looked at the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century fragment preserved in Cambridge (see no. 14 in the list of manuscripts in Chapter 1, 3.1.)

foremost in the context of the compiler's literary achievements and the chronicle's objectives.

This study is divided into five chapters. The first, which is intended as a guide to essential information about the *CBA*, provides a succinct description of the literary context in which the universal chronicle appeared and examines its prologue, content and main characteristics. It then surveys the textual tradition of the *CBA* before offering some observations regarding its reception. This introductory chapter is followed by two chapters which focus on the redactions of the *CBA* composed under the sponsorship of Baldwin of Avesnes: Chapter 2 examines the text of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9003, which displays several unique features, and demonstrates that it contains an early redaction of the *CBA*; Chapter 3 then relies on this new paradigm and, with a detailed examination of the specific features of each of the three redactions, considers how the text evolved and how one can account for this evolution. Chapter 4 deals with the historical context in which the *CBA* was written, with a biography of Baldwin of Avesnes and a look at the cultural environment to which the lord of Beaumont belonged. This is supplemented by a review of the (scarce) evidence regarding the compiler of the *CBA*. Chapter 5 considers the sections on the history of Flanders and Hainault. The sources used for these passages are surveyed. Then the methods and interests of the compiler are studied and, finally, the potential ideological bias of the *CBA* is investigated. Combined together the results of these five chapters not only improve the understanding of the textual tradition and sponsorship of the *CBA*; they also shed light on the potential concrete function(s) that this text could have played within its specific context.

CHAPTER ONE

An Organic Text, an Eclectic Reception

Manuscript tradition and reception suggest that the *CBA* was a text of respectable influence until the fifteenth century: almost one hundred manuscripts have survived (if one includes copies and fragments of all the existing versions), the chronicle was used by other texts in French, Latin and Dutch and was appreciated by very different audiences. In spite of this, knowledge of the *CBA* among medievalists remains limited and is sometimes inaccurate. This chapter therefore aims to give a general overview of the *CBA* through a succinct examination of several of its aspects: its position within Old French historiography; its content and some of its sources; its prologue and general features; its textual tradition; and finally, its reception through owners and through texts using it as a source.

1. *A Universal Chronicle in Old French Prose*

As a universal chronicle in Old French the *CBA* positioned itself in relation to two different traditions: that of the universal chronicle (in Latin) on the one hand; that of vernacular French historiography on the other. The former was an ancient genre written for ecclesiastics and which aimed to provide a history of redemption and of divine providence, whereas the latter stemmed from recent lay, aristocratic initiatives and often involved a political agenda. A brief look at the emergence and evolution of history-writing in French until the end of the thirteenth century will help understand the context in which the *CBA* appeared. The genre characteristics of the *CBA* will then be considered.

An interest in the (real and fictional) past was present from the beginnings of Old French literature: the Carolingian past featured in the epic, the Arthurian matter formed the background of Chrétien de Troyes' romances, whereas the *Roman de Troie*, *Roman de Thèbes* and *Roman d'Eneas* all dealt with ancient history. Regarding historiography, the pioneer was undoubtedly England, where throughout

the twelfth century a series of dynastic histories in French verse recounting the deeds of the kings of England and of their ancestors were composed. These include the *Estoire des Engleis* by Geoffrey Gaimar, the *Roman de Brut* and the *Roman de Rou* by Wace and the *Estoire des ducs de Normendie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. The dukes of Normandy, who had become kings of England less than a century earlier, were probably seeking to strengthen their legitimacy, which prompted the sponsoring of historiographical works tracing their lineage back to prestigious ancestors such as the Trojans.¹⁹ These works were based on Latin sources and displayed features of both Latin historiography and French vernacular literature (i.e. romance and epic).²⁰ Texts relating contemporary events, such as Jordan Fantosme's chronicle or Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (an account of the Third Crusade), were also written; this type of history-writing would develop further during the thirteenth century.

Around 1202 prose made its first appearance in Old French literature in a historiographical text: the translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin* which Nicholas of Senlis made for Yolanda, countess of Saint-Pol. This was the first of several translations made between 1200 and 1230 for patrons from Hainault and Flanders who all knew each other.²¹ The prologues of the *Pseudo-Turpin* translations suggest that the use of prose resulted from a demand made by the aristocratic audience and sponsors (not from an authorial initiative).²² There have been many theories regarding the motives for the preference of prose over verse, the most famous of which is certainly Gabrielle Spiegel's. According to Spiegel, the recourse to prose was fostered by Flemish nobles who demanded a new form of historical discourse in reaction to the identity-crisis that the aristocracy of northern France was facing under King Philip Augustus. Prose (as opposed to verse) according to Spiegel would have become

¹⁹ See Diana B. Tyson, 'Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Romania*, 100 (1979), 180-222 (p. 185) and Gillette Labory, 'Les Débuts de la chronique en français (XII^e et XIII^e siècles)', in *The Medieval Chronicle III. Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Doorn/Utrecht 12-17 July 2002*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 1-26 (pp. 3-6). The present section owes a great deal to the latter article and to William J. Sayers, 'The Beginnings and Early Development of Old French Historiography' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1966), pp. 6-10.

²⁰ Regarding this see the first two chapters of Sayers.

²¹ See Spiegel, *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 70-73.

²² See for instance the passages quoted by Labory, p. 12.

valued as the language of truth and would be used in order to defend the ethical values of aristocracy through texts such as the *Pseudo-Turpin*.²³

Prose quickly became the standard form for historiographical texts:²⁴ it was used in the first half of the thirteenth century for the historiography of the crusades (original eye-witness accounts such as those by Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Robert of Clari or Henry of Valenciennes, but also translations of Latin texts such as William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*), for ancient history (*Faits des Romains, Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, John of Thuin's *Hystore de Jules Cesar*) but also for contemporary history (the two chronicles of the Anonymous of Béthune). Spiegel links several of these texts (except the ones related to crusades, which she excluded from her study) to the Flemish aristocracy's attempt to revive its values and she demonstrates how this resulted in failure.²⁵ She then shows how historians close to the Capetians (against whom the prose historiography sponsored by northern-French nobility was originally aimed) appropriated the genre: the Anonymous of Chantilly-Vatican's *Chronique des rois de France* (ca. 1217-37) argued that chivalric values could only lead to setbacks and therefore promoted a new model of kingship, in which he aimed to reintegrate the aristocracy. The first version of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, completed in 1274 and known as the *Roman aux roys*, should, according to Spiegel, also be viewed as an attempt to reconcile the aristocracy with the Capetian royalty as it 'spoke to the aristocracy in the language of its class and on the subject from which it drew its own sense of identity'.²⁶

By the time when the *Roman aux roys* was completed, vernacular French prose was well established as a form for secular historiography. The *CBA* must be understood in this context: contrary to many earlier works, it did not need to defend the use of prose as the language of truth. Moreover, the *CBA* can be viewed as the product of a double process. On the one hand, the thirteenth century saw the emergence of large textual compilations and collections in all kinds of fields: Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologica*, cycles of literary texts (the *Prose Lancelot* for instance) or encyclopaedias embracing all existing knowledge (such as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum magnus* or Bartholomeus Anglicus's *Liber de proprietatibus*

²³ See the second chapter of Spiegel, *Romancing*. For other theories see Labory, pp. 12-14.

²⁴ Historiography in verse did not disappear (see Labory, pp. 14-15) but it was clearly marginal.

²⁵ See Chapters 3 to 5 of *Romancing*.

²⁶ Spiegel, *Romancing*, p. 312. See her chapter 6 for the comments on those two works.

rerum). On the other, Old French prose started to be considered as a legitimate medium to transmit learned or scientific knowledge:²⁷ one can think of encyclopaedic works such as Goswin of Metz' *Image du monde*, Brunetto Latini's *Livres dou tresor* or Laurent of Orléans' mirror of princes, the *Somme le roi*. The compilation in Old French prose of the history of the world from Creation to contemporary times fits well into this context.²⁸ Just as the *Roman aux roys* arose from the royal historiography written in Latin at the abbey of Saint-Denis, the *CBA*, which also addressed a lay audience by using the vernacular, derived from a genre traditionally written in Latin by and for monks: the universal chronicle.²⁹ In that respect the *CBA* and the *Roman aux roys* illustrate a key moment in the evolution of medieval French historiography.

If Old French prose historiography was not a novelty when the *CBA* was being written, the choice to write a universal chronicle in the vernacular was, however, an ambitious and innovative project and, one can argue, the first of its kind. The other two texts that might lay claim to this distinction are the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* or *Estoires Rogier*, written between 1208 and 1213-14 for Castellan Roger IV of Lille, and the *Livres dou tresor*, a political encyclopedic work written during the 1260s by exiled Florentine diplomat Brunetto Latini. The *Histoire ancienne* clearly had universal ambitions, for it started with the Genesis and its author intended to lead his narrative up to the history of Flanders. Nevertheless, the project was seemingly abandoned when the author had only reached the era of Julius Caesar.³⁰ Had it been completed, the *Histoire ancienne* would still have been a work radically different from the *CBA*: the *Histoire ancienne* is meant as a *historia*, i.e. as a text which covers a series of subjects thematically and privileges narrative interest over chronology.³¹ In contrast, the *CBA* does not treat history strictly by subject matter:

²⁷ Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 221-22.

²⁸ Other compilations of universal history in French prose would follow during the fourteenth century: one can think of the *Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI de Valois* or of John of Vignay's *Miroir historial*, a translation of the *Speculum historiale*.

²⁹ On the clerical character of universal history see Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, p. 319 and Sayers, pp. 239-40.

³⁰ See *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (Estoires Rogier)*, ed. by Marijke De Visser-Van Terwisga, 2 vols (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995-1999), II, 222-24.

³¹ Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'L'*Historia* et les rois', in *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil. Royaume capétien et Lotharingie. Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987: La France de l'An Mil, Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987/Metz, 11 et 12 septembre 1987*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 135-43 and Bernard Guenée, 'Histoire et chronique. Nouvelles réflexions sur les genres historiques au Moyen Âge', in *La Chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Âge*.

instead it divides the history of peoples into smaller units according to chronology and constantly switches from one narrative thread to another. The *Livres dou tresor* includes in its first book a historical section which surveys very succinctly the history of the world following the paradigm of the six ages of the world used in universal chronicles.³² Here again, the section is ordered according to a specific topic: law and the ones empowered to maintain it. Furthermore, this micro universal chronicle is part of a larger work: a vernacular encyclopaedia providing the theoretical and pragmatic knowledge needed to govern an Italian city. In other words, the *CBA* is the first complete universal chronicle in French prose.³³

The *CBA* does not possess all the defining characteristics of universal chronicles.³⁴ They normally treat church history, which in the *CBA* is considered only occasionally. Universal chronicles also usually cover the history of the world from Creation to the time of the author, which clearly is the case of the *CBA* for secular history. However, the narrative is not structured following the usual paradigms of the genre (such as the four kingdoms or the six ages of the world) although the compiler certainly knew them. Like other universal chronicles, the *CBA* does care about chronology, although the amount of chronological data provided by the author largely depends on the source he used and on the interest in the subject he treats.³⁵ Finally, the idea of providential history, which supposedly underlies all universal chronicles, is mainly implicit in the *CBA*: only the sporadic use of the formula 'par la volenté Nostre Seigneur' (sometimes used as an original addition) reminds the reader that the course of history depends on God's will. The *CBA* is thus a secular chronicle, which does not come as a surprise in a context where learned productions in the vernacular stemmed essentially from a demand by the nobility.

Colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982, ed. by Daniel Poirion (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1984), pp. 3-12.

³² On the six ages, see Karl Heinrich Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), pp. 26-27.

³³ Graeme Small, 'Chroniqueurs et culture historique au bas Moyen Age', in *Valenciennes aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: art et histoire*, ed. by Ludovic Nys and Alain Salamagne (Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires, 1996), pp. 271-96 (p. 279).

³⁴ The generic characteristics of universal chronicles used here are the ones defined by Krüger, p. 13.

³⁵ See Chapter 5, 2. The *CBA*, unlike Sigebert of Gembloux' chronicle, cannot be placed in the subgenre of the *series temporum*, which follows strictly the reigns and generations (See Krüger, pp. 21-23).

2. General Features of the CBA

The features described below only concern the original versions of the *CBA*, i.e. these written under Baldwin of Avesnes' sponsorship.

2.1. The Prologue³⁶

The prologue is a key part of medieval texts, where literary *topoi* are sometimes accompanied by precious information about the author and his intentions, about the nature, purpose and organisation of his text. The prologue of the *CBA* reads as follows in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 683 (with a selection of important variants from other early manuscripts):³⁷

Ki le tresor de sapienche veut metre en l'aumaire de sa memoire et l'enseignement des sages es tables de son cuer escrire, sor toutes choses il doit fuir le fardiel de confusion, car elle engendre ignorance et est mere d'oubliance; mais discrecions et distinction enlumine entendement et conferme memoire, car ordenanche fait les choses veoir si comme elles sont, et les met en retenanche et en legier recort. D'un meisme gorle trait bien et appareillielement li cangieres plusours mounoies sans errer, pour les diviers entreclastres dont il set les enteclastres et les angles.^a Li pourfis de toute doctrine gist en la memoire car aussi ke riens ne vaut oïr la chose a chelui ki ne le puet entendre tout aussi est la chose perdue^b se elle n'est retenue; tant donques vaut oïrs ke on entent, et tant porfite entendres ke on en retient.^c Hystoire, si comme dist Tullius el livre del oratour, est tiesmoins des tempoires, lumiere de verité, vie de memoire, maïstresse de vie, anonceresse d'ancienneté. Mais pour chou ke memoire s'esleeche en briété et les giestes temporaus^d sont priés^e sans fin et sans nombre et avoec chou les escritures sont longhes et les hystoires fortes et pesans^f et li liseur perecheus et negligent a l'estude, j'ai compilé plusours hystoires des fais anchiens^g a brief parole par coi li entendemens de chascun le puist legierement entendre et en memoire retenir. Et ai mis III choses briement et ordeneement: che sont les parolles,^h li tans et li liu par cui et quant et ou les choses furent faites. Si commencherons nostre hystoire au plus haut, c'est a Adam no premier pere.

³⁶ The analysis of the prologue by Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 11-13 has been of great help in compiling this section. Inevitably, my discussion is very similar to hers. Nevertheless, it seemed relevant to comment on the prologue given that her study has not been published.

³⁷ The prologue is also edited in: Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 11-12 (following the same manuscript); Alphonse Bayot, 'La Première Partie de la Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes', *Revue des bibliothèques et archives de Belgique*, 2 (1904), 419-32, p. 429 (following Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale (KBR), MS II 988); and Louis-Fernand Flutre, 'Les Fait des Romains' dans les littératures française et italienne du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1932; repr. Genève: Slatkine, 1974), p. 31 (following Paris, bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3710).

(a) les enteclastres et les angles] Arras, Bibliothèque municipale (BM), MS 1043; KBR, MSS 9069, 10201 and II 988; Arsenal, MSS 3710 and 5076: les angles. — (b) perdue] Arras, BM, MS 1043; KBR, MS 10201; Arsenal, MSS 3710 and 5076: perdue ki est entendue. — (c) entent, et tant porfite entendres ke on en retient] Arsenal, MS 3710: entent, et ententes que on en retient. — (d) les giestes temporaus] Arsenal, MS 3710: les teustes des temporaus; KBR, MSS 9069 and 10201 and Arsenal, MS 5076: les giestes des temporaus. — (e) Priés] Brussels, RL, II 988: priis. — (f) et avoec chou les escritures sont longhes et les hystoires fortes et pesans] Arras, BM, MS 1043; Arsenal, MS 3710 and, KBR, MSS 9069 and 10201: avoec chou les hystoires sont longes et les escritures fortes; Arsenal, MS 5076: et avec ce les hystoires sont longues et les escritures. — (g) Fais anchiiens] Arras, BM, MS 1043; KBR, MSS 9069; Arsenal, MSS 3710 and 5076: faits des anchiens. — (h) Parolles] Arsenal, MSS 3710 and 5076: les personnes.³⁸

The prologue tells almost nothing about the author of the *CBA*. Anonymity is frequent in historiographical works from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, sometimes out of modesty, sometimes because a text is the result of teamwork.³⁹ From the end of the thirteenth century, compilers start taking pride in their activities, which they view as a form of re-creation, and after 1300 the ‘je’ found in prologues is more frequently followed by the name of the chronicler.⁴⁰ The *CBA* illustrates the transition between these two moments: the author remains anonymous but proclaims ‘j’ai compillé’. He justifies the usefulness of his work by explaining that the texts telling the deeds of the ancients are long and that readers are too lazy to study them. The statement about readers is one of the very few original sentences of the prologue. This austere criticism is surprising in a work destined for a lay audience: it suggests that the author stemmed perhaps from a clerical background, where learned individuals were hard-working and keen on ‘studying’ texts.

The outstanding characteristic of this prologue is the importance it grants to memory. The compiler talks about a ‘treasure of wisdom’, which is a traditional metaphor used to represent memory: it makes reference to the ‘internal organisation’ of memory (as a container, just like the ‘entreclastres’ or the ‘aumaire de la memoire’) as much as to the material stored by memory (the content of the container). The phrase ‘l’enseignement des sages es tables de son cuer escrire’

³⁸ Also in Besançon, BM, MS 678: see Ruhe, *Proverbes Seneke*, p. 29, note 62.

³⁹ Bernard Guenée, *Du Guesclin et Froissart. La fabrication de la renommée* (Paris: Tallandier, 2008), pp. 123-24.

⁴⁰ Guenée, *Du Guesclin*, pp. 136-38 and Christiane Marchello-Nizia, ‘L’Historien et son prologue: forme littéraire et stratégies discursives’, in *La Chronique et l’histoire au Moyen Age*, ed. by Daniel Poirion (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1986), pp. 13-25.

corresponds to the other metaphor used to explain the mechanism of memory: the *Tabula memoriae*, which compares memory to a wax tablet, a surface onto which the material to be retained marks its imprint.⁴¹ The 'mnemonic function of history' is commonplace in prologues of medieval chronicles (notably the Latin chronicles written at Saint-Denis) and is inherited from classical rhetoric.⁴²

Other features of the prologue confirm the status of the *CBA* as a compilation. The author underlines the brevity of his work (which enables one to remember information more easily) and that he ordered his material; both are qualities often claimed in historical compilations.⁴³ Furthermore, the prologue of the *CBA* is itself a compilation based on Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Rerum*.⁴⁴ Once again, this corresponds to a promotion of compilations during the thirteenth century.⁴⁵ The author of the *CBA* also inserted Cicero's definition of history in the prologue, probably following Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, Book VII, Chapter 18.⁴⁶ This definition is a *topos* in the prologues of chronicles.⁴⁷ However, it reveals the compiler's concern for the moral value of history ('maistresse de vie'), which remains implicit throughout the *CBA*.⁴⁸ It also presents history as 'tiesmoins des tempouires' and 'lumiere de verité', which explains the very neutral and apparently unbiased tone of the *CBA*.⁴⁹ Finally, following Hugh of Saint-Victor's teachings, the compiler says that in his narrative of events, he will consider places, times and people or words (manuscript readings vary: 'personnes' or 'parolles').⁵⁰

⁴¹ For these two metaphors see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 16-45 (p. 33 for quotation).

⁴² See Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Political Utility in Medieval Historiography. A Sketch', in *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 83-98 (pp. 86-87).

⁴³ Bernard Guenée, 'L'Historien et la compilation au XIII^e siècle', *Journal des Savants*, — (1985), 119-35 (pp. 125-28).

⁴⁴ Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁵ Guenée, 'L'Historien et la compilation', pp. 131-32.

⁴⁶ For comparisons with the *Speculum historiale*, I have been using the online transcription of manuscript 797 of the Municipal Library of Douai: <http://atilf.atilf.fr/bichard>; resp. Atelier Vincent de Beauvais (Monique Paulmier-Foucart and Marie-Christine Duchenne).

⁴⁷ Spiegel, 'Political Utility', p. 87.

⁴⁸ 'Once into his story the chronicler leaves to his reader the task of formulating the moral lesson implicit in the account' (Sayers, p. 166).

⁴⁹ As Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 13 states: 'Der Leser der Chronik muss – werden die methodischen Postulate verwirklicht – auf eine strenge Geschichtsschreibung gefasst sein.'

⁵⁰ 'Personnes' seems like the better reading: it corresponds to 'personae' in the *De Tribus Maximis* and it looks like a better fit semantically ('les personnes...par cui...'). Nevertheless, the reading 'parolles' also offers interesting interpretations regarding the recourse to direct speech in the *CBA* (see below).

2.2. Content and Sources

The *CBA* covers the history of the world from Creation until the hanging of Pierre de la Broce in 1278. Much remains to be done regarding the study of its sources, which currently prevents an exhaustive survey. Instead, the following outline will try to provide general information regarding what one can expect to find in the *CBA* along with global comments on its identified sources.⁵¹ The first book of the *CBA*, which usually forms a separate volume, covers biblical and ancient history until the beginning of the Christian era (when Pontius Pilate becomes prefect of Judea).⁵² The second book starts with the description of three kinds of people in Judea (Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes) during Tiberius' rule but its end varies: in many A redaction manuscripts, it ends with Alexius I Comnenus' accession to the Byzantine empire, which is placed in 1090, while the third book starts with Peter the Hermit's preaching for the First Crusade; in other manuscripts, Book II finishes with the death of Joscelin, count of Edessa (*Rohais* in Old French) in 1131 and Book III starts with the Princess of Antioch's attempt to claim the land of her late husband.⁵³

The first book covers the history of various peoples, mixing biblical and secular history, using the succession of kings and emperors as chronological frame. The narrator proceeds with a sort of narrative interlacing by frequently interrupting the history of a given people in order to tell someone else's: this is the result of the preeminence of chronology over topical unity. The prominent protagonists of the narrative are: the Hebrews (i.e. Biblical history from Adam to the birth of Christ), the Thebans (chiefly the story of Oedipus), the Trojans (including Aeneas' exile to Italy), the Britons, the Romans, the Persians and Macedonians (mainly Alexander the Great) and the Egyptians. But one also finds shorter fragments regarding other subjects: the kings of Crete, the kings of Argos, of Thessaly, the foundation and kings of Athens, the Scythians, the Amazons, the kings of Sicyon, the kings of Assyria, the Medes, Carthage and the Numidians.

⁵¹ A more detailed outline of content and sources can be found in Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 13-31, to which I am much indebted for the present section.

⁵² The *CBA* does not refer explicitly to a division in books; however, codicological evidence suggests this repartition.

⁵³ The material division into volumes is not necessarily the same: for manuscripts where the third book started in 1090, the third volume does not necessarily match that date (for instance in KBR, MS II 988, an illuminated initial signals the start of the First Crusade, but volume two ends in 1186).

The book on pre-Christian history would deserve further attention regarding its sources. Sources which have been suggested include the Bible, Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates judaicae*, Orosius' *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* or even Livy.⁵⁴ The recourse to the *Speculum historiale* is beyond doubt: it is used throughout the *CBA*, from Biblical to contemporary times. In turn the *CBA* refers explicitly to (among many others) Petrus Comestor, Flavius Josephus, Orosius, Valerius Maximus... Nevertheless, this does not mean that the compiler had a first-hand knowledge of all these works: he may have been using another source quoting them. Second-hand mention was frequent in chronicles, and it should not be ignored.⁵⁵ For instance, the compiler may have used the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* for biblical history but above all for the matter of Troy, of Thebes, for the passages on the Amazons, the history of Macedonia and the history of Rome until Caesar.⁵⁶ Regarding Biblical history comparison with Old French translations of the Bible, which started to appear during the thirteenth century, might produce interesting results.

In addition to the *Speculum historiale* one can point to a few other sources which were undoubtedly used for ancient history in the *CBA*. For the history of the Britons Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* was condensed and translated; this goes beyond ancient history as the author of the *CBA* uses the text until its end (around the seventh century). For Roman history the *Faits des Romains* were exploited to recount Catilina's conspiracy, Caesar's campaign in Gaul and the Roman civil war.⁵⁷ Beyond Caesar, it appears that the compiler used Landulf Sagax's *Historia romana* (an extension of Paul the Deacon's *Historia romana*), whose influence can also be found in numerous passages of the second part of the *CBA* (i.e. Christian history): the *Historia romana* enabled the compiler to cover the history of

⁵⁴ Flutre, p. 32.

⁵⁵ See Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, p. 116.

⁵⁶ They certainly have much in common in terms of structure and content. David J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* (London: the Warburg Institute, 1963), p. 20 claims the *CBA* used the *Histoire ancienne* (along with Justin's abridgment of Trogue Pompee's *Historiae Philippicae*) for the history of Macedonia. De Visser-Van Terwisga uses more caution and states that 'la *Chronique* a exploité une matière proche de celle des *Estoires* – peut-être les *Estoires* elles-mêmes' (*Histoire ancienne*, II, 248). I have compared the two texts' section on the Trojan wars (both linked to Dares the Phrygian's *De excidio Trojae*) and I remain unconvinced that the *CBA* used the *Histoire ancienne* for that section.

⁵⁷ Flutre, pp. 32-42.

the empire both in Rome and Constantinople roughly until the beginning of the First Crusade.⁵⁸

Among the other noteworthy features of ancient history (and of the beginnings of the Christian era) in the *CBA* is the inclusion of several sections with cultural rather than factual information.⁵⁹ Indeed, a few chapters recount briefly the lives of ancient philosophers and sometimes offer a selection of their sayings: 'Des VII saiges'; 'le mort Socrates le philosophe'; 'De Platon et de Scenofon et de Dyogenes et d'auchunes de leur parolles'; 'auchun enseignement Aristotle'; 'Caton et sa mort'; 'De la mort Seneke et auchun bon enseignement';⁶⁰ a chapter quoting some of Quintilian's sayings.⁶¹ These are all based on the *Speculum historiale*, with the exception of the teachings of Cato, which is a translation of the *Disticha Catonis*,⁶² and of the *Enseignemens Aristote*, which are based on a passage of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* and above all, on a compilation of sentences found in Book II of Brunetto Latini's *Livres dou tresor* (with additions from Alard of Cambrai's *Livre de philosophie et de moralité* and from an Old French translation of the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*).⁶³ The diversity of the sources and the particular care with which these didactic sections are inserted into the narrative shows their importance. They are not a moral comment on events recounted: they form part of these events as they are the words of historical characters.

With the Christian era (i.e. Books II and III) the *CBA* continues the history of the Hebrews, the Romans (including the history of the empire of Constantinople) and the Britons (and later on, the English). Landulf Sagax is still used for Roman history and probably also for the history of the Goths, Huns and Vandals, who are introduced with the decline of the western Roman empire. The *Speculum historiale*, Sigebert of Gembloux' universal chronicle (also used throughout the *CBA*) and Hugh

⁵⁸ My comparison was based on KBR, MS 9178-87 as I could not access the existing edition: *Landolfi Sagacis Historia Romana*, ed. by Amedeo Crivellucci, 2 vols (Rome: Tipografia del senato, 1912-13). The compiler fills the gap between this source and the start of the First Crusade with a list of emperors following Sigebert of Gembloux' chronicle.

⁵⁹ Jung, 'La Morale', p. 104. The *CBA* here follows the example of the *Speculum historiale*.

⁶⁰ Ruhe, *Proverbes Seneke*.

⁶¹ The titles are drawn from the table of contents of Cambrai, BM, MS 683 and correspond respectively to Chapters 58, 70, 72, 74, 131, 147 and 149 of that manuscript. Also worthy of mention are Chapter 98, whose title advertises 'Pluisours boines parolles de Cypion Nasica' (but the actual sayings amount to very little), and Chapter 152, which includes a couple of sayings by Plutarch.

⁶² Ruhe, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 193-210.

⁶³ Jung, 'La Morale', pp. 103-12.

of Fleury's *Historia antiquitates* are other sources exploited at that stage.⁶⁴ The latter is also the source for a chapter on the Prophet Mohammed.⁶⁵ The history of the Franks then follows Roman history as the main topic of the narrative. Meyer-Zimmermann mentions the *Liber historiae Francorum* as the probable source and claims that the account of Charlemagne's campaign to Spain stems from the sixth translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin*.⁶⁶ This, however, deserves further investigation: the history of the Franks and of the French kings has much in common with the *Roman aux roys* and the same corpus of Dionysian sources might have been used.⁶⁷ French history in the *CBA* also displays similarities with Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée*, a work that the compiler certainly used for his account of Norman and English history (along with Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*) and from which he drew a few colourful stories.⁶⁸ From Philip Augustus' reign onwards, the sources for French history are clearer: the author of the *CBA* used Rigord, William the Briton, Vincent of Beauvais and, from 1250 until the end of the text, the second redaction of the lost Latin chronicle of Primat.⁶⁹ Consequently, the narrative is almost exclusively centered on France for the second half of the thirteenth century with the exception of some passages on the German empire (one of which is an original addition of redaction B of the *CBA*).

The history of the regions linked to the patron of the *CBA* is introduced in the sections devoted to the Carolingians with the appearance of the first counts of Flanders, following version B of the *Flandria generosa*, which is used from beginning to end; Sigebert of Gembloux' chronicle and the by-products it generated at the abbey of Anchin (the *Auctarium Aquicinense* and the *Continuatio Aquicinctina*) are also exploited for the rest of the history of Flanders. The history of the counts of Hainault, which appears following Baldwin VI of Flanders' marriage to Richilde of Mons, is based on Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense*, also used in its quasi-entirety.⁷⁰ The history of Flanders and Hainault comes to an end with

⁶⁴ Gachet, 'Les Chroniques', p. 291 purports that the compiler actually follows here most historians of the late empire of Rome but second-hand knowledge through Landolf Sagax seems much more likely.

⁶⁵ Chapter 207 in Cambrai, BM, MS 683.

⁶⁶ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 23, note 216 and p. 26.

⁶⁷ Regarding historiography at the abbey of Saint-Denis, see Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition*. The lack of an edition for a lot of these texts renders difficult an accurate comparison.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 2. It is interesting to note that the sixth translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin* mentioned by Meyer-Zimmermann as a source for the *CBA* is actually the one used by Philip Mousket.

⁶⁹ See Spiegel, *Chronicle tradition*, pp. 90-91.

⁷⁰ On the sources for the history of Flanders and Hainault, see Chapter 5.

Countess Joan of Constantinople (d. 1244): the compiler refrains from recounting the darker period of Countess Margaret's rule, during which a violent succession feud occurred in which Baldwin of Avesnes was directly involved.

Local history in the *CBA* is not strictly narrative: a series of genealogies of noble families from Hainault, Flanders (with emphasis on the families of Coucy and Avesnes) and of the houses of Namur, Brabant and Boulogne are inserted in the narrative and carefully linked to historical characters.⁷¹ They are based on the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, on local genealogies (the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*, *Genealogia comitum Bononiensium*, *Genealogia ducum Brabantie ampliata*) or chronicles (the *Historia monasterium Laetiense* for the ancestors of the Avesnes family) but also on original material or oral testimonies collected by the author, who continues several of these genealogies up to the end of the thirteenth century. Just as the sections on ancient philosophers, they stand out as one of the distinctive features of the *CBA* and they have been used by historians because of their accuracy and relative reliability.⁷² Among other interesting aspects of these sections are an apparently original tale of foundation of the abbey of Anchin and a unique record of the inquest on Count of Flanders Charles the Good's murder.⁷³ The latter element leads one to wonder whether the author of the *CBA* used archival documents in composing his narrative. A passage involving the foundation of the priory of Bouillon added at the stage of the second redaction raises the same question.⁷⁴

A few folios after the first chapter on Hainault one finds the beginning of the account of the crusades, which is the predominant topic of the narrative until the beginning of the thirteenth century with occasional insertions on Flanders, England, the German empire and (especially from the second half of the twelfth century) Hainault and France. The compiler successively condenses the Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*,

⁷¹ Many of them were added or revised at different stages in the composition of the *CBA*: see Chapter 3 and Table 4.

⁷² 'As a source for noble genealogy, the *Chronique* is unsurpassed by any other narrative source of the period and is generally regarded as highly authoritative and well informed.' (Croenen, p. 86).

⁷³ See Alan V. Murray, 'The Judicial Inquest into the Death of Count Charles of Flanders (1127)', *The Legal History Review*, 2000 (68), 47-61 and Walterus Tervanensis, *Vitae. Vita Karoli comitis Flandrie, Vita domini Ioannis Morinensis episcopi quibus subiunguntur poemata aliqua de morte comitis Karoli scripta et quaestio de eadem facta* (= *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 217), ed. by Jeff Rider (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 201-09.

⁷⁴ Regarding this passage see Chapter 3, 2.2.3.

also known as *Eracles*, and one of its continuations (in all likelihood the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*, from which he also borrows information related to France, England, Germany and even Flanders), Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* and Henry of Valenciennes' *Histoire de l'empereur Henri*.⁷⁵ His interest in the crusades does not come to an end with the thirteenth century: he recounts the Albigensian Crusade following Peter of Vaux de Cernay's *Hystoria Albigensis*;⁷⁶ he uses the *Speculum historiale* and Primat's lost Latin chronicle to recount Louis IX of France's Crusades. The *Speculum historiale* is also the base for the section on the Tartars and for the account of the Dominican and Franciscan missions sent to Mongolia.

How does the organisation of this miscellaneous content translate narratively? Firstly, one observes that several main topics structure the narrative.⁷⁷ Biblical history takes up a good portion of the first book and is quickly relayed by Roman history, which is used as the main narrative thread until the arrival of the Frankish kings. The crusades then form the dominant topic from their start until roughly the beginning of the thirteenth century while the end of the chronicle covers primarily the history of France. Secondly, the *CBA* displays two different compiling techniques: the interlacing of different accounts (e.g. ancient history often alternates between the Romans, the Hebrews and the Britons) and the use of a main narrative thread with occasional insertions on different topics (for instance the account of the first crusades following the *Eracles*, where passages on local history and noble genealogies have been inserted).⁷⁸ In both cases, transitions are made with care: the genealogy of a specific person is inserted after his mention in the narrative or after his death; at the sudden irruption of, say, the Britons into Roman history the narrator switches to the history of the Britons. These comings and goings can be confusing to a modern reader; nevertheless they are the result of the compiler's thorough conception of his narrative structure.

⁷⁵ Here and there he also inserts crusade-related information taken from the *Speculum historiale*.

⁷⁶ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 28. She also claims that the *CBA* might have used an epic text for the account of the battle of Muret.

⁷⁷ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 48 pointed this out, talking about 'Leithemen'.

⁷⁸ Guyot-Bachy, p. 240 already underlined such techniques. The use of a main source was common practice among chroniclers as Sayers, p. 234 explains: 'one text is taken as central and material from other sources is worked into the chronological structure of the prime source' (see also p. 274).

In conclusion to this short survey, one can add a few observations. First of all, the compiler's historical culture is impressive:⁷⁹ he relies on both vernacular and Latin texts, and on secular and monastic works. Nevertheless, the corpus of sources that he used is certainly not as imposing as it might at first look. Indeed, the numerous references to classical authorities such as Orosius, Sueton and Eutrop found in the text of the *CBA* have led some scholars to assume that the author actually drew on these authors' works. Despite these textual claims, this is probably the result of second-hand knowledge through texts such as Landulf Sagax' *Historia romana* or Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. In turn, although the author probably did not use as many sources as one might think, it looks as if he knew very well in which texts he could find his narrative material: he exploits most of his sources to their fullest potential by translating or condensing them from beginning to end. The variety of texts used by the compiler still remains significant and it raises the question of his access to them. The author of the *CBA* certainly had recourse to manuscripts containing several historiographical texts and one might wonder if he could have accessed compilation manuscripts such as KBR, MS 9178-87 (which contains among others works by Landulf Sagax, Hugh of Fleury, works linked to the abbey of Saint-Denis and the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*) or the famous Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 5925, which contains the only full surviving copy of Rigord and a series of texts which were translated in the *Roman aux roys*, and which was 'certainement l'un des manuscrits qu'on proposait à l'attention des historiens venus travailler à l'abbaye'.⁸⁰

2.3. Intended Audience and Narrative Features

The content of the *CBA* outlined above is striking because of its variety and its relative success in recounting universal history. Beyond that, the *CBA* also appears as a sort of reader's digest of the favourite historical topics of medieval lay audiences:

⁷⁹ Small, p. 278.

⁸⁰ Pascale Bourgain, 'La protohistoire des *Chroniques latines de Saint-Denis* (BNF, lat. 5925)', in *Saint-Denis et la royauté Etudes offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999-, pp. 375-94 (p. 375)). See also Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 68-71. KBR 9178-87 is linked to the abbey of Mont-Saint-Quentin, which had ties with the abbey of Anchin, which produced several texts used in the *CBA*; on this manuscript see Willene B. Clark, 'Art and Historiography in Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts from North France', *Gesta*, 17 (1978), 37-48.

the matter of Thebes and Troy (with the story of Aeneas), ancient history with emphasis on great individuals such as Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, the history of Britain and of the Franks/French (from their Trojan ancestry to contemporary times with special interest for Charlemagne), an account of the crusades, a Christian venture with which the noble audience was personally involved. The intended audience (or readership) of the *CBA* was clearly aristocratic and this can also be observed in some of the most distinctive features of the chronicle, such as its original ideological interests or its ethical passages. Genealogies form certainly the clearest hint regarding the intended audience of the *CBA*: the nobility of northern France. They are examined in Chapter 3.

The *CBA* frequently restructures, rephrases and condenses the sources it uses; in contrast, the author rarely makes significant original additions, which renders difficult an ideological interpretation of the work. Nevertheless, a few topics are highlighted by some of the compiler's original additions. One of them is the important role of the *preud'omes* and of the *conseil*, who advise kings and emperors in their decisions and who often settle disagreements. This emphasis is not particular to the *CBA*, as it can be found in many earlier vernacular chronicles;⁸¹ but this concern for the entourage of princely leaders and its ability to help in political decision-making indicates that the *CBA* is aimed at a noble audience.

The ethical sections compiling the sayings of ancient philosophers were qualified above as one of the most peculiar aspects of the *CBA*. They seem to have been very appealing to medieval readers: several tables of contents of the manuscripts of the *CBA* advertise them emphatically and marginal notes and pointers added by readers can be found next to these sections in several early manuscripts;⁸² the collections of sayings of Cato, Aristotle and, above all, Seneca, were drawn from the *CBA* and copied independently, as proven by no less than twenty-three surviving manuscripts.⁸³ The compilation of philosophers' sayings is present only for pagan history: it has no Christian equivalent in the *CBA*.⁸⁴ This is quite interesting in light of Spiegel's interpretations of early French prose historiographical works dealing

⁸¹ For examples see Spiegel, *Romancing*, pp. 138-39, 142, 260-63 and 307 and Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 744.

⁸² E.g. KBR, MS 9003 (see Ruhe, *Proverbes Seneke*, pp. 59-60, note 21) or New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 339.

⁸³ Seventeen for Seneca's sayings (Ruhe, *Proverbes Seneke*, pp. 55-57), two for Cato's teachings (Ruhe, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 193-95) and four for Aristotle's (Jung, 'La Morale', p. 104 note 15).

⁸⁴ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 24 and note 223.

with ancient history (such as the *Faits des Romains*); she argues that the aristocracy used ancient history as the depository of its moral values. By claiming that chivalric values were a legacy of the distant past the aristocracy was granting authority to these values. Furthermore, rooting the aristocratic ideals in the ancient past meant promoting them as a legitimate cultural system, independent from the political monopoly of royalty and the moral authority of the clerics.⁸⁵ In other words, the *CBA* was supporting the secular aristocratic culture and its values. Moreover, just like the *Roman aux Roys*, it was responding to 'the need among the courtly and bourgeois classes for a more practical basis for moral decision-making than that afforded in contemporary theological Latin literature'.⁸⁶ The sayings of the philosophers compiled in the *CBA* formed a concrete answer to that need.⁸⁷

The didactic dimension of history is not entirely lacking from the account of Christian times: the author of the *CBA* translated (with a certain gusto it seems) some of the moral dialogues which he found in Landulf Sagax' *Historia romana*, such as Saint Ambrose's reprimand to Emperor Theodosius I or Saint Benedict's confrontation with Ostrogoth king Baduela.⁸⁸ These dialogues, like the *parolles* of the philosophers show the importance of speech in the *CBA*: this would be an interesting echo to the reading of the prologue of several manuscripts in which the compiler stated that he had paid attention to the 'parolles [...] par cui [...] les choses furent faites'.⁸⁹ It is striking to note that both for Pagan and Christian history, the wise man is usually paired with (as teacher) or confronted with a political leader (Alexander and Aristotle, Cato and Caesar, etc.). The actors of the political world thus had something to gain from the knowledge (and application) of certain moral principles and by following a certain code of behaviour.

The idea of the ethical value of history is implicitly present throughout the *CBA*, not only in purely moral speeches or sayings. The compiler modified his sources and structured his narrative following a determined stylistic pattern which usually follows the same scheme: battles follow a systematic structure; formulae

⁸⁵ Spiegel, *Romancing*, pp. 109-15.

⁸⁶ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 73.

⁸⁷ The inclusion of such sections (especially the teachings of Aristotle) in a work composed shortly after the condemnations by Bishop of Paris Etienne Tempier of a number of Aristotelian ideas might seem surprising but Jung, 'La Morale', p. 102 argues that this debate affected the Latin-speaking world (universities and theologians) rather than lay vernacular culture.

⁸⁸ Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fols 34^vB-35^rA and 55^vB-^vA. One also finds exemplary tales such as the famous miracle of Theophilus or, later on, the story of Pope Gerbert (fols 55^vB-56^rA and 97^rA-B).

⁸⁹ Instead of 'personnes': see above.

such as 'When X knew about this, he did such and such' or 'King X arrived in Y and was received honourably' recur through the narrative. Some of them have moral applications as they emphasise the consequences of a given behaviour. For instance the phrase 'il monta en grant orgueil' refers to a person who became too confident following a successful enterprise: it is systematically followed by an action which, because of a lack of judgment, has negative consequences.⁹⁰ The use of such a formulaic, straightforward style encourages the reader to detect the moral meaning of historical events.

3. Textual Tradition

Gert Melville has underlined the organic nature of medieval compilations, which were prone to produce an array of different textual configurations.⁹¹ The *CBA* is no different and even though the present study will focus on the versions linked to Baldwin of Avesnes' sponsorship, it seems fitting to give a survey of the various types of texts which scholars have at one time or other labelled as 'Chronique(s) de Baudouin d'Avesnes'.

3.1. The Redactions Linked to Baldwin of Avesnes and their Manuscript Tradition

The *CBA* is preserved in three different redactions.⁹² The earliest (A*) is found in a single incomplete copy (KBR, MS 9003): it lacks the teachings of Cato and most of the genealogies; it also recounts the history of the English kings from Egbert of Wessex to William the Conqueror following Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée*. It is extremely difficult to date this text as it is incomplete and as there is no internal evidence which enables one to link it to Baldwin of Avesnes.⁹³ Nevertheless,

⁹⁰ This type of reasoning certainly has a biblical undertone: 'Pride goes before destruction; and a haughty spirit before a fall' (Proverbs, 16. 18).

⁹¹ Gert Melville, 'Le Problème des connaissances historiques au Moyen Age. Compilation et transmission des textes', in *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. by Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris: CNRS, 1991), pp. 21-41 (pp. 30-37).

⁹² Since Heller, scholars have traditionally distinguished two redactions (redactions A and B in my classification).

⁹³ On the attribution of the sponsorship of the *CBA* to Baldwin of Avesnes, see Chapter 4, 1.

redaction A* includes a genealogical chapter on the descent of Duke Charles of Lower Lotharingia which works as a sort of introduction to the rest of the local genealogies of the *CBA*. This suggests that this first draft already planned the inclusion of the genealogies found in the following stages of redaction.⁹⁴ One can therefore infer that this version was completed shortly before the so-called 'first redaction' (hereafter redaction A).

At the stage of redaction A, the compiler added the teachings of Cato; he replaced some chapters on England borrowed from the *Chronique rimée* with material from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*; he restructured, reworked and made genealogical and historical additions to some sections linked to Hainault and Flanders, and he revised the style of a small number of passages. The use of Primat's lost Latin chronicle, which was finished during the second half of 1278, provides a *terminus a quo* for the completion of this first redaction. The *terminus ad quem* is more difficult to determine: Heller places it in 1281, the year of Count Henry V of Luxembourg's death (whose son had married Baldwin of Avesnes' daughter), which is not mentioned in the *CBA*.⁹⁵ Nothing was added regarding Henry V's death at the stage of redaction B, which hampers Heller's argument. Nevertheless it seems fitting to date the completion of redaction A of the *CBA* around the early 1280s given the date of completion of redaction B.

The so-called 'second redaction' (hereafter B) adds a series of genealogies (on the dukes of Brabant, on the Avesnes family), completes others (on the counts of Boulogne and on noble families from Hainault and Flanders) and makes a couple of corrections to the genealogies added in redaction A. It also inserts some chapters on local and contemporary history (Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestors, the *interregnum* of the empire). These modifications focus on specific sections and certainly did not imply a full revision of the text. Some of the additions might have been made soon after the completion of redaction A;⁹⁶ nevertheless, redaction B was completed no earlier than 1284: the mention of the death of Hellin III of Wavrin, seneschal of Flanders, provides the *terminus a quo*.⁹⁷ Heller believes that this redaction was finished that same year, i.e. before the death of John III of Nesles, count of Soissons

⁹⁴ Regarding all this see Chapter 2.

⁹⁵ 'CHanBA', p. 416.

⁹⁶ The compiler apparently just had to find the right place to insert the genealogy of the Avesnes family (see Chapter 3, 2.3).

⁹⁷ For Hellin III's date of death see [Félix Brassart], 'Une vieille généalogie de la maison de Wavrin. Les sénéchaux et les connétables de Flandre', *SFW*, 16 (1876), 27-178 (p. 29).

because the text does not mention it.⁹⁸ The author of the three redactions is certainly the same.⁹⁹

The following list of manuscripts and fragments (ordered alphabetically) is for the most part based on that published by Jung in 1996.¹⁰⁰ I have completed and corrected it with my own research and the unpublished work of Gillette Labory.¹⁰¹ I have been able to identify the redaction for each manuscript that I have examined (or accessed via a microfilm) but the scope of my research has prevented me from looking at all the manuscripts and I have indicated each time the redaction of a given copy has yet to be identified.¹⁰² Some manuscripts have remained unlabelled simply because they do not include any of the passages which distinguish redaction A from redaction B. They remain thus unclassifiable, at least until a detailed *stemma codicum* of the manuscript tradition is available. Other manuscripts which Jung included in his list actually contain hybrid versions. They are listed in section 3.2. below.

1. *Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM), MS 1043 (olim 863). Ca. 1300: Creation-Death of Augustus (numerous folios have been removed). Redaction A.¹⁰³
2. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 307. Ca. 1470-80: Creation-Hadrian.¹⁰⁴
3. *Berne, Burgerbibliothek, MS 98. Thirteenth-fourteenth century: Hamilcar II of Carthage and Alexander the Great (ca. 330 B.C.)-Emperor Julian adores the idols (ca. 360 A.D.) (fols 1^r-118^r; this manuscript is missing the first 123 folios).

⁹⁸ 'CHanBA', pp. 416-17.

⁹⁹ Chapter 4, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Marc-René Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France au moyen âge. Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits* (Basel and Tübingen: Francke, 1996), pp. 432-35.

¹⁰¹ See the fiches of the section romane of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Centre Félix-Grat, 40, Avenue d'Iéna 75116 Paris. I have found manuscripts 1, 13, 37, 41-43 and 46. thanks to these fiches.

¹⁰² Manuscripts (or microfilms) I have looked at are marked with an asterisk.

¹⁰³ For the date see Alison Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated in France 1260-1320* (Harvey Miller and Brepols, forthcoming). I am very grateful to the author for granting me access to her work on the manuscripts of the *CBA*.

¹⁰⁴ For date see Lillian M.C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 3 vols (Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins University Press: 1989-), III (1997), 370.

4. *Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale (KBR), MS 9003. End of thirteenth century. Julius Caesar's campaign in Gaul-1124. Redaction A*.¹⁰⁵
5. *KBR, MS 9069. Between 1455 and 1464: Creation-Pilate.¹⁰⁶
6. *KBR, MS 9271. Fifteenth century: Tiberius-death of Joscelin of Rohais (1131) (Most of the genealogies and some historical information on Hainault have been removed). Redaction A.
7. *KBR, MS 10201. Ca. 1410-1420: Creation-Septimus Severus.¹⁰⁷
8. *KBR, MS II 988 (formerly Phillipps 4198 and 379/1). Ca. 1295-1300?: Vol. I Creation-Pilate; Vol. II Tiberius-King of Hungary and Margaret of France (1186). Redaction A.¹⁰⁸
9. *Cambrai, BM, MS 683. Thirteenth century: Creation-Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus. Redaction A.
10. Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 2709 (1). Thirteenth-fourteenth century: fragment with the death of Achilles-Aeneas leaves Troy.
11. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 729. Fifteenth century: Creation-Pilate.

¹⁰⁵ Alison Stones (private communication on 11/03/09) locates this manuscript in the 1290s based on decoration and analogies with other manuscripts.

¹⁰⁶ Dominique Deneffe, 'Analysing Border Decorations: The Case of the *Histoires Martiniennes*, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, ms. 9069', in *'Als ich can'. Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. by Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Leuven: Peeters, 2002) pp. 475-504 dates this illuminated manuscript executed by Jacquemart Pilavaine for Philip of Croÿ between 1455 and 1473; on the other hand the contribution of Anke Esch, 'La Production de livres de Jacquemart Pilavaine à Mons. Nouvelles perspectives' (pp. 641-668 of the same volume) demonstrates that Jacquemart Pilavaine left Mons in 1464 to go back to Péronne for good. Given that at the end of the manuscript Jacquemart mentions himself as 'demourant a Mons en Haynaut' (fol. 274^r), one can thus narrow the *terminus ante quem* from 1473 to 1464.

¹⁰⁷ For the date see Marguerite Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1995), pp. 159-60.

¹⁰⁸ For the date see Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated*.

12. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, MS Thott. 432 in fol. Last quarter of fifteenth century: Tiberius-King of Hungary and Margaret of France (1186). Redaction unidentified (redaction A?).
13. Cracow, Biblioteka Jagellionska, MS Gall. Fol. 216. Fifteenth century: Creation-Augustus.¹⁰⁹
14. Ghent, University Library, MS 415. Fifteenth century: Vol. I Creation-death of Pyrrhus; Vol. II Tiberius-death of Charlemagne (incomplete). Redaction unidentified.
15. Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 207. Fifteenth century: from Peter the Hermit to Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction unidentified.
16. *The Hague, Royal Library (KB), MSS 71 A 14 and 15. Vol. I, between 1460 and 1470: from the Creation to Tiberius; vol. II, between 1480 and 1490: Tiberius-1126. Redaction A.¹¹⁰
17. KB, MS 132 A 14. Ca. 1450-1475: invasion of Hainault (1186)-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction unidentified (redaction A?).¹¹¹
18. Lille, Archives du Nord, B 1583* (second cartulary of Hainault). Between 1305 and 1333: fragment with Richilde of Hainault's agreement with Bishop Theodwin of Liège (fol. 859^v).
19. London, British Library (BL), MS Harley 4415. Sixteenth century: Creation-Pilate.
20. BL, MS Royal 18.E.V. Dated 1473: Creation-death of Hadrian.

¹⁰⁹ The text of this manuscript would be related to that of Paris, BnF, fr. 685 according to the information provided by the fiches at the I.R.H.T.

¹¹⁰ For the date see most recently Anne S. Korteweg, *Guide to the French-Language Medieval Manuscripts in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek [National Library of the Netherlands], The Hague on microfiche* (Amsterdam: Moran Micropublications, 2006), pp. 11-12.

¹¹¹ For the date see Korteweg, *Guide*, p. 56. Korteweg sees this manuscript as the complement to the volume of Copenhagen.

21. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gall. 52. Fifteenth century: Invasion of Hainault (1186)-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction A.
22. *New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke Libr.), MS 339. Fourteenth century: Tiberius-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction B.
23. Beinecke Libr., MS 1106. 1410: Creation-Tiberius (prologue lacking).¹¹²
24. *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Arsenal), MS 3710. Thirteenth century: Creation-Consul Fabius defeats the Etruscans and inhabitants of Veii (end of manuscript lost).
25. *Arsenal, MS 5076. Fifteenth century: Creation-death of Augustus (Aristotle's teachings are lacking).
26. *Arsenal, MSS 5089 and 5090. Vol. I (1462): Tiberius-death of Joscelin of Rohais (1131); Vol. II (1461): the Princess of Antioch (1131)-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction A.¹¹³
27. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fr. 685. Fifteenth century: Creation-Pilate (Aristotle's and Cato's teachings are lacking; other passages have been omitted).
28. *BnF, MS fr. 780 (olim 7188³). Fifteenth-sixteenth century: Death of Henry I of France (1060)-Thierry of Flanders marries Sybill (fols 1^r-78^v; excerpts dealing with Flanders and Hainault, mainly genealogical; two quires have been inverted). Redaction B.¹¹⁴

¹¹² I would like to thank Richard Linenthal for helping me to trace this manuscript.

¹¹³ These two volumes, written by David Aubert for Philip the Good are misleadingly entitled 'Croniques abregies', even though this is not the abridged version of the *CBA*.

¹¹⁴ This manuscript is related to MS n. acq. fr. 5218.

29. BnF, MS fr. 1367. Fifteenth century: Creation-Pilate (the rhymed translation of the *Disticha Catonis* by Jean le Fevre replaces Cato's teachings).
30. *BnF, MS fr. 1553. Around 1285: fragment with chapter on Pierre de la Broce (fol. 254^vA-B).
31. *BnF, MS fr. 2633 (formerly 8315-7 Colbert). Thirteenth century: Peter the Hermit-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction A.
32. *BnF, MS fr. 2801 (formerly Bibliothèque impériale, 8380 3.3, itself formerly 803 Colbert). Fifteenth century: invasion of Hainault (1186)-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction A.
33. *BnF, MS fr. 15460 (formerly Saint-Germain, 84, itself formerly Saint-Germain 139). Fourteenth century: Tiberius-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction B.
34. *BnF, MS fr. 17264 (formerly Saint-Germain 660, itself formerly St-Germain 939). Ca. 1295-1300?: Pharamond-Pierre de la Broce (1278). Redaction A.¹¹⁵
35. BnF, MS fr. 17265. Eighteenth century: Tiberius-Pierre de la Broce (1278) (excerpts). Redaction B.¹¹⁶
36. *BnF, MS nouvelles acquisitions françaises 5218. Ca. 1300: Tiberius-death of Count Joscelin of *Rohais* (1131). Redaction B.¹¹⁷
37. BnF, MS n. acq. fr., 11199. Fifteenth century: Creation-triumph of Pompey.
38. Princeton, University Art Museum, MS y1932-33. Fifteenth century: Creation-Pilate.

¹¹⁵ For date see Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated*.

¹¹⁶ This manuscript is a partial copy of MS fr. 15460.

¹¹⁷ For date see Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated*.

39. Tournai, BM, MS CLXVII bis?. Thirteenth or fifteenth century?: Tiberius-Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus, and princess of Antioch-Pierre de la Broce (1278) (destroyed). Redaction unidentified.¹¹⁸
40. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS L.II.1. Fifteenth century: Creation-Pilate and history of the crusades (from Peter the Hermit). Redaction unidentified.
41. *Valenciennes, BM, MSS 538-39. End of Fifteenth century: Vol. I Creation-Pilate; Vol. II Tiberius-death of Joscelin of *Rohais* (1131) (many genealogies abridged or removed). Redaction A?
42. *Valenciennes, BM, MS 540. Fifteenth century: from Tiberius-Pierre de la Broce (1278) (with passages abridged or removed). Redaction A.
43. Library van der Cruisse de Waziers in the castle Le Sart, nearby Lille. Fifteenth century: Creation-Pilate (destroyed in 1915).
44. Vatican city, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Reg. lat. 1900. After 1422: Creation-Pilate, fols 1^r-151^r (prologue lacking).¹¹⁹
45. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. Pal. MS 3370*. Fifteenth century: Creation-? Redaction unidentified.

¹¹⁸ This manuscript was first deprived of a shelfmark. The only one to quote this shelfmark was Brassart, 'Le Prologue et la première partie des chroniques de Bauduin d'Avesnes', *SFW*, 2nd series, 2 (1882), 129-39 (pp. 136-37). I am grateful to Dominique Vanwijnsberghe for his help in confirming that the manuscript no longer exists.

¹¹⁹ I am very grateful to Godfried Croenen for examining this manuscript.

3.2. Hybrid Versions

The preceding list illustrates well the organicity of the *CBA*: in several manuscripts some passages have been removed, abridged or replaced. Nevertheless, one can add another dozen of manuscripts which demonstrate even more the complexity and diversity of the manuscript tradition of the *CBA*. The following list comprises manuscripts in which the *CBA* has been partly used and/or interpolated. All these new textual configurations result from new writing projects, realised long after the work commissioned by Baldwin of Avesnes. One can thus wonder if those texts should actually be labelled as versions of the *CBA* or if they are not rather new compilations using the *CBA* as one of their sources. Be that as it may, they offer a first glimpse at the textual reception of the original *CBA*.

46. Arras, BM, MS 995. Fifteenth century: from the Creation to 1310.
47. *Besançon, BM, MS 678. Second half of fifteenth century: Creation-Messalina.
48. *KBR, MS 9277. Ca. 1465: first triumvirate-death of William I of Hainault (1337).¹²⁰
49. Douai, BM, MS 802. Beginning of sixteenth century: Creation-death of pope John XXII (1334); then continued until 1514.
50. *BL, MS Cotton Augustus V. 1460s: Creation-Pope Clement VI.¹²¹
51. *Arsenal, MS 5077. Between 1415 and 1420: Lamech hunting-death of pope John XXII (1334).
52. BnF, MS fr. 279. Fifteenth century: first triumvirate-death of William I of Hainault (1337).

¹²⁰ For the date see Debae, pp. 120-122.

¹²¹ For the date see David J.A. Ross, 'Some Geographical and Topographical Miniatures in a Fragmentary *Trésor des Histoires*', *Scriptorium*, 23 (1969), 177-86 (p. 177).

53. *BnF, MS fr. 15458. Fifteenth century: composite manuscript which starts with the section on Thebes and ends with Charles of Anjou.
54. BnF, MS fr. 17181. Fifteenth century: Creation-Pope Clement VI.
55. BnF, MS n. acq. fr., 11671. Fifteenth century: first triumvirate-death of William I of Hainault (1337).
56. BnF, MS n. acq. fr. 14285. Written in 1416? Fragments with miniatures.¹²²
57. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 673. Fifteenth century: Creation-death of Pope John XXII (1334) (fols 1-162).

My research on these manuscripts has been more limited and the problem of their respective content and textual connections deserves further attention. Nevertheless, it seems relevant to explain what is left of the original *CBA* in these new compilations. Most of these manuscripts can probably be classified into three different groups. The first group includes three manuscripts (48, 52, 55) whose text starts with the first triumvirate and follows the *CBA* quite closely (including the didactic sections) until the death of Procopius (366 A.D.), although one finds passages inserted from the *Faits des Romains*.¹²³ The author of this new compilation also occasionally adds comments (possibly borrowed from other sources) to the account of the *CBA*.¹²⁴ Robert Bossuat claims that the subsequent list of popes and emperors is borrowed from Martin Von Troppau's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, whereas the rest of the text includes chapters inspired by the text of the *Grandes chroniques de France*.¹²⁵ It seems to me, however, that the text still draws

¹²² Ross, 'Miniatures', p. 178.

¹²³ For instance in KBR, MS 9277 (which was used for the comparison with the *CBA*) one finds among others a description of Britain (fols 64^B-65^B) borrowed from *Li fet des Romains, compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suetoine et de Lucan*, ed. by L.-F. Flutre and K. Sneyders de Vogel (Paris-Groningue: Droz-Wolters, 1938; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), pp. 183-85 (see also Debae, p. 121).

¹²⁴ E.g. the comments on Cato's suicide (KBR, MS 9277, fols 133^A-B) or a chapter on the bishop of Jerusalem (fols 153^B-154^A).

¹²⁵ Bossuat, 'Traductions françaises des *Commentaires* de César à la fin du XV^e siècle', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 3 (1943), 253-411 (pp. 337-40 and 359-71). On the content of this text see also Flutre, pp. 42-50.

occasionally on the *CBA* to complete its account.¹²⁶ A salient feature of the compilation is its interest in Flanders and Hainault, which suggests that it stems from these regions.¹²⁷

A second group includes manuscripts number 49, 51 and 57. Here the borrowings from the *CBA* are very clear-cut: following a chapter on the Creation borrowed from the so-called *Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI de Valois*, the text follows the entire Book I of the *CBA* (i.e. until Pontius Pilate) with some stylistical variants. The only significant change seems to be the removal of the section on Aristotle and his teachings. After Book I, the text uses a different source, possibly the *Manuel*, and ends with Pope John XXII.¹²⁸

The third group (manuscripts 50, 54, 56) also seems to have drawn on the *Manuel* and finishes with Pope Clement VI. The text of BL, MS Cotton Augustus V (which is the one I have examined) displays the same initial scheme as the second group: the first chapter of the *Manuel* is immediately followed by the entirety of Book I of the *CBA*. In this case, however, there are important structural changes and more interpolations such as the inclusion of the *Dits moraux des philosophes* of William of Tignonville, or of a section concerning the nativity of Christ and the signs announcing it, followed by considerations on the planets and the zodiac. The end of Book I of the *CBA* corresponds to chapters 393 and 394 of MS Cotton Augustus V and is followed by the entire Book XV John of Corbechon's *Livre des propriétés des choses*, into which was incorporated John of Vignay's translation of the *Liber scaccorum* of Jacobus de Cessolis, followed by the *Dit de Xerxes*.¹²⁹ After a chapter on Virgil (probably taken from the *Manuel*) one finds a history of the Roman emperors and a very condensed universal history at the start of which was inserted a French translation of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*.¹³⁰ The narrative ends with the mention of King Charles of Valois, although later events were mentioned earlier.

¹²⁶ For instance a section on Byzantine Emperor Heraclius.

¹²⁷ Bossuat, p. 370. Note that the chapter on Joan of Flanders is not borrowed from the original *CBA* (as claims Bossuat, p. 365) but a similar passage can be found in the abridged version of the *CBA* (*Istore*, I, 155 and 176).

¹²⁸ These comments are based on the examination of Arsenal, MS 5077.

¹²⁹ On these sources see Ross, 'Miniatures', pp. 178-79.

¹³⁰ David J.A. Ross, 'Les Merveilles de Rome. Two Medieval French versions of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*', *Classica et mediaevalia*, 30 (1974), 617-65.

Labory's research suggests that there is a link between the second and third group but I have not explored this question.¹³¹ Manuscripts 46, 47 and 53 probably belong to either the second or third group but I have not been able to classify them. It is striking to note that in almost all these new textual configurations, it is Book I of the *CBA* which was put to use. Consequently it appears that thirty-nine out of the fifty-seven manuscripts of the *CBA* and its hybrid versions include Book I (against around 25 for Book II and/or III).

3.3. The Latin Translation

The Latin version of the *CBA*, which was once thought to be the original text, is actually a translation of excerpts of the Old French text made between 1295 and 1307.¹³² It is preserved in eight manuscripts (of which two only are medieval) and has been edited twice.¹³³ The text consists of a translation of Chapters 47, 56, 85 and 128 of 'CHanBA' (whose content is mainly genealogical) along with a Chapter on Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestors (*Istore*, II, 593-95) and another on Alaric I the Goth and the Sack of Rome (410 A.D.).¹³⁴ It is based on a B redaction manuscript, very probably BnF, MS n. acq. fr. 5218.¹³⁵ The text restructures its source and also continues some genealogies up to the 1290s. Croenen has recently observed that the compiler-translator adjusted the 'descent-oriented' genealogies of the original *CBA* into an 'ancestor-oriented' perspective for the Latin version, constructing 'a genealogy linking the Carolingians with the Capetians kings, through the counts of Hainault' (p. 91). This connection with the French royalty suggests that this translation was composed in a Capetian environment (p. 93, note 11).

¹³¹ See her fiches at the IRHT where she groups manuscripts 49, 50, 55, 57 and also 42 (this mention of Valenciennes, BM, MS 540 is, in my opinion, erroneous).

¹³² 'CHanBA', p. 418 and especially p. 428, n. 13.

¹³³ For a list of manuscripts, see my entry 'Ex cronicis Haynoniensibus recollectis per magistrum Balduinum de Avennis' on <http://www.arlima.net> (resp. Laurent Brun). The editions are: Luc d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis, maxime Benedictinorum, latuerunt* (Paris, 1655-77), III, 286-297 and Baron Jacques Le Roy, *Chronicon Balduini Avennensis toparchae Bellimontis sive historia genealogica comitum Hannoniae aliorumque principum ante annos quadringentos conscripta* (Antwerp, 1693). The latter edition has been used for the present section.

¹³⁴ The section on Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestors has been mistaken for a passage of a chronicle from the abbey of Saint-Hubert (see Chapter 3, 2.2.3.). The passage on Alaric can be found for instance in Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fols 36^vA-37^rA.

¹³⁵ This appears notably from the absence of a series of dates involving the dukes of Brabant in the Latin translation: MS n. acq. fr. 5218 is the only redaction B manuscript lacking those dates (Chapter 3, 2.4.2.). Furthermore, this manuscript covers strictly the Christian era until 1131 and all the material used in the Latin version corresponds to that timespan.

3.4. The Abridged Version

The 'cronikes estraittes et abregies des livres monseigneur Bauduin de Avesnes' is almost exclusively based on the *CBA* but their author performed important structural changes:¹³⁶ sections concerning a same topic have been grouped into a single narrative unit (e.g. the history of the Britons from Brutus' successors to King Aethelwulf) whereas they belonged to different chapters in the *CBA*.¹³⁷ The text starts with the Genesis, which is followed by an excursus on the six ages of the world and a chapter on the tower of Babel; biblical history is quickly left aside and the narrative turns to the histories of Thebes and Troy (until Brutus and Romulus), of the Macedonians (also linked to Troy),¹³⁸ after Alexander the Great he proceeds straight to Roman history at the time of Jesus Christ; this is followed by the history of the Britons (with an insertion on the Vandals, Goths and Huns). The narrative then starts interlacing the history of the French kings (from their Trojan origins) and of the counts of Flanders. The history of the counts of Hainault also appears with Richilde and several genealogies which show that this text was based on an A redaction manuscript. In contrast with the *CBA*, the history of Hainault is not interlaced with but clearly distinguished from the history of Flanders. Up to that point in the narrative, the work consists of large excerpts of the *CBA* which were copied fairly accurately, with the occasional omission.¹³⁹ Afterwards, however, the text is more condensed and shortened and does not group narrative units thematically. The narrative covers alternately the history of Flanders, the crusades, the history of France and Hainault. Short passages on the Albigensian Crusade and on the history of the empire are also included. The text stops with the death of anti-king Henry Raspe (1247).

¹³⁶ Title taken from KBR, MS 10233-36, which was examined for this section. The text has been partially edited in *Istore*, I (under the title 'autre relation') and 'Chronique de Flandres écrite au XIV^e siècle', in *Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France. XIV^e siècle*, ed. by J.A.C. Buchon (Paris: Mairet and Fournier, 1838; repr. 1841), pp. 601-73 (pp. 633-64). For a list of manuscripts see my entry 'Chroniques extraites et abrégées des livres monseigneur Baudouin d'Avesnes' on <http://www.arlima.net> (resp.: Laurent Brun).

¹³⁷ I wonder if the author of this abridged version benefited from the use of a manuscript of the *CBA* which contained a table of contents in which rubrics are labelled thematically (such as in Cambrai, BM, MS 683 or KBR, MS II 988) as this would have made his compilation work considerably easier.

¹³⁸ Aristotle's teachings have been omitted (with the exception of the passage which the *CBA* borrowed from the *Alexandreis*).

¹³⁹ For instance there is no mention of Aeneas' stop in Carthage.

Among the original features of this abridged version, one finds a couple of chapters dealing with the Avesnes and Dampierre feud (an obvious lacuna of the *CBA*), namely about Margaret of Constantinople's marriages and her son William of Dampierre's death at the tournament of Trazegnies.¹⁴⁰ The text was thus certainly written in Flanders or Hainault, probably during the fourteenth century.¹⁴¹ It is unclear whether the author intended to end his text in 1247 as the narrator announces in the penultimate chapter that he will talk about Guy of Dampierre joining Louis IX's 1248 Crusade. In most of the ten surviving manuscripts, the text is followed by other vernacular chronicles, such as the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims* or the *Chronique normande abrégée*. From one manuscript to the next some elements have been added or replaced: in two manuscripts, the *Johannes Pseudo-Turpin* substitutes the account of Charlemagne's Spanish campaign traditionally found in the *CBA*;¹⁴² KBR, MS 10233-36 incorporates at the beginning of the text a universal chronology until 1296 with marked interest in Flanders and Hainault.

4. *Some Aspects of the Reception*

An accurate assessment of the influence and reception of the *CBA* will have to wait for the exhaustive study of the manuscripts. In spite of the lack of a comprehensive view of the manuscript tradition, one can point to a couple of interesting phenomena regarding the dissemination, the audience and the literary impact of the *CBA*.

The question of the patron's role in the diffusion of the work and, more specifically, of the ties between the *CBA* and Baldwin of Avesnes' entourage and family is intriguing. Enguerrand IV of Coucy, Baldwin's wife's first cousin, sponsored in 1303 the *Livre du lignage de Coucy*, a work based on the genealogies of the *CBA*. Furthermore, John II of Avesnes (John I of Avesnes' son and Baldwin's

¹⁴⁰ *Istore*, I, 176-77.

¹⁴¹ Ronald N. Walpole dates KBR, MS 10233-36 around 1425 ('Le Codex BPL. No 57 de la bibliothèque de l'université de Leyde: une copie du ms. 10.233-36 de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique', *Neophilologus*, 63 (1979), 187-92, p. 187). This manuscript cannot be the original copy, as it includes a different account on Charlemagne. The composition can therefore probably be placed during the fourteenth century (see also Johannes Heller, 'Ueber die Herrn Balduin von Avesnes zugeschriebene Hennegauer Chronik und verwandte Quellen', *Neues Archiv*, 6 (1881), 129-51 (p. 140)).

¹⁴² Walpole, 'Le Codex', p. 187.

nephew), count of Hainault and Holland, owned a copy which contained the text from the beginnings of Christian history.¹⁴³ This was in all likelihood a B redaction manuscript with the full account on Christian history. Indeed, shortly after 1300 the Dutch chronicler Melis Stoke included in his continuation to the *Rijmkroniek van Holland* a passage on the battle of Westkapelle (1253) certainly borrowed from redaction B of the *CBA*.¹⁴⁴ Given that Melis Stoke was writing for the count of Holland (i.e. John II of Avesnes), it does not seem too far-fetched to assume that he used the copy of the *CBA* which the count had in his library. Consequently, John II of Avesnes' manuscript would have been a redaction B copy which probably reached the end of the narrative.

The family of Luxembourg can also be linked early on with a copy of the *CBA*: in the second cartulary of Hainault, which was completed between 1305 and 1333,¹⁴⁵ one finds a passage on the enfeoffment of Hainault to the bishopric of Liège 'estrait d'une cronike et aportet par monseigneur Waleran de Liny'.¹⁴⁶ This was Walram II, lord of Ligny, nephew of Count Henry VI of Luxembourg; the latter count was Baldwin of Avesnes' son-in-law. Walram's manuscript might have been the same as that owned by John II of Avesnes: when the count died in 1304, his books were transmitted to his wife, Philippine of Luxembourg, Walram II of Ligny's aunt.¹⁴⁷ The *CBA* does not appear in the 1325 booklist of Count William of Hainault and Holland, their son, which suggests that the book had been passed on to someone else (possibly Walram II?).¹⁴⁸ In any case, several other copies of the *CBA* appear among the descendants of Walram II, namely Louis of Luxembourg, whose owner's mark was scratched off in BnF, MS fr. 2633 and in BL, MS Harley 4415,¹⁴⁹ and

¹⁴³ Cf. Janet F. Van der Meulen, 'Avesnes en Dampierre of 'De kunst der liefde'. Over boeken, bisschoppen en Henegouwse ambities', in *1299: één graaf, drie graafschappen. De vereniging van Holland, Zeeland en Henegouwen*, ed. by D.E.H. de Boer, E.H.P. Cordfunke and H. Sarfatij (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), pp. 47-72 (pp. 53-54 and photograph on p. 52). The list is edited in *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, ed. by Albert Derolez, 4 vols (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1997-2001), IV, 240.

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter 3, 2.4.2. For Melis Stoke see Burgers, *Rijmkroniek*, pp. 137-43 and 202-03. Burgers does not seem aware that this passage belongs to redaction B. See also Janet F. van der Meulen's review of Burgers' book in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 118 (2002), pp. 18-20.

¹⁴⁵ Marinette Bruwier, 'Etude sur les Cartulaires de Hainaut', *BCRH*, 115 (1950), 173-217 (p. 215).

¹⁴⁶ Baron Frédéric de Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, 8 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1844-74), III (1874), 311-12.

¹⁴⁷ Colette-Anne Van Coolput-Storms, 'Entre Flandre et Hainaut: Godefroid de Naste (+1337) et ses livres', *Le Moyen Age*, 113 (2007), 529-47 (p. 532, note 7).

¹⁴⁸ *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, IV, 243-44.

¹⁴⁹ See Hanno Wijsman, 'Les Manuscrits de Pierre de Luxembourg (ca 1440-1482) et les bibliothèques nobiliaires dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons de la deuxième moitié du XV^e siècle', *Le Moyen Age*, 113 (2007), 613-37 (p. 619, note 17) and 'Le Connétable et le chanoine. Les ambitions

Peter of Luxembourg, the latter's son, who owned a copy of the *CBA* which comprised the volume The Hague, KB, MS 71 A 14 (Book I).¹⁵⁰ The chronicle might thus have had a special status in the family of Luxembourg.

The examples of Enguerrand of Coucy, John II of Avesnes and Walram II of Ligny suggest that Baldwin of Avesnes might have played an active role in the dissemination of the chronicle he sponsored.¹⁵¹ Their ties with the *CBA* are beyond doubt, but one can go further and formulate some interesting hypotheses regarding early reception of the *CBA* by other members of the Avesnes family. Guy of Avesnes, Count John II's brother, was an ecclesiastic (he became bishop of Utrecht in 1301) who, some time between 1290 and 1302, wrote *Li ars d'amour de vertu et de bonheur*, a work based on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.¹⁵² One cannot help but notice the topical likeness of this work with the 'ensegnemens Aristotle' of the *CBA*: this long ethical section derived from Book II of the *Livres dou tresor*, which was itself partly based on the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Could Guy of Avesnes have been inspired by the literature sponsored by his uncle?¹⁵³ Be that as it may, it appears that the transmission of ancient wisdom to a lay readership was a common interest for Guy and his uncle.

Two other nephews of the lord of Beaumont might be connected to the *CBA* and its dissemination: Bouchard and William of Avesnes, who were also clerics.¹⁵⁴ The former became bishop of Metz in 1282, a city which was an important centre of production for manuscripts of the *CBA*, including two early redaction B copies.¹⁵⁵ Could Bouchard of Avesnes have been at the root of the Metz-based dissemination of the *CBA*? It is interesting to note that he was in contact with his uncle in 1287 and 1288, i.e. a few years after the completion of redaction B (see Chapter 4, 2.2.). I also wonder about the possible connection between Bouchard and his brother William and a fragment of the *CBA* found in a manuscript produced in Cambrai in 1284-85

bibliophiliques de Louis de Luxembourg au regard des manuscrits autographes de Jean Miélot', *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, Special issue 87 (2008), 125-60.

¹⁵⁰ Wijsman, 'Les Manuscrits de Pierre de Luxembourg', pp. 625-27.

¹⁵¹ On the (limited) potential impact of the patron on a work's dissemination see Guinée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 288-90.

¹⁵² Van der Meulen, 'Avesnes en Dampierre', pp. 63-64.

¹⁵³ The oldest manuscript of *Li ars*, KBR, MS 9583 (see illustrations in van der Meulen, 'Avesnes en Dampierre', pp. 60, 63-65) displays strong stylistical similarities with KBR MS II 988.

¹⁵⁴ For biographical information on the children of John I of Avesnes see van der Meulen, 'Avesnes en Dampierre', pp. 51-57).

¹⁵⁵ Beinecke Libr., MS 339 and BnF, MS n. acq. fr. 5218. Berne, BB, MS 98 (whose redaction cannot be determined at this stage) is also part of this group (for all this see Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated*).

which might have belonged to a canon: BnF, MS fr. 1553.¹⁵⁶ This fragment (the last chapter of the *CBA*) was obviously copied from another manuscript, which suggests that there was a copy of the *CBA* available early on in Cambrai, possibly in a clerical environment. Baldwin of Avesnes had dealings with the chapter of Cambrai (see Chapter 4) and could have been at the origin of the dissemination of the *CBA* in Cambrai, but there is also a real possibility that Bouchard, who was a canon at Notre-Dame of Cambrai, and his brother William, who was provost of the same church and, from 1286, bishop of Cambrai, also had something to do with it.¹⁵⁷ One should also note that Enguerrand of Créquy, who preceded Bouchard of Avesnes on the episcopal siege of Cambrai, and whose death is lamented in a *planctus* in MS fr. 1553, was also a relative of the Avesnes, mentioned in the genealogies of redaction B of the *CBA*.¹⁵⁸

The potential connections between Guy, Bouchard and William of Avesnes and the *CBA* illustrate another interesting aspect of the reception of this universal chronicle: its appeal to clerics. This clerical reception is admittedly belated and limited but some aspects of the chronicle seem to have interested both secular and regular clerics. This was probably the case of the sections on philosophers, as KBR, MS 9003 includes numerous marginal notes in Latin, including corrections of the translation of Seneca's sayings, which suggests a learned, clerical reader.¹⁵⁹ A work like the *CBA* might have been handy for secular clerics when preaching to or educating a lay public and the Avesnes brothers are not the only canons who can be linked to copies of the *CBA*: Richard of Bellengues, canon and musician connected to the chapel of the dukes of Burgundy, owned a full set of the *Tresor des Histoires*

¹⁵⁶ See Alison Stones, 'The "Terrier de l'Evêque" and some Reflections of Daily Life in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century', in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander. The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, ed. by Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London: Harvey Miller, 2006), pp. 371-84 (p. 372, note 9); Olivier Collet, "'Textes de circonstance" et "raccords" dans les manuscrits vernaculaires: les enseignements de quelques recueils des XIII^e-XIV^e siècle [sic]', in *Quant l'ung amy pour l'autre veille. Mélanges de moyen français offerts à Claude Thiry* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 289-311 (pp. 300-03) and Olivier Collet, 'Du "manuscrit de jongleur" au "recueil aristocratique": réflexions sur les premières anthologies françaises', *Le Moyen Age*, 113 (2007), 481-99 (pp. 486-88 and 492-93). The hypothesis regarding Bouchard of Avesnes and Enguerrand of Créquy stems from a discussion with Kathy Krause, to whom I am very grateful.

¹⁵⁷ On Bouchard and William's benefices see van der Meulen, 'Avesnes and Dampierre', p. 68.

¹⁵⁸ 'CHanBA', p. 435. Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated* also points out the resemblance of a coat of arms painted in KBR, MS II 988 with the arms of Enguerrand of Créquy. Furthermore, an historiated initial on Arras, BM, MS 1043, fol. 169^vB depicts two knights: the shield of one of them seems to display a 'créquier', the symbol of the Créquy family. On the patronage of illuminated manuscripts by the bishops of Cambrai during the thirteenth century see Stones, 'The "terrier"', pp. 372-73.

¹⁵⁹ Ruhe, *Proverbes Seneca*, pp. 59-60, note 21.

(a frequent title in later manuscripts or reworked versions of the *CBA*).¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, it appears that some manuscripts can also be associated with the regular clergy: the second volume of KBR, MS II 988 bears twice the fifteenth-century owner's mark of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Ghislain (near Mons);¹⁶¹ Douai, BM, MS 802 belonged to the abbey of Anchin;¹⁶² Ghent, UL, MS 415 stems from the abbey of Saint Peter of Ghent.¹⁶³ This monastic reception might seem more surprising, but one should not forget that the *CBA* used several monastic texts as sources and that universal history was a popular genre in monasteries.

Nonetheless, the main readership of the *CBA* was lay and noble. After a first wave of early manuscripts, some of which were linked to Baldwin of Avesnes' entourage and family, the work regained popularity among the Burgundian nobility, which owned and, to some extent, produced some of the most beautifully illuminated copies of the *CBA*. Duke Philip the Good had the text on Christian history copied in two volumes written by David Aubert and illuminated by Loyset Liédet.¹⁶⁴ The 1467 booklist of the Burgundian library probably made right after Philip the Good's death suggests that the duke also owned two manuscripts of the *Cronikes estraittes et abregies* (KBR, MSS 10233-36 and 10478-79) and even the early version A* of the *CBA* (KBR, MS 9003).¹⁶⁵ The success of the *CBA* is also visible under the rule of Duke Charles the Bold and beyond. Jean du Quesne's *Commentaires de César*, sponsored by the duke, and *Cronicque habregie*, were partly based on a hybrid version of the *CBA* similar to BnF, MS fr. 279,¹⁶⁶ a manuscript made for Louis of Bruges, a noble who frequented the ducal court.¹⁶⁷ A full set of the *CBA* can also be

¹⁶⁰ *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, IV, 68.

¹⁶¹ Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated*.

¹⁶² Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 46.

¹⁶³ Albert Derolez, *Inventaris van de handschriften van de universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent* (Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit, 1977), p. 36.

¹⁶⁴ Arsenal, MSS 5089-90. See Georges Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Champion, 1909), p. 419 and Pascale Charron and Marc Gil, 'Les Enlumineurs des manuscrits de David Aubert', in *Les Manuscrits de David Aubert 'escripvain' bourguignon*, ed. by Danielle Quéruel (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, [1999]), pp. 81-100 (p. 87).

¹⁶⁵ All these copies are also included in the 1487 booklist. Doutrepoint, pp. 406 and 419, note 4. Hanno Wijsman recently discovered the presence of MS 9003 in the 1467 and 1487 booklists: 'KBR, ms. 10478-79', in *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne. Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. Vol. 4: Textes historiques*, ed. by Bernard Bousmanne, Tania Van Hemelryck and Céline Van Hoorebeek (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

¹⁶⁶ Bossuat, pp. 341-55 and Séverine Montigny, 'Édition partielle de l'œuvre de Jean du Quesne, traducteur de César et chroniqueur à la cour de Charles le Téméraire' (unpublished thesis, Ecole des Chartes, 2006) (I have not had access to this work but a summary is available on <http://theses.enc.sorbonne.fr/document1011.html>; resp.: Ecole des Chartes [30/04/09]). Bossuat, p. 371 suggests that du Chesne himself might have been the author of this hybrid version of the *CBA*.

¹⁶⁷ Flutre, p. 43.

linked to the Rolin family.¹⁶⁸ Philip of Croÿ also commissioned a copy of the *CBA* (at least of Book I: KBR, MS 9069) from Jacquemart Pilavainne.¹⁶⁹ Philip's son, Charles of Croÿ, inherited this manuscript after his father's death, but he also owned several other copies of the *CBA* (including several hybrid versions), which were probably all second-hand acquisitions (KBR, MSS 9271, 9277 and 10201).¹⁷⁰ His contemporary Philip of Clèves had inherited a copy of the *CBA* which had been made for his father-in-law Peter of Luxembourg (The Hague, KB, MS 71 A 14); it seems that Philip attempted to acquire the full text by obtaining a copy which partially covered Christian history (MS 71 A 15).¹⁷¹ Adolph of Burgundy (d. 1540) also inherited a copy, possibly illuminated by followers of Loyset Liédet and Willem Vrelant (Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 307).¹⁷² The success of the *CBA* during the Late Middle Ages was thus considerable, but it was not strictly connected to the ducal court of Burgundy: the French noble Prigent of Coëtivy owned a copy of a hybrid version (Arsenal, MS 5077)¹⁷³ while Beinecke Libr. MS 1106 was manufactured in Paris.

A last interesting characteristic of the manuscript and textual reception of the *CBA* is its polymorphism. The work has been used and received in many different ways, certainly because of the variety of its content. It has obviously been exploited as a universal chronicle,¹⁷⁴ e.g. by Jean du Quesne in his *Cronicque habregie*, Sébastien Mamerot in his *Histoire des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preuses* and the third redaction of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Jean Mansel in his

¹⁶⁸ Princeton, AUM, MS y1932-33; Copenhagen, KB, MS Thott. 432 in fol.; The Hague, KB, MS 132 A 14. Regarding the two latter manuscripts see Anne-Marie Legaré, 'La Réception du poème des *Eschés amoureux* et du *Livre des Eschez amoureux moralisés* dans les Etats bourguignons au XV^e siècle', *Le Moyen Age*, 113 (2007), 591-611 (pp. 597-98 and 609-10). Jung, p. 435 states that the destroyed manuscript of the Van der Cruisse de Waziers library belonged to William Rolin.

¹⁶⁹ Debae, pp. 53-56.

¹⁷⁰ See also the booklist edited by Edward van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croÿ, duc d'Aerschot (1614)', *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, 9 (1852), 380-92 and 436-51 which mentions copies of the hybrid version finishing at the time of Pope John XXII (p. 440).

¹⁷¹ Wijsman, 'Les Manuscrits de Pierre de Luxembourg', pp. 625-26. There must have been a third (lost?) volume given that MS 71 A 15 ends in 1126.

¹⁷² See Randall, III, 370.

¹⁷³ Louis de la Trémoïlle, *Prigent de Coëtivy. Amiral et bibliophile* (Paris: Champion, 1906), p. 52 edits the booklist where the 'Tresor des histoires' is mentioned. Prigent's owner mark also appears in the actual manuscript.

¹⁷⁴ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 34 makes the interesting suggestion that it was used as a manual of history, a sort of introduction to ancient history.

¹⁷⁵ *Histoire ancienne*, II, 246. Jean du Quesne did use a hybrid version: see above note 166. Anne Salamon is currently preparing a doctoral thesis on the *Histoire des Neuf Preux* at Paris IV-Sorbonne: it consists of a critical edition and should shed light on the problem of the use of the *CBA* by Mamerot.

Hystores rommaines and *Fleur des histoires*, the *Miroer du monde*, the *Histoires de Romme* and André du Quesne in his *Commentaires de César* have used it for their account on Roman history.¹⁷⁶ The *CBA* was thus held in esteem for its account of ancient history. Nonetheless, it was also trusted for its record of very recent history: Melis Stoke borrowed the account of the battle of Westkapelle and BnF, MS fr. 1553 includes the chapter on Pierre de La Broce. The account on regional history was equally appreciated: the *Chronographia regum Francorum* used the abridged version of the *CBA* for the material on Flanders and Hainault;¹⁷⁷ the summary of the enfeoffment of Hainault to the bishop of Liège was viewed as trustworthy as it was copied in a cartulary. Moreover, the ethical sections of the *CBA* have had independent success and so have the genealogies (with the Latin version and BnF, MS fr. 780). Even the prologue of the chronicle was recycled by other works.¹⁷⁸ In sum, the secret of the *CBA*'s success was probably its inherent versatility: most readers (or, for that matter, writers) could find something in it which matched their needs.

Conclusion

The *CBA* was sponsored and composed at a time when writing historiography in Old French prose was a well-established practice. As the first-ever completed universal chronicle in French, it fits in with the rise of the transmission of scientific and scholarly knowledge in the vernacular and with the emergence of comprehensive and synthetic texts in very different disciplines. It also came as a response to the increasing thirst for knowledge among a noble, lay public and therefore aimed to compile the history of the world in a clear and concise manner. To that effect the author of the *CBA* used a wide range of different bookish sources. Among the

¹⁷⁶ Flutre, pp. 124-56 and 50-58; Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 33-34. I wonder if Mansel might have been using the hybrid version contained in (among others) MS Cotton Augustus V, as the *Fleurs des Histoires* also uses Book XV of Jean de Corbechon's *Livre des propriétés des choses* (entirely included in the version of MS Cotton Augustus V).

¹⁷⁷ This Latin historiographical compendium relies on a wide range of vernacular chronicles from Flanders (among others): it seems that alongside the *Cronikes estraittes et abregies*, it also borrowed from one of the versions of the *Flandria generosa* (the sources of the first part of the *Chronographia* have yet to be studied properly).

¹⁷⁸ Flutre, pp. 58-59.

distinctive traits of the *CBA*, the interest in local history (and genealogies) and the sections compiling the sayings of ancient philosophers also corresponded to the needs and expectations of this audience, as did the general ideology of the work and its concern for the moral value of history.

The *CBA* was composed in several stages or redactions, which in turn generated several new compilations or translations unconnected to Baldwin of Avesnes' sponsorship. Manuscript and textual reception tends to show that redaction A and, above all, Book I of the *CBA* have been the most successful. Baldwin of Avesnes probably played an active role in the dissemination of the chronicle he sponsored as there is evidence of early reception of the *CBA* (and notably of redaction B) amongst the lord of Beaumont's entourage. Even though the chronicle seemed originally destined for a local audience, i.e. Baldwin's friends and family, its readership quickly widened: the number of manuscripts and the influence of the work suggest that it was quite popular. Thanks to its eclectic content and its adaptability the *CBA* was able to reach directly or indirectly audiences from different environments, with different linguistic backgrounds and, most importantly, with different tastes.

CHAPTER TWO

Brussels, KBR, MS 9003: An Earlier Redaction of the CBA?

This chapter makes the case that KBR, MS 9003 preserves an early redaction of the *CBA*. A first section shows the difficulty in identifying MS 9003 as either an A or B redaction manuscript and describes the peculiarities of its text. The analysis of these supplies several arguments which support the hypothesis that MS 9003 contains an authorial redaction of the *CBA*, written before both A and B.¹⁷⁹ These arguments, which involve mainly the use, the selection and the treatment of sources for specific sections of MS 9003, are presented in the second section. Finally, the absence of several chapters of the *CBA* in MS 9003 and the peculiar table of contents of the latter manuscript are discussed in the light of its presumed chronological precedence.

1. Redaction A or B?

Manuscript 9003 of the Royal Library in Brussels (KBR) is a codex of 222 folios, written at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁰ It contains part of the *CBA*, starting in the middle of Caesar's conquest of Gaul and ending shortly before the capture of Tyre in 1124. It occupies a rather unclear position in comparison with the rest of the textual tradition of the *CBA*. Scholars have, for various reasons, disagreed on its affiliation, linking it alternately to redaction A or redaction B.¹⁸¹ Ruhe, who edited the section of the *CBA* on Seneca's sayings, used KBR MS 9003 as his base manuscript. As a result of his research he

¹⁷⁹ As specified in Chapter 1, this study only involves the three redactions sponsored by Baldwin of Avesnes.

¹⁸⁰ Alison Stones (personal communication) places it in the 1290s.

¹⁸¹ Heller, 'Ueber die Herrn', p. 140, note 2 and 'CHanBA', p. 418 connected it to B; Bayot, p. 423 and, after him, Flutre, p. 28 and Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 37 link it to A. Heller's attribution was based on the assumption that the text covering the period before King Pharamund was actually an interpolation which did not belong to the original text ('Ueber die Herrn', pp. 133-34), while Bayot believed that the genealogies contained in KBR, MS 9003 proved that it preserved a copy of redaction A.

provided a classification of manuscripts in which, however, he did not deal with the problem of the redactions of the *CBA*, most likely because the section on Seneca's teachings was not modified at any stage of redaction of the chronicle. In his classification, Ruhe grouped KBR, MS 9003 together with Bern, BB, MS 98, BnF, MSS n. acq. fr. 5218 and fr. 15460.¹⁸² The two latter manuscripts are early copies of redaction B, which would suggest that KBR, MS 9003 can be connected to that redaction.¹⁸³

The difficulty in ascertaining the redaction of KBR, MS 9003 is closely connected to its actual content: several sections found in other manuscripts of the *CBA* are lacking, chiefly those which include the genealogical elements which would enable one to identify the redaction of this manuscript (on these see Chapter 3, 2.); other sections slightly differ from the corresponding chapters in A and B in terms of content and/or structure. Scholars have labelled these divergences as abridged passages and dismissed KBR, MS 9003 as another example of scribal intervention. This can be explained by the fact that this manuscript has only received superficial attention,¹⁸⁴ but also by the existence of several manuscripts of the *CBA* with abridged or removed passages, like KBR, MS 9271.

Before discussing the status of KBR, MS 9003 within the textual tradition of the *CBA*, it is necessary to outline the differences which this text displays when compared with the 'canonical' text of the *CBA* (i.e. redactions A and B):¹⁸⁵

- Missing sections:

- The teachings of Cato.¹⁸⁶

- A section on the origins of the county of Hainault (*Istore*, II, 560-61, up to 'jusques à un conte qui ot non: Hermans') included in the chapter on Countess Richilde ('CHanBA', Chapter 56).

¹⁸² Ruhe, *Proverbes Seneke*, pp. 54-57. This classification, admittedly based on a modest sample (three folios of a work which, when complete, probably contained some seven or eight hundred), is however built on a detailed study of the variants of the section examined.

¹⁸³ Ruhe, *Proverbes Seneke*, p. 54. Beinecke Libr., MS 339 (another early redaction B manuscript, unknown to Ruhe) belongs to the same group of manuscripts (See Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated*). The redaction of Bern, BB, MS 98 cannot be identified because the portion of text it contains does not differ in A and B.

¹⁸⁴ Gachet, 'Rapport', pp. 23-39 and 'Les Chroniques', pp. 279-305 was the only scholar to look at the text in its entirety but he was not aware of the problem of the redactions.

¹⁸⁵ Some of the mentioned passages have been edited in 'CHanBA', *Istore*, II, 555-696 and/or Gachet, 'Rapport'. Where available, reference is given in brackets. The chapter numbers follow the numbering of 'CHanBA'.

¹⁸⁶ On this section see Ruhe, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 193-210.

-A genealogical section on the descent of Richilde of Hainault, Baldwin II of Hainault and all his children (with the exception of his heir, Baldwin III) included in 'CHanBA', Chapter 56 ('CHanBA', pp. 421-23; *Istore*, II, 565-69). This section was expanded in redaction B.

-A historical and genealogical chapter recounting Baldwin II of Hainault's disappearance in the Holy Land and tracing the descent of Counts Baldwin III and Baldwin IV of Hainault included in 'CHanBA', Chapter 85 (see 'CHanBA', pp. 424-38 and *Istore*, II, 570-93, from 'Li nouvelle fut tost seue en Haynau...'). This section was expanded in redaction B.

-A section on the ancestors of Godfrey of Bouillon, only extant in redaction B ('CHanBA', Chapter 95; *Istore*, II, 593-95).

- Modified sections:

-Five sections on the kings of England (from Edgar the Peaceable to the start of the conquest of England by William of Normandy) contain a text very different from the rest of the tradition, which usually contains three chapters on the same subject matter, starting with Athelstan the Glorious. This is due to the use of a distinct source and it results in a structure different from redactions A and B: the order of 'CHanBA', Chapters 48 to 54 is slightly altered. Within that span of text, other sections (dealing with the history of Normandy) include a high number of variant readings: a passage on Louis IV of France's coronation and one on Richard I of Normandy's marriage to Gunnor and his death.

-The section on the wars between Richilde of Hainaut and Robert the Frisian ('CHanBA', Chapter 56; *Istore*, II, 559-70) offers a different order for the sequence of events and also contains some important variant readings.

-On a minor level, Peter of Auxerre is not mentioned in the genealogy listing Duke Charles of Lower Lotharingia's descent ('CHanBA', Chapter 47).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Regarding the genealogies in Chapters 47, 56 and 85 of 'CHanBA' mentioned above, see Table 4 in Chapter 3.

The missing items explain to a great extent the difficulty scholars have faced in categorising KBR, MS 9003: redaction B involved essentially expanding and, at times, rewriting the genealogies of the noble families of Hainaut (Chapters 56 and 85 in 'CHanBA'), which are absent in this manuscript. Most of the remaining rewritten material is to be found after 1124, at which date MS 9003 comes to an end. In other words, few passages permit a relevant comparison with variants particular to A or to B. Furthermore, none of these provide convincing evidence, as the example below will show.

The list above mentions a passage on the ancestors of Godfrey of Bouillon among the missing items of KBR, MS 9003. This is an addition made at the stage of redaction B, which means that the passage is also lacking in redaction A (Chapter 3, 2.2). Furthermore, the text for redaction A and KBR, MS 9003 is exactly the same:¹⁸⁸

[...] Tuit cil qui de son affaire enquerioient n'i trouvoient fors vigheur et mesure sans orguel et sans outrage. Quant il fu ensevelis, li baron envoierent querre Bauduin le conte de Rohais son frere. [...] (KBR, MS 9003, fol. 200^vA)

Could this be an argument for considering that the text of KBR, MS 9003 was composed before redaction B (i.e. before the addition)? Probably not, given that the difference between redactions A and B for the sentences surrounding the insertion is minimal. Indeed, redaction B, with the new insertion, reads:

[...] Tuit cil qui de son affaire enquerioient n'i trouvoient fors vigeour et mesure sans orguel et sans outrage.

Pour ce que nous avons fait mencion de si vaillant prince cum fu li dus Godefrois de Buillon, raisons nous samble ke nous vous disons une partie de ses ancisseurs. On treuve es cronikes de l'abbete saint Hubiert en Ardenne que il ot I duc en Loherainne qui ot non Gosselons. [...] Il [Eustasse as Grenons] ot de celle dame cestui Godefroit qui moru rois de Jherusalem si non nous avons dit.

Quant li rois fu ensevelis, li baron envoierent querre Bauduin le conte de Rohais son frere. [...] (Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fols 157^vB-58^vA)

With the exception of the addition on Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestors, the only difference between redaction B and the rest of the tradition is that the 'il' in 'il fu ensevelis' has been replaced by its antecedent: 'li rois'. There is thus no clear hint

¹⁸⁸ The text was collated with KBR, MS II 988; BnF, MSS fr. 2633 and 17264.

regarding the redaction of KBR, MS 9003: it could either be a copy of a redaction A text or an abridgement of redaction B in which the passage on Godfrey's ancestors was removed. None of the other portions of text suitable for comparison afford less ambiguous conclusions, although minor variants seem to confirm to some extent Ruhe's classification. The information available thus prevents us from determining with certainty whether KBR, MS 9003 belongs to redaction A or redaction B of the *CBA*. Nonetheless, the examination of the idiosyncracies of the text of the Brussels manuscript leads us to consider a different possibility: KBR, MS 9003 could actually be a redaction of the *CBA* in its own right.

2. An Earlier Authorial Redaction?

Several arguments support the hypothesis that KBR, MS 9003 contains a text distinct from redactions A and B and which can be considered as an earlier redaction written by the same author. A first important element is the clear independent use of specific sources of the *CBA* by the author of the text of KBR, MS 9003, which is considered in the first section below. A second major argument is the presence in that manuscript of a lengthy narrative sequence borrowed almost exclusively from Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée* or a similar text: the first section on the subject analyses in detail the chapters on England of MS 9003 which derive from the *Chronique rimée* and which redactions A and B have partially replaced with material from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*; the next deals with the differential treatment of some passages of the *Chronique rimée* common to MS 9003 and redactions A and B. The last section exposes another (minor) argument in favour of MS 9003's precedence: the ideological treatment of Richilde of Hainault.

2.1. The Independent Use of Several Sources of the *CBA*

A first interesting observation regarding KBR, MS 9003 is that if it derives indeed from redaction A or redaction B, it cannot be based strictly on one of these texts; in other words, a pure abridgment is out of the question. The examination of KBR, MS 9003 indicates indeed that its author used independently in his account at least three

(possibly four) texts which served as sources for the *CBA*. This shows clearly in passages where the text of KBR, MS 9003 appears closer to a given source than the corresponding text for redactions A and B, but also in a few chapters or paragraphs in which MS 9003 has recourse to a source different from that used in redactions A and B. Let us demonstrate this with a few significant examples before assessing what this concretely means with regard to the working hypothesis that MS 9003 contains an independent authorial version of the *CBA*.

A first source which was undoubtedly used in order to write a chapter of the text preserved in KBR, MS 9003 is the *Flandria generosa*. The section on Richilde of Hainault ('CHanBA', Chapter 56) is based on this Flemish chronicle and on Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense*. In MS 9003, this section displays a structure radically different from redactions A and B and includes a few passages which indicate that the author of the text of MS 9003 made direct use of the *Flandria generosa*. The episode describing the start of the wars between Robert the Frisian and Richilde of Hainault provides an interesting example. In the excerpt quoted below one observes that the same events are recounted very differently in MS 9003 on the one hand and in the rest of the tradition on the other:¹⁸⁹

KBR, MS 9003

Aucun ki mieus amoient guerre que pais envoierent a Robert en Frise, et li manderent que il venist saisir la conté de Flandres, car ses freres estoit mors. Dont s'apparella Robiers et vint a grant pöoir en Flandres, si saisi la Gant et envoya au roi Phelippe de France pour avoir aide. Mais quant la contesse Richaus le sot, ele i envoya bons messages et fist tant viers lui que il l'i ot couvent aidier. Et Robiers, ki a Gant estoit, si traist viers Kassiell. Par le conseil et par l'aide de aucuns dou païs fist tant que il fu dedens. [...]
(fol. 158^A)

CBA (Redactions A and B)

Robers qui estoit sornommés 'li Frisons' pour ce que il repairoit en Frise et avoit espousee la contesse de Frise, quant il sot la mort le conte Bauduin^a son frere, il ala en Flandres et atraist plusieurs des barons de la terre a son acort. Il avoit beance de^b retenir la conté a son oes, car si neveu estoient encore mout josne. Il s'entremetoit plus de^c la conté de Flandres que la contesse Richaus ne vocist. Et quant Ernous li filz Richaut^d ot aage, il s'en ala^e au roi Phelippon son cousin qui le fist chevalier; puis revint en Flandres, et, quant il vot maintenir la conté, Robers li Frisons ses oncles fu dou tout contre lui^f et avoit grant plenté de gent assemblees. Si saisi la vile de Gant, et puis traist^g vers Kassiell: si la prist. [...] (*Istore*, II, 562)

(a) Bauduin] KBR, MS II 988: Bauduin de Flandres — (b) beance de] KBR, MS II 988: baance a — (c) plus de] KBR, MS II 988: plus avant de — (d) Richaut] KBR, MS II 988: la contesse Richaut — (e) il s'en ala] KBR, MS II 988: il ala en Franche — (f) oncles fu dou tout

¹⁸⁹ The redactions A and B are here quoted from *Istore*, II, 559-70, collated with KBR, MS II 988; Cambrai, BM, MS 683; Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 17264 and n. acq. fr. 5218; Beinecke Libr., MS 339.

contre lui] BnF, MS fr. 17264: encontre lui;
 KBR, MS II 988: li fu del tout a l'encontre — (g)
 et puis traist] KBR, MS II 988: puis se traist —
 (h) Kassel] BnF, MS fr. 17264: Chassiel;
 Cambrai, BM, MS 683: le chastiel

The discrepancy between MS 9003 and the rest of the tradition in this example can be explained by the use of different sources, even though these sources were rewritten quite freely in both traditions. The appeal made to Robert the Frisian to take over Flanders, Robert's call for help to Philip I of France and the subsequent intervention of Richilde and Robert's entry into Cassel thanks to local support, all derive from the *Flandria generosa*.¹⁹⁰ These items are lacking in redactions A and B which in turn include elements not found in MS 9003: the explanation of Robert the Frisian's nickname, the mention of his alliances with Flemish lords and his attempt to retain Flanders for himself in spite of his nephews and Arnulph of Hainault's knighting by Philip I of France were certainly inspired by Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense* (hereafter *CH*), 5.¹⁹¹ This example thus indicates that the author of KBR, MS 9003 knew the *Flandria generosa* independently from redactions A and B. Moreover, the presence of material from the *CH* in redaction A (and, consequently, B) does not invalidate at all the hypothesis that MS 9003 could have been composed earlier than redactions A and B. On the contrary: MS 9003 also lacks a series of genealogical passages borrowed from Gilbert of Mons' chronicle which are found in redactions A and B. Within the frame of our hypothesis this would mean that a series of additions stemming from the *CH* were made at the stage of redaction A in order to complement the account of KBR, MS 9003.

A couple of other passages in 'CHAnBA', Chapter 56 indicate the direct use of the *Flandria generosa* by the author of MS 9003, but one of them is of special interest because of a variant reading it includes. The episode involved is that of the siege of Saint-Omer by Philip I of France, which is entirely based on the *Flandria*

¹⁹⁰ The CBA used version B of the *Flandria generosa* but these elements can be found in version A, edited by L.C. Bethmann, 'Flandria Generosa', in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, IX (Hannover: Hann, 1851), pp. 313-34 (§§ 17-18). See also for version B: 'Ancienne chronique de Flandre', in *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*, ed. by J.-J. De Smet, 4 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1837-65), II (1841), 31-92 (pp. 41-43); *Les Chroniques des Contes de Flandres, texte du treizième siècle*, ed. by J.M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brugge: Vandecasteele, 1849), pp. 13-15.

¹⁹¹ *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. by Léon Vanderkindere (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1904), pp. 5-7. See also Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. by Laura Napran (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005). Napran use the same division into paragraphs as Vanderkindere; I will therefore refer to paragraphs instead of page numbers in all references to the *Chronicon Hanoniense*.

generosa.¹⁹² It recounts how the bishop of Paris betrays the king and acquires the forest of Esperleke, which he then gives to his brother, the count of Boulogne. Whereas all other manuscripts of the *CBA* call the bishop of Paris *Foukes*, KBR, MS 9003 refers to him as *Guifrois*: the latter reading corresponds to the *Gusfridus*, *Guifrois* or *Geofrois* of the *Flandria generosa*.¹⁹³

Once again, MS 9003 is thus closer to the Flemish chronicle than the rest of the tradition of the *CBA*. But where does the reading *Foukes* (in A and B) come from? The possibility of a scribal mistake seems extremely unlikely given the dissimilarity between the two names used for the bishop: this was certainly a conscious modification, but for what reason? The answer probably lies in a passage situated at a much later point in the *CBA*. Chapter 212 of 'CHanBA' outlines the genealogy of the counts of Boulogne until Philip Hurepel and includes information directly relevant for the aforementioned variant reading.¹⁹⁴

Bauduins [...] qui fu quens de Bouloingne et de Lens, prinst à femme Allain de Gant; il ot III fils de celle dame. Li ainsnés ot non: Ustasses à l'Uel. Li autres ot non: Foukes et fut puis évesques de Paris. Li tiers ot non: Gaufrois. Quant li quens Bauduins fut mors, Ustasses à l'Uel tint la conté après lui, mais il moru sans hoir de sa char. Dont eschai la conté à Gaufrois; car Foukes estoit évesques, sicom nous avons dit dessus. (*Istore*, II, 670)

The first part of this passage (until 'Gaufrois') derives from a genealogy of the counts of Boulogne which has survived in both Latin and French and which was the exclusive source of 'CHanBA', Chapter 212: the *Genealogia comitum Bononiensium*.¹⁹⁵ The rest of the excerpt is original. The text of KBR, MS 9003 is incomplete (it finishes around 1124) and it is therefore impossible to determine

¹⁹² L.C. Bethmann, 'Flandria Generosa', § 22; De Smet, II, 45; *Chroniques des comtes de Flandres*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁹³ It is interesting to note that the *Chronographia regum Francorum*, which has used the abridged version of the *CBA* and probably a version of the *Flandria generosa*, reads 'Fulco vel Gefridus Parisiensis episcopus' (*Istore*, I, 431).

¹⁹⁴ The entire chapter has been edited by [Félix Brassart], 'Une vieille chronique des comtes de Boulogne', *SFW*, 15 (1875), 5-18; see also *Istore*, II, 668-71. For more on this genealogy, see Chapter 3, 2.4.1.

¹⁹⁵ The Latin version survives in Arras, BM, MS 163; partial edition in 'Extraict d'une ancienne Généalogie des Comtes de Bologne, écrite vers le temps du Roy s. Louys', in André Du Chesne, *Histoire généalogique des maisons de Guines, d'Ardes, de Gand et de Coucy* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1631), 2nd part, pp. 5-6; partially reprinted in *RHGF*, vol. 11, p. 346. The French version is preserved in BnF, MS fr. 375, edited by Francisque Michel, *Chroniques anglo-normandes*, 3 vols (Rouen: Frère, 1840), III, pp. xi-xviii and Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois de la bibliothèque du roi*, 7 vols (Paris: Techener, 1836-48), III (1840), 201-11. The text of the *CBA* is clearly closer to the Latin version, which, in turn, appears to be a translation from a French text (probably different from that of the Paris manuscript).

whether it comprised the chapter on the counts of Boulogne, inserted in the narrative of thirteenth-century events. Be that as it may, it appears that the compiler of the *CBA* corrected the account of the bishop of Paris' betrayal of the *Flandria generosa* by using the information that he found in the *Genealogia comitum Bononiensium*, which he probably found more reliable.¹⁹⁶

It has been highlighted above that redactions A and B comprise several items taken from Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense* which are lacking in KBR, MS 9003. Nevertheless, and perhaps more surprisingly, MS 9003 also includes segments of the *Chronicon Hanoniense* which cannot be found in A and B. The number of occurrences is very limited and they can only be found in the section on Richilde. In the following example, one can see how both MS 9003 and the rest of the tradition certainly relied on the *Chronicon Hanoniense* but used different elements:¹⁹⁷

<i>Chronicon Hanoniense</i>	KBR, MS 9003	<i>CBA</i>
<p>[...] Prevaluit igitur in bello Robertus, et qui antea fortis satis extiterat, postea fortior effectus est. Richeldis vero comitissa, dolens de filii sui morte, in Hanoniam cum suis rediit, et cum Balduino filio suo juniore exhereditationem Flandrie graviter ferens, contra Robertum inimicicias et insultus quos potuit commovit.' (<i>CH</i>, 5)</p> <p>[followed by one chapter on Gerbod (Arnulph's killer) and one on Gothelon, duke of Lotharingia.]</p> <p>Post digressionem redeundum est ad comitissam Richeidem, que castrum Belli Montis scilicet turri et aliis munitionibus construxit, et capellam ibidem in honore sancti Venantii instituit, quam bonis satis competentibus ditavit.</p>	<p>Et Robiers li Frisons, ki le champ avoit gaaignié, ala parmi Flandres, pendant viles et castiaus ne n'aresta si ot toute la terre saisie. La contesse Richaus, qui en Haynau estoit retraite, ferma le chastiel de Biaumont et fist la chapiele saint Venant. Quant ele vit ke Robert avoit ensi desirété ses enfans et la conté de Flandres, si com ele estoit de grant cuer, fist une aloiance a <i>Theoduins</i>, l'evesque dou Liege, pour avoir force contre ses anemis. (KBR, MS 9003, fol. 158'B)</p>	<p>Robers li Frisons qui le champ avoit gaaignié, ala parmi Flandres, prenant viles et chastiaus, ne n'aresta, si ot toute la terre saisie. La contesse Richaus et Bauduins ses fils furent en grant pourpens comment il se pouroient efforcier contre Robert le Frison. Pour ce firent une aloiance à Thiedolon^a l'évesque de Liège, qui fut tele:[...] (<i>Istore</i>, II, 562)</p> <p>[...] La contesse Richaut ferma^b le chastel de Biaumont et fist la chapelle Saint-Venant; elle establi les offices des mestiers en son hostel^c. (<i>Istore</i>, II, 564)</p> <p>(a) Thiedolon] KBR, MS II 988: Thieldolun — (b) ferma] Cambrai, BM, MS 683; BnF, MS fr. 17264; KBR, MS II 988:</p>

¹⁹⁶ This attention to global coherence is found elsewhere in the *CBA*. The compiler corrects the mistakes of his sources whenever he spots them. An interesting example is that of Baldwin II's children: *CH*, 20 mentions two daughters (instead of three), but the compiler corrects that fact using *CH*, 28. See also the remarks below.

¹⁹⁷ Parts which slightly vary from one text to the other are italicised; items found only in one text and not in the other are in bold. This highlighting system will be used for quotations in Old French in the rest of this chapter unless otherwise stated. See note 189 regarding the manuscripts chosen for collation.

Hec eciam comitissa cum Balduino filio suo in curia sua officia hereditaria instituit, dapiferorum scilicet et pincernarum, panitariorum et coquorum, camerariorum et hostiariorum; [...] Richeldis equidem comitissa super morte filii sui Arnulphi plurimum dolens, exhereditationemque filii superstitis graviter ferens, allodia sua omnia in Hanonia sita episcopo Leodiensi Theoduini, principi potenti sibi que satis vicino, danda obtulit, ut ab eo in vindictam contra sepe dictum Robertum auxilium haberet, et accepta ab eo pecunia, stipendarios proinde contra eundem Robertum conduceret. [...] (*CH*, 8)

frema — (c) les offices des mestiers en son hostel] BnF, MS fr. 17264: les offices en son hostel des mestiers.

The references of the *CH* to Richilde's return to Hainault and to her indignation because of Robert's seizure of Flanders, which was her children's heritage, are only echoed in KBR, MS 9003. In contrast Richilde and Baldwin's discussing the way to defeat Robert and Richilde's organisation of her household are elements from the *CH* which MS 9003 does not include, contrary to the rest of the tradition of the *CBA*. All this is significant because it means that regardless of which of MS 9003 or redactions A and B came before the other, both textual traditions had to have independent recourse to Gilbert of Mons' chronicle.¹⁹⁸

The independent use of texts by the author of KBR, MS 9003 is not limited to local historiography: there is indication that he might also have exploited the *Eracles*, an early thirteenth century Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*. As mentioned above, KBR, MS 9003 lacks the historico-genealogical section on Hainault corresponding to 'CHanBA', Chapter 85. This section is interesting because of its situation within the *CBA*: in redactions A and B it is inserted within a large section devoted to the crusades based on the

¹⁹⁸ I wonder if the same can be said of the *Flandria generosa*: some material of the *CBA* deriving from this work cannot be found in MS 9003. This includes Montreuil-sur-Mer as a retreat for Philip I of France (mentioned twice: *Istore*, II, 562 and 563 following Bethmann, 'Flandria Generosa', § 22; MS 9003 just mentions France), Arnulph gathering an army with Richilde and calling upon Philip I for help (*Istore*, II, 562, derived from Bethmann, 'Flandria Generosa', § 19; MS 9003 only mentions Richilde for these actions). Nevertheless, this sample of variants, which, in this instance, could be the result of scribal mistakes, is too small to ascertain that both MS 9003 and the rest of tradition used the *Flandria generosa* independently: it is undeniably so for MS 9003 but less certain for redactions A and B.

Eracles and one of its continuations. The material on Hainault is placed after the mention of Baldwin II of Hainault's disappearance in the Holy Land.¹⁹⁹ A comparison of the text surrounding the insertion on Hainault in redactions A and B on the one hand and in MS 9003 on the other is enlightening when one looks at the corresponding passage of the *Eracles* (varying readings of the *CBA* and of KBR, MS 9003 are highlighted in bold; so is the corresponding reading in the *Eracles*; the beginning and end of the insertion on Hainault in the *CBA* are italicised).²⁰⁰

KBR, MS 9003

Ces choses furent ensi atirees en la cité com je vous en devise. Lors fu li consaus pris entre les barons que il envoiassent a l'empereour de Constantinoble pour lui semondre que par sa loiauté, sulousc les couvenances que il avoit a iaus, il ne laissast pas ke il ne venist em propre personne pour iaus aidier, noumeement au siege de Jherusalem les sivist ou il entendoient a aler. Se il ce ne voloit faire, bien seust qu'il ne voloient estre tenu dés ore en avant de nul covenant qu'il eussent a lui, quant il les leur ne voloit garder. Pour cel message faire eslurent Huon, le mainsné frere le roi Phelippe de Franche, et Bauduin, le conte de Haynau. Cil se partirent de l'ost pour aler en Constantinoble, mais en la voie les assaillirent Turc. En cel poingneis fu pierdus li quens Bauduins si que on n'en oï puis nouvelles. Hues li mainsnés eschapa et vint en Constantinoble, mais molt empira sa renommee... (fols 185^vB-86^rA)

CBA

Ces choses furent ensi atirees en la cité come je vous ai devisé. Lors fu li consaus pris entre les barons que il envoiassent a l'empereour Alexis de Constantinoble pour lui semondre que par sa loiauté, selonc les couvenances que il avoit a iaus, il ne laissast pas que il ne venist en propre persone pour iaus aider, noumeement au siege de Jherusalem, ou il entendoient a aler. Et se il ce ne voloit faire, bien seust que il ne voloient estre tenu dés lors en avant de nule covenant que il eussent a lui, se il les leur ne voloit garder. En cel message ala Hues li Mainnés, freires le roi Phelippe de France, et li quens Bauduins de Haynau, fuis [Richaut]⁴. Il se partirent de l'ost et s'en alerent vers Constantinoble. Mais en la voie les assaillirent Turc, qui plusours en ocisent. Entre les autres i fu perdus li quens Bauduyns de Haynau si que ains puis n'en pot on oïr certainneté.

La nouvele fu tost seue en Haynau que li quens Bauduins, li fuis Richaut, estoit perdus.

Eracles

Ces choses furent einsi atirees en la cite com je vos ai devisé. Lors fu li conseus pris entre les Barons que il envoiassent a lempereur de Costantinoble por li semondre par sa loiaute que selonc les covenances quil avoit a eus il ne deslaiast pas que il ne venist en sa propre personne por eus aidier; nomeement au siege de Jherusalem les sivist ou il entendoient a aler. Se il ce ne voloit fere bien seust il que il ne li vouloient estre tenu des ilec en avant de nul covenant que il eussent a lui quant il les leur ne voudroit garder. Por ce message fere eslurent Huon le Maine frere le roi Phelippe de France et Baudoin le conte de Henaut. Cil sen partirent de lost por aler en Costantinoble; mes il lor avint quen la voie les assaillirent Tur. En ce poigneiz fu perduz li cuens Bauduins si que de lui len noi puis noveles. Aucunes genz cuidierent que il fust ilec ocis; li autre dient que il fu pris et menez en ces lointaines terres vers le soleil levant. Jusque a ce jor dhui nen fu onques la verite seue. Hues li Maines sen eschapa: touz

¹⁹⁹ The genealogical material included in this section was considerably expanded at the stage of redaction B, converting this chapter into the largest genealogical section of the *CBA* (see Chapter 3).

²⁰⁰ The text used for the *CBA* in this quotation is that of Beinecke Libr., MS 339, collated with BnF, MS fr. 2633. For the *Eracles*, the only edition available is: *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs, texte francais du XIII^e siècle*, ed. by Paulin Paris (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1879-80), which was consulted through the Internet Medieval Sourcebook, Fordham University Center for Medieval Studies; resp.: Paul Halsall. [31/07/07].

Quant la contesse Yde le sot, sains vint jusque en
[...] Costantinoble a lempereur. Mes

(Beinecke Libr. 339, fol. 130^A-
B)

mout empira iluec sa renomee;
[...] (Book VII, 1)

[This paragraph is followed by
a genealogical section of
varying length, depending on
the redaction]

*Or revendrons a l'istoire de
Antioche et de Jherusalem, car
nous vous avons^b assés dit dou
conte Bauduin le fil Richaut et
dou conte Bauduin son fil le
secont et dou tiers Bauduin,
conte de Haynau et de leur
successeurs, si dirons de Huon
le mainné. Après ce que il fu
eschapés dou poingnés ou
Bauduins li fius Richaus fu
perdus, il vint en
Constantinoble, mais mout
enpira sa renommee [...]
(Beinecke Libr., 339, fol.
143^B-^A)*

(a) Manuscript: Richairt — (b)
nous vous avons] BnF, MS fr.
2633: nous avons

In contrast with the readings of redactions A and B, there is a striking similarity between KBR, MS 9003 and the *Eracles*. One could reasonably infer that the author of the version of MS 9003 has used the *Eracles* directly, although this is difficult to assert with certainty: the comparison only involves mostly formal readings while the actual content of the passage is substantially the same in MS 9003 and in the rest of the tradition of the *CBA*.²⁰¹

This passage is also very interesting with respect to the hypothesis that MS 9003 could contain an earlier version of the *CBA*. In this case, the variation between MS 9003, which displays the text closest to the *Eracles*, and the rest of the tradition could easily be explained: the section on Hainault would be an addition incorporated at the stage of redaction A. This insertion would have required the compiler to modify slightly the text surrounding it, thus making it less akin to the original

²⁰¹ The examination of a sample of variants over thirty folios linked to the *Eracles* in redactions A and B and in KBR, MS 9003 did not confirm that the latter manuscript included a text closer to the *Eracles* than the rest of the textual tradition of the *CBA*. The manuscripts collated with KBR, MS 9003 were: Beinecke Libr., MS 339; BnF, MS fr. 2633; KBR, MS II 988.

source.²⁰² The converse configuration, in which MS 9003 would have been composed after redactions A and/or B, would imply that the author of the text not only removed the section on Hainault but also browsed through the *Eracles* in order to rewrite his text. This seems quite unlikely.

As will be seen in the following section, Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée* was also undoubtedly used by the author of the text of KBR, MS 9003. The traditional claim that the Brussels manuscript contains an abridged version of the *CBA* is thus weakened: if this text were indeed an abridgement of redaction A or B, this would mean that its author also used the *Flandria generosa*, the *Chronique rimée*, the *Chronicon Hanoniense* and the *Eracles* independently. A pure abridgment is thus impossible, but could one then be dealing with a reworked version of the same kind as the hybrid texts surveyed in Chapter 1, 3.2? Probably not: the aforementioned four texts are actual sources of the *CBA*.²⁰³ It would be quite a coincidence if an author rewriting a given compilation were to do it using only sources already exploited in that very compilation. Moreover, the *Flandria generosa*, the *Chronique rimée* and the *Chronicon Hanoniense* are very local sources and the latter two texts have had a very limited dissemination: the *Chronique rimée* survives in a single copy and, with the exception of the *CBA*, has had no reception; only one of three surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicon Hanoniense* is medieval. Access to these texts was thus far from straightforward. Additionally, MS 9003 might date back as early as the last decade of the thirteenth century and it is undoubtedly the copy of another, damaged manuscript as it ends a few lines before the end of a column, mid-way through a sentence. The difficulty in accessing sources and the early existence of the text of MS 9003 both point clearly to an authorial version made at the time of Baldwin of Avesnes' sponsorship rather than to a belated reworked version by a different author. Further evidence will be offered below in order to support this statement.

²⁰² One can actually point to a passage in the *CBA* where this exact process took place. 'CHanBA', Chapter 227 recounts how Alice of Champagne, queen of Cyprus, claimed the county of Champagne helped by Philip Hurepel, count of Boulogne, but eventually renounced her claim after the latter's death. In redaction B, a genealogy of the counts of Boulogne from Philip Hurepel to Robert VI of Auvergne was inserted after the mention of the former's death. This addition forced the compiler to rewrite the text which directly followed it: the narrator had to recall some elements of the story of the queen of Cyprus because of the genealogical digression ('CHanBA', p. 452).

²⁰³ In other words, they are not new in the list of texts used by the *CBA* unlike, for instance, the insertion of a French translation of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* in BL, MS Cotton Augustus V (see Chapter 1, 3.2).

2.2. The Divergent Chapters on the History of England

The use of local and uncommon sources by the author of KBR, MS 9003 described above suggests that this text is an authorial version of the *CBA*. One of these sources is Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée*. Its exploitation in several chapters of MS 9003 involving the history of England is of particular interest in arguing that this manuscript contains the earliest surviving version of the *CBA*. In order to explain how, it is necessary to have a closer look at these chapters on the history of England. The relevant portions of text will therefore be delimited clearly before elaborating on their respective source(s) in redactions A and B on the one hand, and in KBR, MS 9003 on the other.

2.2.1. Description of the Segment Examined

KBR, MS 9003 displays a series of passages which differ radically from their counterparts in redactions A and B: it consists of all the segments treating the history of Britain from the start of the reign of Edgar the Peaceable (Athelstan the Glorious in A and B) to the preparations for the invasion of Britain by William the Conqueror. The transformations observed here, rather than involving the treatment of sources, concern their selection. In other words, for these passages, the compiler of KBR, MS 9003 used a source different from that used in the other redactions of the *CBA* for the corresponding chapters. This divergent choice also causes a slightly different organisation of the structure in KBR, MS 9003 on the one hand and in redactions A and B on the other.²⁰⁴

The best way to compare the content of these fragments is to divide them into three main blocks, the first and the last of which surround the actual divergent sections:²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ The text of A and B is rigorously identical, with the exception of a few variant readings.

²⁰⁵ No edition is available for these passages. They correspond to 'CHanBA', Chapters 41, 48 and 54. The base text for this study was Beinecke Libr., MS 339, which was collated to KBR, MS II 988; Cambrai, BM, MS 683; BnF, MSS fr. 15460, 17264 and n. acq. fr. 5218.

Table 3: The Divergent Sections on England in KBR, MS 9003 and in the CBA

Brussels, RL, 9003	CBA (redactions A and B)
<p>1. From the division of the kingdom of Britain into four parts (and Egbert of Wessex) to Athelstan the glorious (KBR, MS 9003, fols 143^rB-144^rA; Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fols 87^vA-88^rA)</p>	
<p>2. Variant sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From the death of Edgar the Peaceable to Ethelred the Unready's flight to Normandy (fol. 152^rA-B) • From the death of King Sweyn of Denmark to Canute the Great's wedding (fols 152^rB-152^vA) • Hostilities between Canute the Great and Robert I of Normandy (fol. 155^rA) • From Canute's death to Earl Godwin's death (fols 155^vB-156^rA) • From Edward the Confessor's death to William the Conqueror preparing to depart for England from Saint Waleri. (fol. 156^rA-B) <p><i>(the latter segment continues into the start of the conquest without interruption: see 3.)</i></p>	<p>2. Variant sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From the reign of Athelstan the Glorious to the reign of Canute the Great (fols 95^rA-96^vB) • From Canute the Great (episode of the waves) to the death of Harthacanute (fols 99^rB-100^rA) • From the aftermath of Harthacanute's death to William the Conqueror preparing to depart for England from saint Waleri. (fols 100^rB-101^rB) <p><i>(the latter segment continues into the start of the conquest without interruption: see 3.)</i></p>
<p>3. (continued) From the start of the conquest of England by William I to reign of William Rufus (KBR, MS 9003: fols 156^vB-157^rB; Beinecke, 339: fol. 101^rB-101^vB)</p>	

2.2.2. The Sources of Block 1 in all Manuscripts

The main source for the first block of text shown in Table 3 is Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (hereafter *HA*):²⁰⁶ the compiler mingles and summarises information from *HA*, V, 3-6, 13-15 and 17 to describe the reigns of several English kings from Aethelwulf of Wessex to Athelstan the Glorious. Nevertheless, the *Historia Anglorum* is not the only source for this section: the *Flandria generosa* is used for one mention (*FG*, 2: Queen Judith goes home to her father Charles the Bald), and another (unknown) source comes into play for the beginning of the first paragraph, which talks about the division of England into four

²⁰⁶ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Diana E. Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). Her division of the text is adopted here.

kingdoms and the reign of King Egbert of Wessex. The content bears many similarities with William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, a text which peculiarly divides England into four (rather than seven) main kingdoms.²⁰⁷

Procedat itaque primus libellus de Anglorum gestis succinctus, et quo Britanniam occupauere usque ad regem Egbirhtum, qui uaria sorte profligatis regulis insulae pene totius nactus est monarchiam. Sed cum quattuor ex Anglis potentissima pullulauerint regna, Cantuaritarum, Westsaxonum, Northanimbrorum, Mertiorum [...]²⁰⁸

The *Gesta regum Anglorum*'s dissemination in continental Europe is a peculiar one, as the work reached the Continent in the form of abridged versions which seem to have circulated first and foremost among Benedictine abbeys in Flanders and Hainault (in Tournai, Bonne-Espérance, Hautmont, Aulne and Vicoigne).²⁰⁹ These monasteries were all, to some extent, part of Baldwin of Avesnes' network, as we will see in the fourth chapter. Be that as it may, the mention of a division into four kingdoms is insufficient evidence, and it does not allow us to point decisively to a direct use of William of Malmesbury's work: the information borrowed by the compiler might very well come out of another compilation, based on both the *Gesta regum Anglorum* and the *Historia Anglorum*.

2.2.3. The Sources of Block 2: Redactions A and B

The three sections of the second block in A and B, starting with the reign of King Athelstan and ending before the start of the Norman conquest, are all drawn from the same source as the first block: the *HA*. The compiler translates a series of chapters which he condensed: in Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fols 95^rA-96^vB correspond to *HA*, V, 18-20, 22-24, 26-29 and VI, 1-5, 9, 10-16; fols 99^vB-100^rA summarise *HA*, VI, 17-19; fols 100^rB-101^rB translate *HA*, VI, 20-23, 25-27, which are immediately followed by the third block, common to all manuscripts (see below). Although the

²⁰⁷ Regarding this division and the unification under Egbert, see Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London; New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 160-61.

²⁰⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. by Roger A.B. Mynors, completed by R. M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), I, 14-17.

²⁰⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, p. XIV; see also Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1974-82), I, 179 (and notes).

compiler seems to rely solely on Henry of Huntingdon's text, a small number of original elements emerge, which might be due to the use of other sources.

Given that Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle is used to a great extent in the first block of text and given that this first block is common to all manuscripts, one might feel confident in concluding that the sections of the second block found in redactions A and B, which also derive from the *Historia Anglorum*, were the original ones. In that instance KBR, MS 9003, which does not contain the variant sections taken from the *Historia Anglorum*, would be viewed as a revised version of the *CBA*, in which the original sections borrowed from Huntingdon's chronicle have been replaced with a different text. However, such an assumption should not be made too hastily. The analysis of the sources of KBR, MS 9003 and of the co-text of the divergent sections offers instead conclusive evidence of the opposite reasoning (i.e. KBR, MS 9003 as an earlier version), as will be developed below.²¹⁰

2.2.4. *The Source(s) of Block 2 in KBR, MS 9003 and the Source(s) of Block 3*

It has already been stated above that the source of the divergent chapters on England in MS 9003 is the *Chronique rimée*, a 31,200 octosyllables-long historical compilation composed during the 1240s by Philip Mousket, a minstrel from Tournai, which recounts the history of French kings from their Trojan origins until 1242. Nevertheless, this attribution is far from obvious when one focuses strictly on the divergent sections regarding England. Indeed, the history of England and Normandy in the *Chronique rimée* and, consequently, in the aforementioned passages of MS 9003, derives from the early twelfth-century *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges or one of its vernacular translations.²¹¹ In other words, several texts are likely candidates as the source for the divergent sections on England in MS 9003 if the latter are examined as such.

The episode of the death of Earl Godwin of Wessex, a story told time and again by Norman historiographers, provides an interesting case study. In KBR, MS

²¹⁰ Co-text is 'a term used by some British linguists in an attempt to resolve the ambiguity of the term context, which can refer to both linguistic and situational environments. The practice is to reserve 'co-text' for the former and 'context' for the latter' (David Crystal, *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1980), p. 96).

²¹¹ *The Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth M.C. Van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992-95).

9003, it is preceded by a curious passage where a young boy trips (and almost falls) in front of King Edward the Confessor and Earl Godwin while they are riding their horses. Earl Godwin taunts the child, saying that, in that instance, one foot was in need of the other foot. To which King Edward replies that he would need his brother if only he were alive, but he was betrayed. The anecdote originally stems from the *Life of Saint Edward King and Confessor* written by Aelred of Rievaulx, but there, it is told somewhat differently, as the incident occurs during Godwin's last meal.²¹² However, the Anonymous of Béthune's *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* (hereafter *HDN*), the *Chronique de Normandie* and the *Chronique rimée* include the same elements as the text of KBR, MS 9003 and recount Godwin's story in the same fashion:²¹³

KBR, MS 9003

Il chevauchoit un jour et li
quens Gondoines ensamble.
Uns garchons aloit devant iaus
si s'abuissa si durement que a
poi qu'il ne chaï. Li quens
Gondoines li dist: 'Vallés, li
uns piés ot ore mestier a
l'autre!' Aussi dist li rois
Edouars: 'M'eust ore mestier
mes freres se il vesquist, mais a
grant tort fu il traïs!' Li quens,
ki bien entendi por quoi li rois
avoit ce dit, se teüt. (fol. 156'A)

**Anonymous of Béthune,
*HDN***

.I. jor, après chou, avint que li
rois et li cuens chevaüoient
coste à coste, et uns garçons
errans à pié s'abuissa de l'un de
ses piés et a poi k'il ne chaï;
mais il se retint de l'autre. Li
cuens Gommés, ki le vit, dist
tantost: 'Ore ot mestier li uns
piés a l'autre.' Li rois, quant il
l'oi, si dist après che: 'Ausi
m'eust Alvrés mes freres
mestier, se il vesquist.' Et
quant li cuens oi chou, puis ne
sonna mot, dès que il furent
herbregié; [...] (*HDN*, pp. 60-
61)

***Chroniques de
Normandie***

De celui Ewart avint-il que il et
li quens Goimes ses serorges
chevaüoient ensemble .j.

**Philip Mousket,
*Chronique rimée***

Un jour cevauçoit rois Ewars
Par Engletiere, en uns essars,
Et li quens Gondomes o lui,
Par qui Aurés ot cel anui.
Uns garçons devant aus trota,
Ki d'un piet forment se hurta,
Que poi failli qu'il n'est k'us,
Mais de l'autre piet s'est tenus.
Li quens Gondomes ki le vit,
Oiant le roi Ewart, a dit:
'Garçon, garçon, bien le saciés,
Ot teut mestier li autres piés,
Tout ausement comme doi
frere,
Qui sont d'une mere et d'un
pere.'
Quant li rois Ewars
l'entendi,
A Gondone si respondi:
'Ausi m'eüst mestier mes
frere,
Ki fu de mon pere et ma mere,

²¹² There exists no modern edition of Aelred's *Life of Saint Edward*. At least two translations into Anglo-Norman were made: *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. Attributed to Matthew Paris*, ed. by Kathryn Young Wallace (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983) (see vv. 3277-3340 for the death of Godwin) and *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur. Poème anglo-normand du XII^e siècle*, ed. by Östen Södergård (Uppsala: Almqvist, 1948) (see vv. 3767-3932). Note that Godwin's death is also told in the other manuscripts of the *CBA*, but this time following Henry of Huntingdon's account.

²¹³ The following editions have been used: Anonymous of Béthune, *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre; suivie de la relation du tournoi de Ham, par Sarrazin, trouvère du XIII^e siècle*, ed. by Francisque Michel (Paris: Renouard, 1840); *Les Chroniques de Normandie*, ed. by Francisque Michel (Rouen: Périaux, 1839); Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique rimée*, ed. by Baron Frédéric de Reiffenberg, 3 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1836-45). Passages literally similar to KBR, MS 9003 are highlighted in bold in the respective texts.

jour; et .j. garçons à pié passa Aurré, c'on ocist a misere.
 par devant eus, qui s'abuissa Ki moult vallans et sages ere.'
 d'un piet et à l'autre se retint. Quant Gondomes l'a entendu,
 'Or ot, dist li quens Goynes, li Si en a moult grant honte eu,
 uns freres mestier à l'autre.' Quar il pensa, sans contredit,
 Li roys, qui l'oy, dit: 'Ausi Que li rois l'avoit pour lui dit.
 m'eust ore mes freres Auvrez (vv. 16574-97)
 mestier, c'il vesquit.' Lors se
 tut li quens; [...] (*Chroniques
 de Normandie*, p. 47)

The similarity of this passage to the two Norman chronicles is striking. The two chronicles are distinct versions of the *Chroniques de Normandie*.²¹⁴ They probably derived from vernacular compilations rather than from William of Jumièges' Latin text.²¹⁵ It might be quite appealing to identify the *HDN* as a potential source for KBR, MS 9003 as it is known to have circulated at the court of Flanders at the time when the *CBA* was composed.²¹⁶ Nevertheless, the sample examined illustrates the strong similarities between the different texts, and any of the three potential sources proposed here could have been the one used by the compiler of KBR, MS 9003.

The key in finding the source to these chapters is to examine the text surrounding them, which deals first and foremost with the history of Normandy, but also with France, Flanders and the Empire. This co-text, one should note, is identical in all versions of the *CBA* (i.e., MS 9003 and redactions A and B). Interestingly, the account of the history of Normandy appears to be based on a vernacular by-product of William of Jumièges' work (just like the English chapters of MS 9003): the narrative follows overall the seven books of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* and includes elements of the eighth book added by Robert of Torigni during the 1130s. Once in a while Norman history is left aside in order to recount historical events from other countries (chiefly France and Flanders). Here the *Chronique rimée* becomes the most likely candidate among the potential sources mentioned above: the

²¹⁴ *Le Roman de Rou de Wace*, ed. by Anthony J. Holden, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1970-73), III, pp. 102-04 distinguishes four branches: *HDN* corresponds to D, whereas the *Chroniques de Normandie* edited by Francisque Michel follow copies of branches A and B, which contain respectively a short and a long redaction.

²¹⁵ Paul Meyer, 'Notice sur le MS. II.6.24 de la Bibliothèque de Cambridge', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 32/2 (1888), 37-81 (p. 42) and Spiegel, *Romancing*, p. 231.

²¹⁶ See Chapter 4, 2.3, p. 174 for the example of BnF, MS fr. 12203. Regarding the *Histoire des ducs* and the other known work of the anonymous of Béthune (*Chronique des rois de France*), see Spiegel, *Romancing*, pp. 214-68 and Ronald N. Walpole, *Philip Mouskès and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, in *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, 26/4 (1947), pp. 327-440 (especially pp. 346-51; 353-55; 361-64).

content and the way it is structured and narrated, all point towards a relationship of some sort between the *CBA* and Mousket's work.²¹⁷

Among the vernacular texts translating the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, the *Chronique rimée* is the source which has the most in common with the *CBA*. The *HDN* admittedly displays a fairly similar content to the *CBA* and to the British sections of *KBR*, MS 9003 but, in contrast to these texts, it lacks several items concerning the history of Normandy, such as the history of Pope Gerbert and of Robert Guiscard, or even the tale of Duke Richard I of Normandy's encounter with Gunnor, his future wife.²¹⁸ In turn, all these tales, which cannot be found in the other potential sources examined, are present in the *Chronique rimée*.

Furthermore, there is a remarkable structural resemblance between the *Chronique rimée* and the *CBA* for the material extending from the start of the Danish invasion of France to the reign of King William Rufus, i.e. to the end of the third block of Table 3. All the above mentioned episodes missing from the *Histoire des ducs* are included in Mousket's work and overall in the same order as in the *CBA* and *KBR*, MS 9003. Once in a while, another source is used by the compiler (for the history of France or Flanders, or for the genealogy stemming from duke Charles of Lorraine), but on the whole both structures are similar. The single notable difference is that in redactions A and B of the *CBA* the sections on Britain have been replaced with the material taken from Henry of Huntingdon.

In addition to the structure, other elements equally suggest that redactions A and B and *KBR*, MS 9003 are related to the *Chronique rimée*, even though the recourse to a verse text does not seem obvious and can be difficult to prove. The details of the tales common only to Mousket's text and the *CBA* is one of those elements. A convincing example is that of the supposed origins of the maternal grandfather of William the Conqueror. In his study of the sources of the *Chronique rimée*, Jacques Nothomb notes that, for this passage, the only possible source for Philip Mousket was the chronicle of Alberic of Troisfontaines.²¹⁹ Indeed, after surveying the other existing accounts of the first encounter between Robert I of

²¹⁷ Baron de Reiffenberg, 'Suite des notices sur les documents concernant la Belgique, conservés soit dans les dépôts publics, soit chez des particuliers, et indications de publications récentes relatives aux travaux de la Commission', *BCRH*, 1st series, 6 (1843), 272-98 (p. 274) had already noticed the similarity with the *Chronique rimée*; Gachet, 'Rapport', p. 36 claimed that the *CBA* preceded the *Chronique rimée*.

²¹⁸ The latter story can be found in Book VIII, 36 of *The Gesta Normannorum ducum* (II, 266-69).

²¹⁹ Jacques Nothomb, 'Contribution à l'étude des sources de la *Chronique rimée* de Philippe Mousket' (*Mémoire de licence*, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1924), pp. 40-49.

Normandy and his future wife, he concludes that 'la tradition que Mousket nous rapporte en faisant naître Harlette [i.e. William I's mother] à Florennes, il est le seul avec Troisfontaines à la donner.'²²⁰ Ronald N. Walpole believes that Mousket probably did not make direct use of Alberic's chronicle, as he argues convincingly that Mousket was using only vernacular sources and that he might even not have known Latin.²²¹ In any case, the parallel with Alberic's work is interesting here as all other Norman chroniclers usually place Herleva's father's origins in Falaise. The texts read as follows:²²²

**KBR, MS 9003
(and CBA)**

[...] En ce tans sejournoit li dus a Cham.^a Il estoit un jour revenus de chachier si avoit si deurement plëu que il fu moilliés jusques a la char. Ses chambrelens commanda le provost ke il feüst un sien pelichon raparellier qui moilliés estoit. Li prevos manda un escuier^b qui estoit ses acointes. Sohiers avoit non. Il estoit nés de Florines en^c Haynau. Quant il fu venus, il amena o lui sa fille, qui estoit une des plus bieles femes que on pëust trouver. [...] (fol. 155^b-^vA)

(a) En ce tans sejournoit li dus a Cham] Beinecke Libr., MS 339: Or vous dirons dou duc Robert de Normandie. En cel tans que il sejournoit a Cham — (b) escuier] Beinecke Libr., MS 339: escohier — (c) en] Beinecke Libr., MS 339: vers

**Philip Mousket,
*Chronique rimée***

[...] preudom fu cil dus Robiers De Normandie, et si n'ot oir Ki sa tiere devüst avoir. Tant qu'une puciele enama A Kaam, ù il soujourna, Ki fille estoit d'un escohier, Par non l'apieloient Sohier. De Florines, deviers Hainnau, Estoit venu, s'ot d'avoir pau, Quar faide et povertés l'avoit Tel mené, que petit avoit. A Kaam vint, la sejourna, D'escoherie se menla, Quar moult bien s'en savoit mesler.

Et li provos, n'el sai nommer, Li douna del sien et presta, Tant que durement gagna. Et sa fille devint si biele K'il n'ot dame ne damoisele En la tiere, de sa biauté Ne de valour ne de bonté.

Un jour vint li dus kacier. S'ot fait le provost anoncier Qu'a Kaam giroit; s'ot plëu, Ki le duc n'a de rien plëu, Car si drap et sa plice grise Furent moulliét d'aige de bise. Esvous le duc Robiert venu, Qui estoit ensi avenu, Descendus est ciés son provost, Et si a fait traire moult tost Son peliçon, et si rouva Le provost, qui point ne greva, C'on le fesist remanoier, En la vile, aucun escohier. [...] (vv. 16243-77)

**Alberic of Troisfontaines,
*Chronicon***

[...] Sciant igitur quibus scire placet, quod in dyocesi Leodiensi juxta abbatiam de Florines est quedam villa que Calvusmons appellatur. In hac ergo natus quidam Herbertus pelliparius, cum uxore et filia, nescio qua de causa, Normanniam abiit et apud oppidum de Falesia mansit; et cum dux Robertus quadam die vidisset filiam prepositi sui de Falesia [...] (MGH SS, XXIII, 784)

²²⁰ Nothomb, p. 49

²²¹ Walpole, *Philip Mouskés*, pp. 396 and 400.

²²² The text of KBR, MS 9003 was collated with Beinecke Libr., MS 339.

In his edition of the *CBA*, Heller had observed parallels with Alberic of Troisfontaines for certain passages.²²³ In this instance, however, there is little doubt that the source is the *Chronique rimée*, as the *CBA* shares too many features with this text which are different from Alberic's chronicle: Florennes alone is mentioned as hometown (no mention of Chaumont nor of the diocese of Liège); the name of the furrier (*pelliparius*, *escohier*) is now *Sohier* (not *Herbertus*) and, as Nothomb noticed, Caen replaces Falaise.²²⁴

One could argue that the latter example actually shows that the text of the *CBA* is quite different from the *Chronique rimée* regarding the structure and narrative order, in the organisation of the details for each event recounted. But KBR, MS 9003 and the rest of the *CBA* manuscripts usually follow Mousket quite closely. Duke Robert I's encounter with his future wife is actually one of a few examples of rewriting. This process seems to have been applied only to a number of chapters generally narrating unusual episodes which must have appealed to the reader, such as the history of Gerbert of Aurillac, who allied with the devil in order to become pope. The compiler certainly chooses at times to change the order of the microstructure or to suppress certain details, as he does with all his sources, but the macrostructure (i.e. the linear order in which narrative units devoted to specific subject matters follow each other) of the *Chronique rimée* and the *CBA* is overall identical.

One could argue, however, that the *Chronique rimée* cannot have been the sole source for the chapters on England in KBR, MS 9003 as a few minor elements mentioned in these passages cannot be found in Mousket's work. An example of these (rare) occurrences is the order given by the king to pull Earl Godwin's corpse out of the dining hall following the latter's death. It is not mentioned in Mousket but can be found in other sources.²²⁵

²²³ See for instance 'CHanBA', pp. 455-56 (Chapters 236 and 237).

²²⁴ Nothomb, pp. 48-49. The switch from *Herbertus* to *Sohier* can probably be explained by the need to find a rhyme with *escohier*, which is an indication of the direct use of the *Chronique rimée* by the compiler of KBR, MS 9003 (and of the *CBA*).

²²⁵ The passages common to KBR, MS 9003 and the other texts are highlighted in bold.

KBR, MS 9003

Li rois le fist traire par desous
la table par les piés hors de la
sale. (fol. 156'A)

William of Malmesbury,

Gesta regum Anglorum

[...] Inde ab ipso filio eius
Haroldo, qui regi astabat, sub
mensa extractus, [...] (II, 197,
6)

Matthew Paris?,

Seint Aedward le rei

Atant se escrie li rois:
'Treiez hors ceu chen purnois!'
(vv. 3335-36)

*Vie d'Edouard le
Confesseur*

Des que li reis veit le chaitif
De mort souffrir le dur estrif,
L'ire del ciel I entent bien,
Si lur dit: 'Trahez ors cest
chien.' (vv. 3913-16)

It even seems as if the text of KBR, MS 9003 was mixing both occurrences: the order given by the king in the lives of Saint Edward and the dragging from under the table in the *Gesta regum Anglorum*.²²⁶ It must therefore be concluded that the compiler of the text preserved in KBR, MS 9003 was either using several texts or that he had direct access to a different unidentified source which contained all these elements.

The strong relationship between the *Chronique rimée* and the *CBA* and, more specifically, KBR, MS 9003 can only be given two different explanations. The first would be to consider that the compiler of the text of KBR, MS 9003 had been using a single source, closely related to the *Chronique rimée*, which would include all the elements mentioned above. Such a possibility is plausible, given the similar mix of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum ducum* with material from the hagiographic tradition on Saint Edward in at least three different texts other than KBR, MS 9003: the *Histoire des ducs*, the *Chronique rimée* and the *Chronique de Normandie* (in all its versions).²²⁷ However, the sources of the *Chronique rimée*, in spite of having been the subject of several painstaking studies, remain unclear.²²⁸ Walpole, in a groundbreaking study, made some important observations and persuasive suggestions regarding the matter (*Philippe Mouskés*, pp. 394-410). He pointed out that

²²⁶ The other manuscripts of the *CBA*, though based on Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* for that section, also contain a similar sentence (here following Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 100'B): 'Li rois le fist traire par les piés hors de la sale'. However, no such mention can be found in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*.

²²⁷ The suggestions of Meyer and Spiegel regarding the potential existence of other vernacular texts which would have served as sources for these works is another argument in favour of that hypothesis (see p. 80 of the present chapter).

²²⁸ Ad. Tobler and O. Holder-Egger, 'Ex Philippi Mousket *Historia regum Francorum*', in *MGH SS*, XXVI (Hanover: Hahn, 1882), 718-821; Fritz Hasselman, *Über die Quellen der Chronique rimée von Philippe Mouskés* (Göttingen: Druck der Dieterichschen Univ. Buchdruckerei Kaestner, 1916); Nothomb.

Mousket used an anonymous French translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* which is often found in manuscripts alongside other works, chiefly chronicles on France and on Normandy (among which the *Chroniques de Normandie* and the *Histoire des ducs...*) and he is right to ask:

Is there not somewhere a master thread, a thread such as Mouskés could have followed from beginning to end, a chronicle of the French kings in which the *Turpin* of MSS 2137 and 17203 [i.e., containing the same *Turpin* text as the *Chronique rimée*] filled out the annals of Charlemagne and in which the chronicles of the Norman dukes helped to tell the full story of those who followed him? (p. 345)

Walpole (p. 400) also suggests that the two chronicles of the Anonymous of Béthune might have been the main sources of the *Chronique rimée* and that they might have guided Mousket in his search for stories.²²⁹

Another way to explain the narrow connection between Mousket and KBR, MS 9003 is to consider that the compiler took the *Chronique rimée* as a base text for his account, which he completed here and there with information from other historiographical works. The strong structural resemblance between the *CBA* and Philip Mousket's chronicle supports the latter possibility. So do the variant readings when comparing KBR, MS 9003 with the rest of the tradition of the *CBA*: they possibly suggest a direct 'mise en prose' of Mousket's work (see below). Moreover, the span of text starting with the invasion of France by the Danes and finishing with the reign of William Rufus is not the sole section of the *CBA* which has much in common with the *Chronique rimée*. In his account of Chilperic I's visit to Tournai, the author of the *CBA* explains that before leaving the city, the Frankish king 'douna a l'evesque la seignourie de la vile, la monnoie, le change et les moulins de la riviere d'Escaut et l'oumage le chastelain, et l'avoé et mout d'autres droitures, se l'en resuit a home; et l'en doit li vesques servir a X chevaliers quant il va en ost.' (Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 59^fA-B). This passage with a very local historical interest is a rarity in the *CBA* and it was undoubtedly based on vv. 1084-1165 of the Tournaisian chronicle. Moreover, the *CBA* also includes a lengthy paragraph on the origin Henry II of England's nickname, Courtmantle ('au cort mantiel'): this colourful anecdote has Mousket's name written all over it (fols 216^vB-217^fA). These two episodes are

²²⁹ Tobler and Holder-Egger, p. 720 note 2 had also indicated the similarity between the *Chronique rimée* and the *HDN*.

situated more than 150 folios apart from each other, which suggests that the *CBA* certainly relied on the *Chronique rimée* for the account of Norman and English history examined here.

There are thus two plausible explanations for the similarities between KBR, MS 9003 (and, consequently, the *CBA*) and Philip Mousket's chronicle: either the compiler of KBR, MS 9003 used the *Chronique rimée* directly, complementing occasionally Mousket's account with some details found in other texts; or he borrowed all his information (including the few details not found in the Tournaisian chronicle but in other sources) from a single text somehow connected to the *Chronique rimée*. The main question here, however, is not to determine with absolute certainty whether or not the *Chronique rimée* was a direct source for KBR, MS 9003 and the *CBA*. More important is to underline that Mousket's work displays the same structure as KBR, MS 9003 for a substantial span of folios, and, above all, that, within that structure, it includes, in the same order and, overall, with the same details, the chapters on England from the second and third blocks as found in KBR, MS 9003.²³⁰ In other words, the divergent chapters (Block 2 in Table 3) of KBR, MS 9003 but also most of the text surrounding them (including Block 3), i.e. text common to MS 9003 and redactions A and B, derives from one single source or, at least, a main source expanded with details from other texts, which certainly is the *Chronique rimée*. This, added to the fact that the English chapters of MS 9003 are simply small pieces of a structure very similar to the narrative order of the *Chronique rimée*, suggests that the material from the *Historia Anglorum* was a later insertion used to expand the material on England: the compiler simply segmented and inserted it in accordance with the structural thread provided by the *Chronique rimée*. The converse situation, where the compiler of the text of MS 9003 would have replaced the paragraphs taken from the *Historia Anglorum* and reconstructed the order of the *Chronique rimée* seems much less likely.

But how can the first block of Table 3, common to all manuscripts (including MS 9003) and undoubtedly based on the *Historia Anglorum* fit in that scenario? First of all, this section does not actually form part of the span of folios stemming from the *Chronique rimée*. In other words, whether or not the compiler already knew the *Historia Anglorum* at the time, he first copied and remodelled the text of Mousket in

²³⁰ The excerpt examined here covers fols 144^vB-157^vB.

one go. Additionally, there is the possibility that the first main block might be an addition (see below).

2.3. The *Chronique rimée*, KBR, MS 9003 and Redactions A and B

The previous section mentioned that MS 9003 and redactions A and B all displayed an identical text following Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée* for a dozen folios, with the exception of a small number of sections on the history of England which, in A and B, follow a different source (*HA*). The common text derived from the *Chronique rimée* displays, however, a couple of passages which differ a little in MS 9003 and the rest of the tradition. A look at these passages indicates that the text of KBR, MS 9003 tends to be closer to the Tournaisian chronicle than the other versions of the *CBA*, as already indicated by the presence of the same material on Britain. In fact, when comparing these excerpts to their supposed source, one observes a situation quite unlike that of the chapter on Richilde of Hainault (see above): here KBR, MS 9003 is consistently closer to the source. This goes against the impression first felt when looking at these passages, which might have been that of the scholars who regarded KBR, MS 9003 as an abbreviation: the text of redactions A and B is longer and provides more information. But, in reality, these details are not found in the *Chronique rimée*.

A good example is that of the marriage of William the Conqueror to Matilda of Flanders. In KBR, MS 9003 and the rest of the tradition of the *CBA*, as well as in Mousket, the episode is split into two parts, the elements of which can vary from one text to the other. Schematically, the first part consists of William's request to marry Baldwin V of Flanders' daughter, Matilda (only named in KBR, MS 9003). While the count seems rather keen on this union, his daughter proclaims that she will never marry a bastard. Upon hearing that answer, the infuriated duke comes to the court in Lille and drags the count's daughter out of her room pulling her braids and beating her fiercely before leaving. Later on, the angry count of Flanders accepts the apologies of Duke William. The second part of the anecdote takes place some time later, when the duke asks for Matilda's hand for the second time. This time she agrees, as the duke's audacity has shown her that he is a brave man.

Before looking at variants, one should underline the valuable information offered by the structure of this passage, which is different in KBR, MS 9003 and in redactions A and B. In KBR, MS 9003, these two parts surround the narration of King Edward the Confessor's death and the ensuing conflict over the succession to the English throne: William sends his second marriage request while preparing for the conquest of England since Harold has taken over the kingdom. The sequence of events is overall analogous in the *Chronique rimée*: the first part of the episode is followed by a few verses on William's local wars and a long passage on the story of Robert Guiscard and his nephew Robert Crespin (also used in KBR, MS 9003 and the *CBA*, but placed earlier on); then come sixteen verses on the wars between Emperor Henry IV and pope Gregory VII which precede the historical section on England from King Edward's death until the conquest by William and the mention of his marriage, in exactly the same manner as in KBR, MS 9003. In other words, the narrative chronology of the *Chronique rimée* is respected in KBR, MS 9003, even though some elements have been removed or placed elsewhere. In the rest of the tradition the episode of William's marriage request is interrupted by the British section covering the end of Canute the Great's reign and the brief reigns following it, of Harold and Harthacanute. Consequently, William's marriage actually occurs even before the start of Edward the Confessor's reign. The structure thus shows once more the correspondence between KBR, MS 9003 and the *Chronique rimée*.

The variants of this passage also point towards a closer connection between MS 9003 and the *Chronique rimée*. As mentioned above, redactions A and B display for this passage a longer and more detailed text than KBR, MS 9003, which could easily lead one to regard MS 9003 as a summary. Nevertheless, those details look like additions as they are not mentioned in the *Chronique rimée*, as the following passages suggest:²³¹

²³¹ The variants closer to the source are highlighted in bold while the variants between KBR, MS 9003 and the rest of the *CBA* are italicised.

Chronique rimée

Uns chevaliers esrant monta,
 Al duc cel afaire conta,
 Et la damoisele acusa
 De çou qu'ele le refusa.
 Quant li dus sot la verité
 S'en ot al cuer ire et viuté.
 Tout droit a Lille vint I jour,
 U la puciele ert a soujour, [...]
 Li dus al perron descendi,
 Et sa gens aluec l'atendi.
 La damoisele iert en la sale,
 Ki n'iert mie laide ne pale.
 Li dus, ki qu'en eüst bon grés,
 S'en vint tot amont les degrés,
 La damoisele, quant le voit,
 Od sa mere encontre venoit.
 Li dus par les traices le prist,
 Ainc qu'autre raison li desist.
 Si l'a jus a ses piés gietee,
 Et as esporons deboutee,
 Et de puins et de piés batue,
 Si que poi faut que il n'el tue.
 Et de ses huese emboees,
 Qui grandes estoient et lees
 Et del tai d'ivier cunchiés,
 Le defoula plus de VII fiés,
 Qu'ainc pour sa mere n'el
 laissa.
 Lors descendi, si remonta,
 De la vile s'en est issus, [...]
 Boins cevaus orent, si s'en vont.
 Les nouveies venues sont
 A son pere, qui tenoit plait
 Si fu trop dolans de cel fait;
 [...]
 Petit apriés se racorda
 Li dus al conte, et amenda
 L'outrage que il en ot fait,
 Et li pardouna le mesfait
 Al duc moult deboinairement.
 (vv. 16938-84)

[...] *Quant li dus sot ke ele l'ot
 refusé, grant desdaing en ot, si
 vint un jour a Lisle et entra en
 la chambre tous housés et tous
 emboés si prist la damoisele
 par les treces et la traina parmi
 les chambres et defoula a ses
 piés, et puis revint a ses
 chevaus et a ses gens ki
 l'atendoient dehors la sale, si
 monta et s'en ala viers son païs.
 Petit après envoya li dus au
 conte et s'acorda de cel
 meffait.* (fol. 156'A)

[...] *Dont renvoia li quens au
 duc et s'escusa dou mariage
 plus courtoisement que il pot.
 Une piece après, sot li dus
 coument la damoisele avoit
 respondu, si en ot grant despit.
 Por ce prist de ces gens avoec
 lui et s'en ala a Lisle et entra en
 la sale et passa outre jusques en
 la chambre la contesse. Il
 trouva la fille le conte si la
 prist par les treces, et la
 trainna par mi la chambre et
 defoula a ses piés. Pius issi de
 laiens et monta sour son
 palefroi qui estoit devant la sale
 et plus s'en rala en son païs. De
 ceste chose fu li quens Bauduins
 moult coureciés. Mais, per le
 conseil de preud'oumes,
 s'acorda li dus a lui et furent
 bon ami.* (Beinecke Libr., MS
 339, fol. 99'B)

One notices that, regarding literal variants (i.e., when the same word or construction is used), KBR, MS 9003 appears much closer to the *Chronique rimée*. A striking example is the 'chained leggings' (*huseses emboees*) of the duke, an element which could not have appeared without direct knowledge of the source. Consequently, the rest of the *CBA* displays similar readings only when these readings are also found in KBR, MS 9003.²³²

²³² The mention that the duke enters a 'sale' when arriving in Lille might be viewed as an exception, using a term present in the *Chronique rimée* but missing from KBR, MS 9003. However, the word

In sum, the long additions found in A and B redaction manuscripts do not seem related to Mousket's chronicle, while MS 9003 appears closer to the text of the *Chronique rimée*. This relates well to a scenario in which MS 9003 is an earlier version of the *CBA*: redaction A (and redaction B) would thus have expanded the text with a few original additions. The author of A added these original elements not because of a concern for conformity to the *Chronique rimée* but in order to fill some narrative gaps. These modifications probably form part of an attempt to improve the conversion of verse into prose made in MS 9003. Jean Rychner has shown how medieval French prose uses recurring phrases in order to structure a story, causing the text to become a perfectly autonomous entity to which nothing can be added and from which nothing can be removed.²³³ The compiler has to fit the information given by its source into a different writing system, a system which shuns narrative ellipses, such as those found in the *Chronique rimée* or in KBR, MS 9003. The meaning is strictly enclosed within the text and no gaps are tolerated. The prose writer thus narrowly connects sentences to each other to form a solid narrative chain. Hence, for instance, the abundance of temporal markers or causal conjunctions at the beginning of sentences, lacking in the source (*dont, une piece après, por ce, puis*).²³⁴ This system where each sequence of the action is linked to a previous event reinforces the credibility of the text as conveying the truth. The author of redaction A was probably not fully satisfied with the text of MS 9003 and tried to strengthen the cohesion of his account.

2.4. The Pro-Richilde Ideology

The exploitation of the original sources of the *CBA* by the author of KBR, MS 9003 suggests that this manuscript contains an authorial version of the *CBA*. The lengthy

'sale' is used later on in KBR, MS 9003. One could also argue that content-wise some elements can be found which are lacking in KBR, MS 9003 but common to the rest of the textual tradition of the *CBA* and the *Chronique rimée*, even though they are recounted in very different fashions. Such is the case for the mention of the countess or the hurt feelings of the count. However, these elements can very well have been added without knowledge of Mousket's chronicle: there is no mention of the countess' room, and the count's anger (*coureciés*), seems a logical consequence to the Norman duke's violent behaviour. What is more, the author of the *CBA* often makes additions regarding the feelings of anger of some rulers following a determined event (see Chapter 5, 2 and 3.2).

²³³ Jean Rychner, *Formes et structures de la prose française. L'articulation des phrases narratives dans la Mort Artu* (Droz: Geneva, 1970).

²³⁴ See Rychner, chapters 4 to 6 regarding the functions of temporal markers.

examination of the chapters on English history included in MS 9003 and which display a text different from that of the rest of the tradition indicates further that this version was actually composed before redactions A and B. The variant readings in redactions A and B for passages linked to the *Chronique rimée* also point in the same direction. To these three important arguments, one can add a fourth of lesser significance: the ideological bias of the section on Countess Richilde ('CHanBA', Chapter 56) favours the precedence of KBR, MS 9003.

In the chapter on Richilde of Hainault's wars with Robert the Frisian, the text of MS 9003 shows favourable bias towards the countess of Hainault in the way it uses *Flandria generosa*, § 18 when recounting how Richilde called for Philip I's help in order to fight Robert the Frisian (see passage quoted on p. 67). In the Flemish chronicle, Richilde is accused of corrupting the French king, who had promised to help Robert the Frisian, with money and to lead him off the right path with her *boisdie* (deception). None of this appears in KBR, MS 9003. The compiler thus clearly transposed the anti-Richilde content of the *Flandria generosa* to a setting more favourable to the countess. Elsewhere, whereas the *Flandria generosa* tradition underlines her tyranny and her feminine weakness, KBR, MS 9003 depicts her as 'de grant cuer' (fol. 158^B).

The positive portrayal of Richilde goes however a step further in redactions A and B of the *CBA*. First, the appearance of two sets of genealogies listing her descendants (see list above) establishes her as the founding mother of the nobility of Hainault. Then, whereas KBR, MS 9003 describes her governing Flanders with her son Arnulph, the rest of the tradition pictures her ruling both counties alone while taking care of her children. Elsewhere, the reading 'Bauduins, ki estoit demorés quens de Flandres, ot II fils de la contesse Richaut' (KBR, MS 9003, fol. 157^B) becomes 'Elle [Richilde] ot de lui II fils' (*Istore*, II, 561).²³⁵ Finally, Richilde's son, Baldwin II, is mentioned as 'li quens de Haynau, *fius Richaus*' (Yale, Beinecke 339, fols 109^A and 130^A) in the sections on the crusades taken from the *Eracles* examined above. Indeed, in the latter work Baldwin is merely known as 'li cuens de Henaut' (Book I, Chapter 17 and Book VII, 1), just as in KBR, MS 9003 (fols 163^A and 186^A). Once again, the text of the Brussels manuscript is closer to the source.

²³⁵ There are a few instances in the *CBA* of women being mentioned first in the process of engendering, but most of these are exceptions (for instance Ermengarde and Gerberge, the two daughters of Charles, duke of Lorraine, second son to Louis IV of France: they are the founding mothers of the genealogy of the counts of Boulogne and Namur).

What is more, one could add that the focus on Richilde increases gradually, as redaction B also enhances it by expanding the genealogies and by mentioning that the countess died after an illness. An earlier date for the text of KBR, MS 9003 would therefore fit well within this gradual ideological evolution of the different versions of the *CBA*.

3. *The Missing Sections and the Table of Contents*

The observations and analyses in the preceding sections build up a strong case in favour of the status of the text of MS 9003 (hereafter A*) as an authorial redaction of the *CBA* written before redactions A and B. It is now time to check how the other peculiarities of A* relate to that hypothesis, chiefly the absence of some genealogical, ethical and historical passages and the peculiar table of contents.

Among the distinctive characteristics of Redaction A* is that it lacks several sections, namely Cato's teachings (during Caesar's campaigns), the origins of the counts of Hainault and the descent of Richilde and her son Baldwin II ('CHanBA', Chapter 56) and the account of the impact of Baldwin II's disappearance in Hainault, followed by the genealogy of Baldwin III and Baldwin IV ('CHanBA', Chapter 85). Several arguments corroborate the view that the absence of these sections in A* was the original situation in the textual evolution of the *CBA* and that these passages were added at the stage of redaction A.

A first argument involves the stylistic features accompanying the addition or insertion of new material in the *CBA*. A comparison between redaction A and redaction B shows a similarity between the introduction of all the genealogical additions.²³⁶ The lists of ancestors of John of Brabant, John of Blois and Godfrey of Bouillon are all additions of redaction B. Each one of them is introduced by a similar phrastic construction, already highlighted by Ruhe as the introduction to several sections on the teachings of famous philosophers.²³⁷ All these openings follow the same model: 'Pour ce que nous vous avons dit de X, vous dirons/parlerons de ses ancisseurs' for genealogies or 'vous dirons aucunes de ses parolles/aucun de ses

²³⁶ By 'genealogical additions' are meant entirely new pieces of information added to the text, as opposed to complementary information, expansions or stylistic emendations by the compiler.

²³⁷ Ruhe, *Untersuchungen*, p. 195; *Proverbes Seneke*, p. 19.

ensegnemens' for ethical sections.²³⁸ The teachings of Cato, the genealogies of Richilde and her descendants and the digression on the origins of the counts of Hainault are all introduced in the same fashion:

Pour chou ke nous avons parlé de la mort a si vaillant philosophe com fu Catons, bon nous samble ke nous vous dions auchun de ses ensaignemens [...] (Cambrai, BM, MS 683, fol. CCVII'A)

Pour ce que nous vous avons^a touchié des contes de Mons et toucherons encore en autre lius, vous dirons^b de leurs ancisseurs ce que nous en poons trouver. Nous avons veu aucune cronike qui dient que [...] (*Istore*, II, 560)

(a) nous vous avons] BnF, MS fr. 17264; KBR, MS II 988: nous avons — (b) vous dirons] KBR, MS II 988: nous dirons

Pour ce que nous voulons que vous saichiés la generation qui issi de la contesse Richaut de Mons et dou conte Bauduin son fil, nous vous nommerons grant partie de ceus qui en descendirent. [...] (*Istore*, II, 566)

This admittedly does not prove that these passages were later insertions, as many other passages present in all redactions of the *CBA* (A* included) are introduced with the same stylistic pattern, e.g. the sayings of Seneca or the accounts of the origins of several peoples, such as the Goths (Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 32'A), the Scythians (fol. 32'B) and the Danes (fol. 88'B). However, it confirms that these passages do display the same stylistic traits as the indisputable additions made during the passage from redaction A to redaction B.²³⁹

Common sense also indicates that considering these four sections as additions is a better explanation than viewing them as deletions. Indeed, if the genealogies linked to Countess Richilde and the segment on the origins of Hainault were taken

²³⁸ For examples see 'CHanBA', pp. 426-27 and the passage quoted above in 1.

²³⁹ The motives for these additions will be examined further in Chapter 3. One should note that the historical and genealogical passage of 'CHanBA', chapter 85 lacking in MS 9003 is not introduced by the stylistic formula described above. Nonetheless, the text surrounding the insertion in redactions A and B is much less similar to its source (the *Eracles*) than the text of MS 9003, as it was probably rewritten following the addition (see above, 2.1). The text surrounding the teachings of Cato was also certainly rewritten following their inclusion at the stage of redaction A. However, KBR, MS 9003 lacks an element drawn from the source (*Faits des Romains*, Book III, Chapter 18, §§ 27-29; see *Li fet des Romains*, pp. 689-90) which is found in A and B. The mention of the people of Utica sending the keys of the city to Anthony in the latter texts presumably echoes the statement made earlier in the *Faits* that 'Catons ot of que Juba s'estoit renduz et que il fesoit rendre les cles de ses cites a Cesar par tote sa terre' (§ 27). Consequently, redactions A and B here seem closer to the source than KBR, MS 9003. Nonetheless the other details given in A and B and lacking in MS 9003 have nothing to do with the *Faits des Romains*, which suggests a rewriting similar to those mentioned above (e.g. note 202).

out in order to abridge the text of redactions A and/or B, why would the compiler of A* have bothered to set up a whole new structure? Their removal would by no means imply the need for a reorganisation of the text: even without these items, the narration remains clear. The use of the *Flandria generosa* and *Chronicon Hanoniense* leads to the same question: why would someone abridging a section of the *CBA* feel the need to have recourse to the sources used to compile this section? If KBR, MS 9003 removed a series of important items on Hainault, it should logically be deduced that this subject matter is of little interest to its author.²⁴⁰ However, the latter took care to consult the original local sources on Hainault and Flanders which contain the very genealogies that he removed and he patiently rearranged the structure of his narrative. Such a situation would appear rather paradoxical. The opposite interpretation, whereby the text of MS 9003 was an earlier version of the *CBA* which was later reworked, rewritten and expanded in a very similar manner at the stage of redactions A and B, seems more logical.

Another component of MS 9003 needs to be considered in regard to the assumed precedence of this text over redactions A and B: its table of contents. Three manuscripts of the *CBA* contain a very special type of table of contents that classifies rubrics thematically. Indeed, whereas 'classic' tables of contents are of a linear nature, listing rubrics in their order of appearance in the text, Beinecke Libr., MS 339, BnF, MS n. acq. fr. 5218 (two B redaction manuscripts) and KBR, MS 9003 comprise a table where rubrics have been grouped into units according to their subject matter. This case is unique not only in the manuscript tradition of the *CBA* but possibly, at least at such an early date, in Old French literature in general.²⁴¹ The reception of this table indicates that it was far from useful to readers as it did not refer to folio numbers and since, because of its thematical taxonomy, it failed to provide an accurate outline of the narrative. The peculiar organisation of the table, coupled with its survival in other early manuscripts in spite of its apparent uselessness to readers has one wonder if it could be an authorial creation. One can also question whether it was actually meant as a table of contents. Isabelle Guyot-Bachy has shown how Jean of Saint-Victor, author of the early fourteenth-century

²⁴⁰ Other genealogies, linked to the kings of France, for instance, are present in KBR, MS 9003. If the absence of the genealogies of Richilde of Hainault is due to the deletion of certain passages, it must thus be because they specifically were not wanted by the compiler.

²⁴¹ The scope of the present study prevents me from going into detail regarding the table found in these three manuscripts but I hope to explore this matter in an article currently in preparation.

historical compilation called *Memoriale Historiarum*, used an alphabetical index listing all extracts taken from other texts during his compilation work.²⁴² The thematical table could be viewed as a similar tool: after a first stage where the compiler (or a collaborator) prepared and labelled extracts from the sources he used, he put down all the titles in a taxonomic list.²⁴³ This scenario would account for the large blank spaces left in the table of KBR, MS 9003, whose function could have been to accommodate further rubrics.

A very interesting aspect of the thematic table of contents involves the rubrics concerning the history of England ('Dou Brut d'Engletiere', KBR, MS 9003, fol. 2^fA). In this group, one finds rubrics which match perfectly the chapters on England unique to MS 9003 discussed in the previous section:

(§ 1) La mort Eraut et le regne Heldre son fil et sa mort et le regne Conus

(§ 2) Coument Counus envia au duc de Normandie pour pais avoir as fius sa feme

(§ 3) La mort Conut et le regne Eraut et sa mort et le regne Ardechenut et le regne Edouart

(§ 4) La mort Edouart et le regne Guillaume le duc de Normandie et sa mort et le regne Guillaume li rous son fil.

(KBR, MS 9003, fol. 2^fB-^vA; the passage is identical in all three manuscripts)

One can thus conclude without a doubt that the genesis of the thematic table is intrinsically linked to the redaction only preserved in KBR, MS 9003. The survival of the thematic table in Beinecke Libr., MS 339 and BnF, MS n. acq. fr. 5218 might seem surprising given that the chapters on England based on the *Historia Anglorum* in these manuscripts do not correspond to the table of contents. This could be explained by an independent circulation of the table, but a survival due to authorial legitimacy should not be excluded, especially because of the potential connection of two of the three manuscripts with Bouchard of Avesnes, bishop of Metz (see Chapter 1, 4.).²⁴⁴

An element further suggests that the chapter corresponding to Block 1 in Table 3 borrowed from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, common to all manuscripts, could be an addition: the corresponding rubric does not appear in the

²⁴² Guyot-Bachy, pp. 222-23.

²⁴³ Regarding the practice of compiling and adapting excerpts, see Guyot-Bachy, pp. 221-222.

²⁴⁴ Regarding the independent circulation of tables, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 2000), I, 182 and 186. Codicological evidence tends to support an independent circulation: in all three manuscripts the table forms a separate quire.

table of MS 9003. Moreover, in the two other manuscripts, this rubric is placed at the end of the unit grouping all the titles of the chapters linked to Britain, and thus disrupts the narrative order.²⁴⁵ It is, in this table, the only instance of a rubric misplaced within its group with respect to the order of the narration. One could thus contend that this rubric was added at the end of the group when the corresponding chapter itself was added into the text, as appears in other cases, e.g. the genealogical chapters, for which several new rubrics can be found in the tables of the two B redaction manuscripts.

The idea that the thematic table of rubrics, clearly linked to A*, might have been an authorial tool which could be updated is interesting when considering that the *CBA* was in fact revised twice (redaction A and redaction B). It makes one wonder whether A* could have been a preliminary version of the *CBA*, a main draft which consisted of the account of universal history (including local history). This version was then revised and completed with other elements which needed further work before being included, namely the local genealogies. The case examined above of the variant *Guifrois* of A* turned into *Foukes* in A and B illustrates this idea very well: the compiler revised and corrected his draft. The addition in A and B of the name of the emperor (Alexis) of Constantinople in the account of Baldwin II's disappearance in the Holy Land (see above 2.1), as well as other minor elements, also point in that direction.²⁴⁶

Conclusion

Scholars who have commented on MS 9003 essentially viewed it as an abridged version of the *CBA* belonging to either redaction A or redaction B. However, the analysis undertaken in this chapter suggests otherwise. The clear use of three (possibly four) different sources of the *CBA* by the author of MS 9003 indicates that this text was certainly an authorial redaction of the chronicle rather than a belated

²⁴⁵ 'Coument li regnes d'Engleterre fu partis en IIII roiaumes de quoi Ebritus fu li uns des rois et sousmist touz les autres et de ciaux qui après lui regnerent et dou regne Adelstan' (Beinecke MS 339, fol. 1^{B-v}A).

²⁴⁶ E.g. the mention (lacking in A*) of Philip of Loo among Robert II of Flanders' children (whose role is underlined in redactions A and B in light of events narrated further on: he is the father of William 'de cui nous dirons ça avant' (*Istore*, II, 570).

hybrid version or abbreviation. It also hints at the fact that the text of MS 9003 was written before redactions A and B. This is confirmed by the analysis of the chapters on England derived from the *Chronique rimée*: a single main source has been used in MS 9003 for the chapters spanning from Edward the Confessor's death to the reign of William Rufus (see Table 3), whereas redactions A and B do not display the same continuity regarding sources for this passage because of the insertion of material taken from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. Furthermore, some passages borrowed from Mousket's work and present in all manuscripts also reveal that A and B were composed after MS 9003 (A*): redactions A and B include original stylistic additions which render their text less similar to the *Chronique rimée*, whereas MS 9003 appears closer to the latter text for the same passages. The bias in the chapter on Richilde of Hainault equally provided an argument supporting the precedence of A*. In addition, the absence of several sections throughout MS 9003 is perfectly compatible with the hypothesis that A* is the earliest preserved redaction of the *CBA*. Finally, the examination of the thematic table of contents of MS 9003 and of its textual connection with A* leads to the postulation that A* could have been a preliminary version which was meant from the start to be revised and expanded at a further stage.

All the evidence thus fits convincingly the theory according to which MS 9003 contains a copy of an earlier redaction of the *CBA*, the earliest identified so far. There are thus now three different redactions of the *CBA* which can be identified. The next chapter will therefore examine the textual evolution of the *CBA* from redaction A* to redaction B while attempting to identify the potential contribution(s) of the compiler and/or patron in this process.

CHAPTER THREE

The Three Redactions of the CBA or the Impact of Sponsorship on Textual Evolution

1. *From Redaction A* (KBR, MS 9003) to Redaction A*

In the previous chapter a series of textual arguments were collected in order to demonstrate that the text preserved in KBR, MS 9003 is the earliest extant version of the *CBA*, written prior to redactions A and B. This statement cannot be complete without providing a general hypothesis which can account for all the peculiarities of the text of this manuscript and its supposed position within the textual tradition of the *CBA*: if it is considered the earliest text, how can one justify the modifications made at the stage of redaction A? This analysis is nevertheless limited: MS 9003 is the only identified copy of redaction A* and it is unfortunately incomplete. This, then, makes it difficult to speculate about the evolution of the text of the *CBA* (and more specifically of the genealogies) before Caesar on the one hand and after 1124 on the other.

1.1. Content

The characteristics specific to the content of the text of MS 9003 have been listed earlier (cf. Chapter 2, 1). Each of them can now be examined accordingly in relation to the changes made at the stage of redaction A.

Firstly, how can one account for the absence of the teachings of Cato whereas other chapters with a similar type of content (the teachings of Seneca and of Quintilian) are included in A*?²⁴⁷ The answer probably lies in the sources for these sections: the sentences of *Seneke* and *Marcon Fabion*, just as 'De Platon et de

²⁴⁷ The teachings of Cato and those of Aristotle are also lacking in other manuscripts: Besançon, BM, MS 678, BnF, MSS fr. 685 and 15458. In all these copies, however, it appears that the sections were intentionally removed.

Scenofon et de Dyogenes et d'auchunes de leur parolles', were taken from Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, a work heavily used by the compiler of the *CBA*.²⁴⁸ In turn, the *enseignemens Catons*, although their structure might indicate the influence of the *Speculum historiale*, actually stem from another text, the original *Disticha Catonis*, which the compiler has accurately translated.²⁴⁹ The *Disticha Catonis* was a popular text, frequently used in the teaching of grammar, and the compiler was probably inspired by Vincent of Beauvais' collections of sentences and decided to amplify or improve this feature of his compilation (here borrowing from a different but familiar source), which he did at the stage of redaction A. The long section on the teachings of Aristotle and the sayings of other philosophers forms, like the *Enseignemens Caton*, another group of didactic sayings derived from another source: Book II of the *Livres dou tresor* by Brunetto Latini. One might therefore wonder whether this section was also missing from the text partly copied in MS 9003. An interesting case is Arsenal, MS 5076: fol. 111^vB does not mention Aristotle at all nor his sayings while the narrative still runs continuously.²⁵⁰ In turn, it does contain the teachings of Cato (fols 247^vB-48^rA). Either Aristotle's sayings were removed because of their extensive length (almost fifteen folios whereas Cato's teachings cover a little more than two folios), or we are dealing with yet another redaction of the *CBA* in which Cato's teachings had already been inserted but which was still awaiting the inclusion of Aristotle's sayings. Be that as it may, the addition of a digest of the *Disticha Catonis* at the stage of redaction A confirms the interest of the compiler, and probably of his patron, for the didactic and moral material which, along with the genealogies, represents the most original element of the *CBA*.

A second important change between the text of MS 9003 and that of redaction A is the alteration of some chapters regarding the history of England (see Chapter 2). This can also be justified. Up to the death of Cadwallo, the compiler of the *CBA* had been relying heavily on the *Historia regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. When the latter work came to an end, the translator faced the difficult task of finding new sources of information on British history. In A*, the compiler seems to have been satisfied with the few chapters on England which he found in Philip Mousket's

²⁴⁸ See Chapter 1, 2.2.

²⁴⁹ With the notable difference that he turned the Latin verse into French prose. See Ruhe, *Untersuchungen*, p. 200, note 4 and *Proverbes Seneca*, p. 34. Ruhe, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 197-99 also points out the presence of some reminiscences of contemporary verse translations into Old French.

²⁵⁰ Other manuscripts lack the section on the teachings of Aristotle but in most cases it was clearly removed (see note 247 and the abridged version of the *CBA*).

Chronique rimée (or a similar text), and adapted that source continuously (with minor insertions) for the material from Hastings up to the reign of William Rufus. However, this account of English history remains laconic: even when one takes into account the common chapter based on the *Historia Anglorum*, there is an important historical gap, as the narration skips from Athelstan's coronation (in 924) straight to the death of Edgar the Peaceable (in 975). That gap was filled in redaction A thanks to the use of Henry of Huntingdon's work. In other words, one notices an improvement with regard to A*. This tallies well with the conclusion of Chapter 2, according to which KBR, MS 9003 preserves a version written before redactions A and B.

In the previous chapter, I suggested that the first section taken from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, common to all manuscripts and situated a few folios before the start of the text borrowed from the *Chronique rimée*, could be an addition, though no decisive evidence could be found. The presence or absence of the chapter in the original text is important, as one could imagine for each case a different situation regarding the interaction between the compiler and his patron.

If this chapter was included in the first written version of the *CBA*, it suggests that the compiler knew Henry of Huntingdon's work (a plausible hypothesis, as the *Historia Anglorum* survives in several manuscript copies together with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*) but did not think it necessary to make any other use of it than to bridge the gap between the end of the *Historia regum Britanniae* and the start of the Norman or English material in the *Chronique rimée*. The further integration of other material from the *Historia Anglorum* could in this case have stemmed from the patron's dissatisfaction with part of the section on English history. Baldwin of Avesnes surely sponsored redaction A (i.e. the stage at which these chapters were inserted to replace the English chapters from the *Chronique rimée*) and probably had an interest in the history of England: he had travelled to this country in 1256 and he had contacts with the royal family (see Chapter 4).

Conversely, if this section was not in the original text (one would then have to posit yet another version of the *CBA*), the compiler must have run into the *Historia Anglorum* after his first draft. He might have come to know it through its dissemination on the Continent and then would have chosen to use it to complete his historical account. Or, on the other hand, the text might have been provided by the

patron, who could have acquired it in England or on the Continent and requested the addition.

The last important additions which need to be discussed here are two groups of historical and genealogical chapters linked to the county of Hainault, which are all based on Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense* (hereafter *CH*).²⁵¹ The inclusion of such material in redaction A should not come as a surprise. Indeed, redaction B also displays similar additions of both genealogical and historical material, as will be shown in a next section below.

The first group comprises two segments inserted in the section on Richilde of Hainault ('CHAnBA', chapter 56): a few paragraphs on the origins of the county of Hainault which correspond to *CH*, 13-14 and four paragraphs concerning the descent of Baldwin II of Hainault, second son of Richilde of Hainault, which make up most of the content from *CH*, 20, 28-30. The author remains almost absolutely faithful when translating these passages, and only a few original elements stand out. These sporadic additions are, however, not innocuous. Firstly, the apologetic transition used to introduce the tale of the origins of Hainault (quoted p. 93) is revealing regarding the patron's attitude towards the work of the author: the narrator specifies that he mentions 'what we can find'. This curious assertion (and the statement following it: 'We have seen a chronicle which says that...') sounds almost like a justification, as if the compiler owed an explanation to someone, most likely his sponsor.²⁵² The compiler probably also had his patron in mind when he specified that Cousorre, the burial place of Saint Walbert, was 'dalés Biaumont' (*Istore*, II, 560; Baldwin of Avesnes was lord of Beaumont). Finally, the genealogies contain only one original addition, possibly inspired by *CH*, 43, linked to the Avesnes family, as it is stated that Nicholas IV of Rumigny 'prist a feme Mehaut, fille monsieur Jake d'Avesnes. Il ot de lui 3 fius, li ainsnes ot non Nicholes, li secons Hues et li tiers Jakes'.²⁵³ The addition of the Richilde genealogies and of the digression on the origins of Hainault in A went together with a thorough revision of the structure and content of Chapter

²⁵¹ See Table 4 below.

²⁵² Note the similarity with the genealogy of Godfrey of Bouillon included during redaction B: it starts with the statement that 'one finds in the chronicles of Saint-Hubert...'. The closing sentence of the section on the origins of Hainault also conveys an impression of justification: 'Plusours [contes] i ot après, de quoi nous n'avons pas trouvé les cronikes jusques a I conte qui ot non: Hermans.' (*Istore*, II, 561, with the variant 'contens' corrected) Regarding the account of the origins of Hainault by Gilbert of Mons see Aline G. Hornaday, 'Les Saints du "Cycle de Maubeuge" et la conscience aristocratique dans le Hainaut médiéval', *Revue du Nord*, 73 (1991), 583-96.

²⁵³ 'CHAnBA', p. 423. James of Avesnes was Baldwin's grandfather.

56 as a whole for narrative and ideological reasons: this indicates that this section had a special importance within the text of the *CBA*.

The second group, which is inserted in a long narrative development on the crusades ('CHanBA', chapter 85), displays a blend of historical and genealogical material taken from *CH*, 27-28, 31-35, 37, 39-42. With the exception of several original extensions to the genealogies (see 1.2), the compiler once again translates his model closely but does not balk at restructuring or, at times, condensing it. The *CBA* shows once more its bias through a couple of omissions. For instance, it remains silent regarding the status of the tower of Raimes, used (*CH*, 40) 'ad reprimendos latrones Viconie et ad conservandum transitus illos contra Flandrenses, qui semper Hanoniam vastare moliebantur.'²⁵⁴ The lord of Beaumont admittedly held the city of Raimes as a fief, as well as some woods in Vicogne since 1271,²⁵⁵ and the apparent peace between Baldwin of Avesnes and his former foes, who were ruling Flanders, seemingly led the compiler to ignore Gilbert of Mons' statement. Likewise, when describing the conflict between Rasso II of Gavere and Count Baldwin III of Hainault, the author of the *CBA* fails to repeat that Rasso's mother, Damison of Chièvres, had remarried Nicholas III of Rumigny, who was a relative to the count: he probably preferred to leave the mention aside as Nicholas V of Rumigny (d. 1256), grandson to Nicholas III, was also first cousin to Baldwin of Avesnes and had acted as guarantor for the Avesnes in 1246 following the judgment made by King Louis IX of France to settle the feud with the Dampierres.²⁵⁶ The marriage to the mother of Rasso might have been perceived as a betrayal to the count of Hainault, which could explain the omission.

Beyond the latter historical and genealogical insertion, nothing is certain with regard to the changes between the redactions A* and A. Indeed, the text of KBR, MS 9003 stops around 1124. The lack of material for accurate comparison should not prevent a few constructive guesses surrounding the presence or absence of certain

²⁵⁴ For the corresponding passage in the *CBA*, see *Istore*, II, 593.

²⁵⁵ See original dated 22 June 1271: ADN, B 1208/1734, by which Margaret hands these territories to Baldwin. See also a copy (in the first Cartulary of Hainaut, Valenciennes, BM, 742, fols 1^r-2^r) of an act of March 1274 where the future John I of Hainault confirms the possessions of his uncle Baldwin, Reiffenberg, *Monuments*, I, 363 and Charles Duvivier, *Les Influences française et germanique en Belgique au XIII^e siècle. La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierres jusqu'à la mort de Jean d'Avesnes (1257)*, 2 vols (Brussels: Falk; Paris: Picard, 1894), II, 558-61.

²⁵⁶ Duvivier, II, 129-130. See also Chanoine C.-G. Roland, 'Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rumigny', *Annales du cercle archéologique de Namur*, 19 (1891), 59-304 (pp. 179 and 224) and 20 (1893) 27-40. Nicholas VI of Rumigny's widow remarried Thomas II of Coucy, Felicity's brother (Roland, p. 226 and 'CHanBA', p. 439)

items in that missing portion of the early version of the *CBA*. For instance, the absence of Peter II of Courtenay (*Pieres d'Auchoirre*) in the genealogy stemming from Charles, duke of Lower Lotharingia, or the attribution of the bishopric of Paris to Godfrey of Boulogne (instead of Fulk: see Chapter 2, 2.1) could be explained respectively by the absence of further mentions of Peter II of Courtenay in the rest of the text and by the absence of the genealogy of the counts of Boulogne. Another line of reasoning concerns the genealogies linked to Flanders and Hainault, which form the more original parts of the *CBA*, i.e. the segments for which the compiler could only partly rely on written sources. Many of these sections were revised for redaction B. Therefore it can be presumed that these parts were probably not present in the earlier version of the *CBA*.

1.2. The Genealogies of the counts of Hainault in Redaction A

The aforementioned genealogical passages can be linked to a larger structure which comprises a set of chapters covering genealogies linked to the counts of Hainault (with Richilde leading the way), several of which are placed in the narration after the year 1124 (i.e. beyond the end of KBR, MS 9003). These passages contain a fair amount of original material and have been structured in a specific way; therefore they deserve to be examined separately.

Table 4: The Genealogies in Redaction A

Chapter (and folios) ²⁵⁷	Content of the genealogy ²⁵⁸	Context	Source	Original elements
Chapter 47 (KBR, MS, 9003, fol. 150 ^B - ^B ; 'CHanBA', p. 420; <i>Istore</i> , II, 457)	Descent of Charles, duke of Lower Lotharingia, son of Louis IV (including the descent of Baldwin V of Hainault)	Death of Louis IV	<i>Genealogia comitum Buloniensium</i> ²⁵⁹	Small extension (descent of Baldwin V of Hainault)
Chapter 56 ('CHanBA', pp. 420-23 and Cambrai, BM, MS 683, fols 322 ^B -23 ^B ; <i>Istore</i> , II, 566-69)	<i>Descent of Baldwin II of Hainault, Richilde's son, his second son (Arnold) and his three daughters</i>	Death of Richilde	<i>CH</i> , 20, 28-30	Very small extension (children of Mathilde of Avesnes and Nicholas IV of Rumigny)
Chapter 85 ('CHanBA', pp. 424-38; <i>Istore</i> , II, 571-93)	<i>Descent of Baldwin III of Hainault, son and heir of Baldwin II: descent of his second son, his two daughters and descent of the daughters of his heir, Baldwin IV.</i> Presence of satellite genealogies: descent of Count Godfrey I of Namur (as found in <i>CH</i> , 33); ancestors of Alice of Brittany	Baldwin III takes on the governance of Hainault following his father's disappearance	<i>CH</i> , 28, 31-35 (and <i>Genealogia regum Francorum?</i>) ²⁶⁰	Substantial extensions (descent of the castellans of Tournai; descent of Raoul of Coucy: 1/ marriage to Agnes of Hainault)
Chapter 101 (KBR, MS 9003, fol. 206 ^B ; BnF, MS fr. 2633, fol. 49 ^B - ^A ; Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 164 ^A)	Children of King Philip I and of Fulk of Anjou		<i>Ex Abbreviatione gestorum Franc.</i> ²⁶¹ and <i>Eracles</i> , Book XIV, 1 ²⁶²	
Chapter 128 ('CHanBA', pp.	The children of Louis VI of France (son of	Death of Philip I of France.	<i>GRF</i> ²⁶³	Substantial extensions

²⁵⁷ Chapters follow the numbering of 'CHanBA'. I have given references to each redaction (A*, A and B) when they include the genealogy mentioned, even when the content does not vary from one redaction to the other: KBR, MS 9003 (for A*); 'CHanBA' or BnF, MS fr. 2633 for A; 'CHanBA' and/or *Istore*, or Beinecke Libr., MS 339 for B.

²⁵⁸ The entry is highlighted in italics when mentioning a genealogy which has been reworked or extended at the stage of redaction B.

²⁵⁹ Léopold Genicot, 'Princes territoriaux et sang carolingien. La *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*', in *Etudes sur les principautés lotharingiennes*, ed. by Léopold Genicot (Louvain: Université de Louvain, 1975), pp. 217-306 (pp. 242-68).

²⁶⁰ 'Genealogia regum Franc. tertiae stirpis, quomodo disjunctum sit regnum Franc. a genealogia Caroli Magni' in *RHGF*, XVII, 433-34.

²⁶¹ 'Ex Abbreviatione gestorum Franciae regum ab origine regni ad annum Christi MCXXVII' in *RHGF*, XII, 67.

²⁶² *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*.

²⁶³ 'CHanBA', p. 439 and *RHGF*, XVII, p. 434.

439-41; <i>Istore</i> , II, 595-98)	Philip I), chiefly the descent of Robert of Dreux and the descent of Peter II of Courtenay			(descent of Raoul of Coucy; 2/ marriage to Alix of Dreux; descent of Peter II of Courtenay)
Chapter 152 ('CHanBA', pp. 443-44; <i>Istore</i> , II, 611-12)	<i>Descent of Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders</i>	Following a chapter on England	<i>CH</i> , 47-49, 51	Minor additions
Chapter 166 ('CHanBA', p. 446; <i>Istore</i> , II, 617)	Descent of Henry of Sebourg, brother to Count Baldwin V of Hainault, and son of Baldwin IV	Death of Baldwin IV	Entirely original?	
Chapter 193 ('CHanBA', p. 448; <i>Istore</i> , II, 653-54)	Descent of <i>Unbers</i> [Guichard IV?] of Beaujeu and Sybill, daughter of Baldwin V of Hainault	Negotiations for the marriage between Sybill and <i>Unbers</i> . They eventually marry and have two children	Entirely original?	
Chapter 212 ²⁶⁴ (BnF, MS fr. 2633, fols 211'A-12'B; <i>Istore</i> , II, 668-71)	Genealogy of the counts of Boulogne	Struggles between King Philip II Augustus and Renaud of Dammartin, count of Boulogne. The king gave Renaud's daughter to his son Philip Hurepel. The mention of the county of Boulogne justifies the genealogy.	<i>Genealogia comitum Bononiensium</i> (Arras, BM, MS 163) ²⁶⁵	Minor modifications

First of all, a brief comment must be made concerning how these genealogies are inserted into the narrative. As others have shown, the *CBA* has a specific way of integrating descriptive material, in other words, passages in which the linearity of the narration is interrupted (the chronology and the narration are momentarily in abeyance).²⁶⁶ As we have seen in Chapter 2, 3, digressions (be it the genealogy of a person, the origins of a people, or the words of a philosopher) generally begin with the same linguistic formula. They also follow a semantic pattern which is constant throughout the *CBA*, even for much shorter passages of descriptive information, insofar as, like Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*, '[the compiler's] basic guideline of temporal chronology was closely followed by his desire for topical

²⁶⁴ This chapter, which Heller did not include in his edition, is edited in Brassart, 'Comtes de Boulogne', pp. 7-16 and *Istore*, II, 668-71. The genealogies were continued in a different section at the stage of redaction B ('CHanBA', Chapter 227; Brassart, 'Comtes de Boulogne' pp. 16-18; *Istore*, II, 677) see below 2.4.1).

²⁶⁵ See p. 69, note 195.

²⁶⁶ See Ruhe, *Untersuchungen*, p. 195 and *Proverbes*, p. 19; Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 19, note 179.

unity and order.²⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, all descriptions are strictly connected to an element of the narrative, as if each digression could take place only at a specific point in the account. The end of a person's life is certainly one of the compiler's favourite places to insert descriptive information. In any case, the mention of an element or a person in the narration is, under such rules of composition, the one and only opportunity for the compiler to include descriptive items linked to that specific element or person.

The latter constraint might partially explain why a subject-matter as homogeneous as the descent of the counts of Hainault from Richilde to Baldwin VI has been treated in several instalments rather than in one longer passage. Table 4 distinctly shows how the descent of the counts of Hainault is covered in chapters 47, 56, 85 and 166 of 'CHanBA'. The genealogies thus do not form one unit within the narrative and are often well separated from each other.

The segmentation of this material is particular to the *CBA* and it shows how the compiler uses a conscious pattern to structure and divide his information. Each individual genealogical chapter is also structured in a specific way. Croenen has described how the compiler proceeded for the genealogies linked to the comital house of Hainault:

For every generation, the chronicler gives information on all children, first sons and then daughters, supposedly in order of birth. Biographical details for every person are immediately followed by a complete description of this person's own offspring. Only when all these filiations have been followed downward until the thirteenth century does the chronicler return to the eldest son in the generation where he started, proceeding thereafter to the next generation, describing the following generations using exactly the same principles.²⁶⁸

This microstructure in which the eldest son, i.e. the heir, is the last to be described is used for each of the 'descent-oriented' genealogies linked to the house of Hainault; but it also has at times a macrostructural impact. That is indeed how one can explain the compiler's decision to split the descent of Baldwin II (*CH*, 28-31) over two distant chapters: whereas 'CHanBA', Chapter 56 surveys all of his children but the future Count Baldwin III, Chapter 85 focuses only on the latter's descent (including, this time, his heir Baldwin IV).

²⁶⁷ Gregory G. Guzman, 'The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin', *Speculum*, 49 (1974), 287-307 (p. 301).

²⁶⁸ Croenen, p. 87.

Beyond their status as informative digressions, the genealogies seem to play a specific part in the *CBA*. Indeed, several persons mentioned in the genealogies also participate in the narrative: the counts of Hainault, Peter II of Courtenay and James of Avesnes all have a share in events recounted in the *CBA*. On many occasions, the genealogies can be viewed as an introduction to some characters who are mentioned later on in the narrative. In that sense, they act in the same way as the list of characters in the written text of a theatre play: they provide a static description of persons (their functions, their relatives) whose actions are recounted elsewhere in the narration. This function, added to the fact that the descent-oriented genealogies of the *CBA* are usually inserted after the person (often after his death) from which they derive, somewhat illustrates Spiegel's ideas regarding the role that genealogy can play in history writing. For Spiegel, genealogy is a grid stemming from the writer's social environment, which he can use as a symbolic and formal structure in order to organise his text: genealogy could be employed as a 'metaphor of procreative time and social affiliation which brought together into a connected historical matrix the essential core of the chronicler's material.'²⁶⁹ In the *CBA*, however, the metaphor has become literal: the genealogy is no longer an abstract structure but a concrete part of the narrative. The person whose life has come to an end is now succeeded by younger generations who, in turn, will perform deeds within the narrative, until they are succeeded by others. In that sense the *CBA* realises in literal terms what Spiegel has detected metaphorically in works such as the *Grandes Chroniques de France* or the works of the Anonymous of Béthune:

[...] genealogy enabled chroniclers to organize their narratives as a succession of *gestes* performed by the successive representatives of one or more *lignages*, whose personal characteristics and deeds, extensively chronicled in essentially biographical modes, bespoke the enduring meaning of history as the collective action of noble lineages in relation to one another and to those values to which their *gestes* gave life.²⁷⁰

In this respect, the role of Chapter 47 (the first proper lay genealogical chapter) needs to be considered. This chapter is essentially based on a text belonging to Family III of a work inappropriately entitled *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*.

²⁶⁹ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative', *History and Theory*, 22 (1983), 43-53 (p. 51).

²⁷⁰ Spiegel, 'Genealogy', p. 51. Note that for the *CBA* this is true above all for the comital dynasty of Hainault.

This text, composed between 1080 and 1087, possibly in the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Amand, describes in its original version the Trojan, Merovingian and Carolingian ascendance of the counts of Namur and the counts of Boulogne. The manuscripts of Family III, however, display a text composed in 1172 which only repeats the account for the Carolingian origins and adds the counts of Hainault (and also James of Avesnes) at the end of the genealogical tree.²⁷¹ The strong Carolingian focus is tangible for this specific version,²⁷² and its use, with small additions, in the *CBA*, certainly appears to be a way of showing not only the Carolingian blood of the Avesnes family but also the kinship ties between this family and other comital houses, as Meyer-Zimmermann has rightly pointed out.²⁷³

Chapter 47 appears as a sort of main introduction to the rest of the genealogies and, for that matter, to part of the narrative. First of all, the (original) transition used to insert the genealogy after the death of King Louis IV of France announces, in itself, further developments:

Il avoit II fils de la roine Gerberge. Lohiers, li ainsnés fu couronnés. Et li autres ot non Charles, de cui il issi grans lignie. Et pour chou que vous en orés encore plusors fois parler vous en noumerai grant partie. (Cambrai, BM, MS 683, fol. 310^vB)²⁷⁴

This is indeed the case. Admittedly, most elements of the genealogy are taken from the Latin model described above. However, many of the people mentioned along the branches of the genealogical tree reappear elsewhere in the narration, notably in genealogies: Godfrey of Namur's descent is mentioned, after Gilbert of Mons' chronicle, in Chapter 85; the counts of Boulogne receive their own genealogical chapter; Godfrey of Bouillon and, more discreetly, James of Avesnes count among the protagonists of the crusades; Margaret of Flanders is the daughter of Count Thierry, whose descent is also listed in the *CBA*, etc.

Chapter 47 also starts the genealogical cycle on the counts of Hainault by listing the offspring of Count Baldwin V. This is one of few really original additions

²⁷¹ On all this see Genicot, 'Princes territoriaux', pp. 217, 273-75, 286-88.

²⁷² Charlemagne is given a more prominent position than in earlier versions (L. Genicot, *Les Généalogies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), p. 38). Furthermore, in the only surviving early manuscript of this version (two later copies are also extant), the genealogy is preserved alongside excerpts of the *Pseudo-Turpin* (Genicot, 'Princes territoriaux', p. 232).

²⁷³ Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 19-21

²⁷⁴ See also the analysis of this chapter in Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 19-21 and Heller, 'Ueber die Herrn', p. 132.

in Chapter 47, and this mention cannot be found elsewhere in the *CBA*: it thus comes as an anticipation of both the genealogies of earlier counts (from Richilde onwards), which come later on in the narrative, and the descent of Baldwin V's children, who is spread over several individual chapters (Chapter 128: descent of Peter II of Courtenay, married to Yolanda of Hainault; Chapter 193: descent of Sybill of Hainault and the lord of Beaujeu; discreet mentions of Joan and Margaret, daughters of Baldwin VI in Chapters 203 and 205).

The connection is never made explicitly, but all genealogies catalogued in Table 4 can somehow be linked to the content of Chapter 47. In other words, the descent of Charles of Lotharingia delineates, to some extent, the compiler's genealogical plans. This is important, as this chapter is present in all redactions of the *CBA*, where it remains almost unchanged. One could thus contend that the compiler had a definite project in mind from the beginning (that is to say, from the composition of A*), but was not able to carry it out immediately. The case of the genealogies of the Avesnes family supports this hypothesis: the compiler announced them in redaction A, but they were only added in B (see below).

Besides their structure, the genealogies linked to Hainault display, when compared to their source (the *Chronicon Hanoniense*), a good number of the original elements which undoubtedly form the most interesting part of the additions made at the stage of redaction A. These elements have mainly taken the form of extensions or continuations to Gilbert of Mons' genealogical trees. All this new material is probably not based on other written sources, but rather on oral testimonies or other types of information collected by the compiler.

The absence of any details regarding the genealogies of the comital house of Hainault past Baldwin VI and the strikingly contrasting thoroughness of the genealogies of the Avesnes family (added in redaction B) and its peers or friends are, according to Heller, the decisive criteria to ascribe the sponsorship of the *CBA* to Baldwin of Avesnes ('Ueber die Herrn', p. 142). Although the scholar pointed to elements linked to Baldwin of Avesnes in redaction A (pp. 135-36), it seems that his statement is essentially based on redaction B, as he specifies that, for redaction A, 'sind meist nur die Stammbäume, die schon bei Herm. Tornac. [Herman of Tournai], bei Gislebert, in den Genealogien der Grafen von Boulogne, Flandern u.a. gelesen werden, erweitert und fortgesetzt' (p. 142). One can wonder whether similar links to

Baldwin of Avesnes could not be found in redaction A, and thus confirm that he supervised the composition of the *CBA*.

An initial observation which can be made regarding the content of the descent-oriented genealogies involves their apparent lack of balance: whereas for some branches of the genealogical tree, the compiler's knowledge seems fairly detailed, in other instances he only provides limited or vague information, or even fails to provide any. These occurrences are an indication of the compiler's interests and of the boundaries of his genealogical research, though it is difficult to decide whether the compiler did not mention the names or the number of children of a specific person because he did not know it or because he did not want to do it.²⁷⁵

The case of the three daughters of Count Baldwin IV of Hainault offers a striking example of the unevenness of the genealogies. Yolanda and Laureta (*Leurenche*), respectively the eldest and the youngest daughters according to the *CBA*, seem to be given much less genealogical attention than their sister Agnes. For both of them, the compiler merely translates the information given by Gilbert, i.e. their marriages and children, but goes no further. On the other hand, the descent of Agnes and her husband, Raoul of Coucy, is the subject of the longest original passage (for redaction A) in Chapter 85: the compiler translates the *Chronicon Hanoniense* in order to mention Raoul's children and then extends his Latin source in order to list all the descent of each of these three children up to around the last third of the thirteenth century. This disparity is all the more astonishing as the compiler could probably easily have obtained information on Yolanda's descent.²⁷⁶

It thus appears that the compiler limited his genealogical research to specific families. He seems to have had two main focal points: the descent of Raoul of Coucy and, to a lesser extent, the Avesnes family. Their respective intrusions in the genealogies of redaction A differ drastically: the Coucys' presence is overwhelming whereas the Avesnes' is much more discreet. In this respect, their respective cases offer some useful insight regarding the making of the *CBA*.

The descent of Raoul I of Coucy undoubtedly forms the bulk of the original genealogical material of redaction A of the *CBA*. The descent stemming from his

²⁷⁵ As Guené observes for the genealogy of Foigny: '[...] tous les silences du généalogiste ne sont pas dus aux obstacles que la distance mettait à son information.' (Bernard Guené, 'Les Généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être Capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge', *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 33 (1978), 450-77 (p. 459).

²⁷⁶ See the genealogical trees in Jean-François Nieuws, *Un pouvoir comtal entre Flandre et France: Saint-Pol, 1000-1300* (Brussels: De Boeck, 2005), pp. 142 and 174.

first marriage (to Agnes of Hainaut) is listed in Chapter 85, whereas the offspring of his second marriage (to Alix of Dreux) and the subsequent descendants are treated in Chapter 128. In addition, the descent of his granddaughter, Yolanda of Coucy, who married Arnold of Mortagne, castellan of Tournai, is mentioned in Chapter 85 among the descent of Count Baldwin III of Hainaut (one of his daughters had married the castellan of Tournai). The fragmentation of this descent over several chapters reinforces the impression of prominence of the Coucy family, and especially of Raoul I: they can be linked to the descent of two counts of Hainaut (Baldwin III and Baldwin IV) and of King Louis VI of France. That is how the bias of the compiler can be perceived: when he interrupts the narrative of the coronation of King Louis VI to insert part of Louis' descent, it is not out of interest for the king himself, but because it allows him to include the descent of Raoul of Coucy and of Peter of Courtenay (linked to the house of Hainault) and, eventually, to show how these families possess royal blood.

Together these three segments form an exhaustive record of Raoul of Coucy's descent, displaying surprisingly detailed information, very much in the fashion of the Avesnes genealogy added in redaction B: in most cases the compiler can list the name and title (or function) of all descendants and their spouses. Just as Heller suggested with respect to the genealogical work of the compiler regarding the Avesnes, it is almost inconceivable that this genealogy could have been assembled without the support of an actual member of the family in question.²⁷⁷ The connection of the chronicle with Baldwin of Avesnes makes it rather easy to pick a member of the Coucy family who could have helped the compiler: Felicity of Coucy, Raoul of Coucy's granddaughter and Yolanda's sister, was Baldwin of Avesnes' wife. The exact range of her influence remains, nevertheless, difficult to measure.

The potential contribution of Felicity of Coucy to the creation of the *CBA* has, oddly, never been suggested before, but it makes plenty of sense given the tremendous weight of the Coucy family in the original genealogical passages of redaction A of the *CBA*. Her influence went more than likely beyond her input in the genealogies: the heavy focus of the *CBA* on the crusades was appealing for Baldwin of Avesnes given his family history, but it was just as well for Felicity, and for the same reasons. The Coucy family has already been connected to the sponsorship of

²⁷⁷ 'Ueber die Herrn', p. 142.

several texts of the Old French crusade cycle. Additionally, the first-preserved document mentioning Baldwin of Avesnes and Felicity of Coucy together involves the granting of a tax exemption to the order of the Temple (see Chapter 4). Both spouses certainly had a tangible interest in the crusades.

Felicity of Coucy's influence on the narrative can also be felt in a way very akin to Baldwin of Avesnes': the massive presence of her family in the genealogies contrasts with significant omissions in the narrative. The house of Coucy had a longstanding bad reputation in Hainault and Flanders.²⁷⁸ The *CBA* does not link the house of Coucy with its ancestor Thomas of Marle ('CHanBA', p. 421), famous for his 'evil deeds'.²⁷⁹ This might be the result of ignorance. However, the omission later in the narration of the account of the trial of Enguerrand IV of Coucy, which the compiler could read in the lost Latin chronicle of Primat, was clearly intentional.²⁸⁰ The history of the Coucys was thus as delicate a subject as that of the Avesnes, and the compiler was clearly aware of this when he wrote under the supervision of the lord of Beaumont and his wife.

The treatment of the Avesnes family in A is also revealing with respect to both the process of composition of the *CBA* and the sponsorship of Baldwin of Avesnes. Their presence, unlike Raoul of Coucy's, remains in the background: it can only be sensed in an indirect manner. They do not have their own genealogical section yet (it will be included in redaction B), but many of their relatives are mentioned. In one case, this kinship is stated explicitly ('Cil Evrars Radous ot a feme la fille monsigneur Englebert de Enghien, ke mesires Englebers avoit eue de madame Adelvie, qui fu fille monseigneur Jakemon d'Avesnes.' 'CHanBA', p. 424), but in the other instances the connection is never made.

However, beyond the mention of Adelvie, one can detect among the original elements of the genealogies of the *CBA* the presence of a good number of people related to the Avesnes family in several genealogical chapters. Their mention denotes a solid knowledge of the different branches of the Avesnes genealogical tree, most notably the children of James of Avesnes: several members of the Rumigny family (Chapter 56) descend from Mathilde of Avesnes; John I of Châtillon, lord of Avesnes, Chartres, Blois and Guise (Chapter 85) is the grandson of Walter of

²⁷⁸ Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Deux Ages de la seigneurie banale. Pouvoir et société dans la terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XI^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984), p. 111.

²⁷⁹ Barthélemy, p. 31.

²⁸⁰ See Chapter 5, 2.

Avesnes; James of Enghien is the son of Ida of Avesnes (another daughter of James') and Arnold of Audenarde is the great grandson of Adelaide of Avesnes (Chapter 166).²⁸¹ Among other members of the kindred one finds: Matilda of Avesnes, James' sister, and daughter of Nicholas of Avesnes (Chapter 47);²⁸² Hugo I of Antoin (Chapter 85), great grandson of Ida of Avesnes, also a daughter of Nicholas of Avesnes. Lastly, when in Chapter 128 the compiler mentions Gobert II of Apremont, husband of Agnes of Coucy, Felicity's sister, he declares: 'De cestui Gobiert et de chiaus qui de lui issirent vous dirons nous cha avant, quant nous parlerons de la generation d'Avesnes.'²⁸³ Gobert II is indeed the grandson of Adelaide of Avesnes.

The subtle, though important, presence of the Avesnes family is informative in several respects. As indicated in the last quote, it illustrates the compiler's intention to place a genealogical chapter on this family in his chronicle. Heller claims concerning the links between redactions A and B that 'Was in A ausgelassen ist, weil der Verfasser noch un schlüssig war, wo er ihm seinen Platz anweisen sollte, wird in B nachgetragen' ('Ueber die Herrn', p. 133). This assumption, which suggests that the material added in redaction B was already at the compiler's disposal when he wrote down redaction A, can be questioned. However, it seems valid in the case of the genealogical section on the Avesnes: the compiler states explicitly in redaction A his intention to include such a chapter in his narrative (which only happens at the stage of redaction B).

But one can go further. The presence of many members of the Avesnes family through the genealogical chapters of redaction A is usually manifest at the bottom of the various genealogical trees. This is interesting when considering the potential sources of information which the compiler must have had. He admittedly completed the genealogies of Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense*, but not in an exhaustive manner, which suggests his interest for some specific branches of the trees. It can thus be assumed that the compiler had, in order to expand Gilbert's material, to seek information among his contemporaries. The most obvious place to

²⁸¹ James of Enghien was the fourth son of Engelbert IV of Enghien and Ida of Avesnes (cf. above and 'CHanBA', p. 431). See René Goffin, *Généalogies enghiennoises. I La maison d'Enghien* (Grandmetz: Château Grandmetz, [1966]), pp. 20 and 23-24. Arnold V of Audenarde was the husband of Isabelle of Sebourg, see 'CHanBA', p. 429 and, for the Audenarde family, Warlop, IV, pp. 1031-42.

²⁸² She is mentioned as the wife of the castellan of Saint-Omer, while this was not the case in the source (the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*).

²⁸³ 'CHanBA', p. 440.

start would have been Baldwin of Avesnes and his family (and his wife's).²⁸⁴ Members of the Avesnes family, although they are almost never explicitly connected to this family, are mentioned in no fewer than five different genealogical chapters (out of six which contain significant original material) in redaction A of the *CBA* (chapters 47, 56, 85, 128, 166).²⁸⁵ These people are also included in the Avesnes genealogy of redaction B, which creates a narrative redundancy. This, coupled with the possibility that these same people also might have provided useful information to the compiler regarding the other genealogical trees in which they were mentioned,²⁸⁶ seems to confirm that the compiler had already collected most of his material for the Avesnes section when redaction A was composed. He thus not only had the intention to include the Avesnes family tree, he already had prepared notes on the subject. Those notes were likely to be close to the final draft included in redaction B, given that the compiler announced the section 'cha avant' in redaction A. Nevertheless, it appears that this promise was not held for redaction A, seemingly because, as Heller suggested, the author did not know where to incorporate that chapter.

The statement that there is a section of the *CBA* which was already roughly drafted, but which was not included because of narrative problems, is significant when considering the three redactions of the *CBA*. Indeed, one can argue that the intention to compose a genealogy of the Avesnes or, for that matter, of the counts of Hainault, was present from the start, i.e. when A* was written down. In this text, two genealogies are present, both taken from textual sources: Chapter 47 is borrowed from the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*, whereas Chapter 101 compiles passages both from the *Genealogia regum Francorum* and the *Eracles*. Chapter 101 does not seem to contain any original material, whereas Chapter 47 contains the same original additions as in the other versions of the *CBA* (cf. Table 4), with the exception of the third daughter of Count Baldwin V of Hainault, who is not mentioned in KBR, MS 9003. Among the new items which the author added, one finds two which can be connected with the Avesnes genealogy added at the stage of redaction B: the detail that the wife of the castellan of Saint-Omer and daughter of

²⁸⁴ I will return to this problem below, as other persons not related to the Avesnes family might also have helped the compiler.

²⁸⁵ The exception is Chapter 193. One might also want to include Chapter 152, which has a few original additions, but it can be argued that there is a (slight) connection with the Avesnes family via an addition on Goswin of Mons, whose daughter married Sohier of Enghien, son of Ida of Avesnes.

²⁸⁶ For instance, Walter of Braine (James of Enghien's son) and his wife, might have been able to provide information regarding the descendants of Baldwin of Sebourg (Chapter 166).

James of Avesnes is named Matilda; and the mention of Beatrix, daughter of Wéry III of Walcourt and, above all of her husband Winand of Houffalize.²⁸⁷ The latter alliance linked together the Houffalize and Avesnes families: the mother of Beatrix was Matilda of Namur, paternal grandmother of Bouchard of Avesnes.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, these ties were reinforced, as Henry I and William of Houffalize, Winand's grandsons, each married a great great granddaughter of Nicholas of Avesnes.²⁸⁹ The Houffalize family were one of the strongest supporters of the Avesnes during their feud with the Dampierres: Bouchard of Avesnes and Margaret of Constantinople found shelter in Thierry I of Houffalize's castle when Bouchard was not welcome anymore at the court of Flanders (in 1214).²⁹⁰ The couple remained there for almost six years and Margaret gave birth to all their children during their residence at Houffalize.²⁹¹ Thierry I of Houffalize and his son Henry would also participate actively (as witnesses or guarantors) in the various judicial events arranged to settle the Avesnes and Dampierre quarrel.²⁹² These two additions are thus of major importance. Moreover, when one remembers the crucial role of Chapter 47 as introduction to further genealogies (see above), it becomes obvious that the compiler had, from the start, the intention to include genealogies connected with the Avesnes.

The question of the origin of the compiler's new genealogical material has been briefly raised above. Baldwin of Avesnes' relatives, because they appear in almost every original genealogical chapter, can each be suspected of having supplied information to the author of the *CBA*. This hypothesis can even be given further credit, as all the noblemen mentioned above, more than simply being cognates of Baldwin of Avesnes, were seemingly part of a close circle of supporters of the lord

²⁸⁷ Heller, 'Ueber die Herrn', pp. 135-36 and 'CHanBA', p. 420.

²⁸⁸ Ch. Laurent, *Houffalaise et ses anciens seigneurs* (Arlon: Brück, 1891), p. 189. Bouchard of Avesnes thus calls Thierry I of Houffalize 'his cousin' (p. 29 and Alphonse Wauters, *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant la Belgique*, 9 vols (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1866-1971), III (1871), 583).

²⁸⁹ 'CHanBA', p. 430.

²⁹⁰ Duvivier, I, 64-66. Thierry was even excommunicated (along with Bouchard) because of this (p. 70).

²⁹¹ Duvivier, I, 75-76.

²⁹² Thierry and his son Henry of Houffalize are the leaders of the warrantors of the Avesnes in an agreement made in January 1235 (Duvivier, I, 108-09). Henry is again warrantor for an agreement made in January 1246 (pp. 140-41 and below) and, with his son Thierry II, for a convention made in October 1258 (p. 273); he is also one of the three witnesses provided by the Avesnes themselves in 1249 for an inquest regarding the legitimacy of their birth led by the bishop of Châlons and the abbot of the Saint-Sépulcre (p. 192). Baldwin of Avesnes seems to have kept in touch with Henry, as shown in an act of February 1269, in which both men are mentioned as witnesses of a sale by Renaud, lord of Han-sur-Lesse, to Count Henry V of Luxembourg (Appendix, no. 15).

of Beaumont and of his older brother John. One is struck by the fact that most of the noblemen listed above as members of the Avesnes family discreetly mentioned throughout the genealogies of redaction A also appear as surety of John and Baldwin of Avesnes in two different instances. In an agreement dated 19 January 1235 which states, on the one hand, that John and Baldwin of Avesnes are both of age, on the other, that the succession to Margaret of Dampierre will be split into seven equal parts between the children of her two marriages, are mentioned, among others, Nicolas of Rumigny and his sons, William, castellan of Saint-Omer, Hugo of Antoing, Arnold of Mortagne, Siger of Enghien (father of James) and his two sons.²⁹³ The same, except William, are found with Hugo of Rumigny and his son and Arnold of Audenarde (among others) in a document of January 1246 where they vouch for the Avesnes, certifying that they will abide by the decision of King Louis IX of France (who had been chosen to arbitrate the conflict) regarding the succession to the county of Flanders.²⁹⁴

Besides the close relatives, other acquaintances of Baldwin's form part of the youngest generations of the genealogies of redaction A. These include Baldwin Carons (mentioned in the genealogies of Chapter 56 and also one of the Avesnes' guarantors in January 1246); Archambaud VIII of Bourbon (Chapter 85) and his son Archambaud IX (Chapter 128);²⁹⁵ Count Henry V of Luxembourg (Chapter 85);²⁹⁶ Duke John I of Brabant (Chapter 85).²⁹⁷ Even though all these men cannot be included in the list of potential informants of the compiler (Archambaud VIII of Bourbon died in 1242 and his son in 1249), it is striking to note that the bottoms of the genealogies of the *CBA* comprise a very high number of members of Baldwin of Avesnes' social circle (including, as Heller pointed out, his neighbours).²⁹⁸ Their presence in the genealogies leads to the conclusion that some of them must have provided information to the compiler. The latter thus used efficiently the social

²⁹³ Duvivier, I, 108-09 and II, 53-54. Arnold of Mortagne is mentioned in the lineage of the castellans of Tournai. He had married Yolanda of Coucy, who was Felicity's sister.

²⁹⁴ Duvivier, I, 141-42 and II, 122-30.

²⁹⁵ Baldwin of Avesnes spent at least seven years of his childhood at the court of Archambaud VIII, who was William of Dampierre's brother. See Theo Luykx, *Het grafelijk geslacht Dampierre en zijn strijd tegen Filips de Schone* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, [1952]), pp. 21-22.

²⁹⁶ Count Henry V was a partisan of the Avesnes. John of Avesnes had entrusted the county of Namur to Henry (see Duvivier, I, 248, 261, 285-86). Henry V's son had married Baldwin of Avesnes' daughter, Beatrice, at the beginning of the 1260s. Baldwin is found several times in Luxembourg with Henry V during that period.

²⁹⁷ For the relationship between Baldwin of Avesnes and the dukes of Brabant, see Chapter 4.

²⁹⁸ Heller, 'Ueber die Herm', p. 132. One can think, for instance, of the recurring presence of the Barbençon family (Barbençon is situated within walking distance of Beaumont).

network of his patron to collect the (non-written) material needed to compose his genealogical chapters.

Following this analysis of the original material of the genealogies of redaction A, one can draw several conclusions. First of all, the sponsorship of Baldwin of Avesnes can no longer be contested. Even though Heller had already demonstrated it, some scholars had remained sceptical.²⁹⁹ Furthermore, it seems that Felicity of Coucy, Baldwin's wife, also intervened in the composition of the genealogical chapters of the *CBA*. Could Felicity's participation as an informer of the compiler somewhat explain why redaction A was written down? That is indeed possible as, even though the gathering of information for the Avesnes was not yet integrated in the text, the version was sufficiently comprehensive regarding the Coucy family, which is confirmed by the fact that these parts are not expanded or completed at the stage of redaction B (although some minor corrections were made). This might also suggest that the Avesnes genealogy, long anticipated but only added in the last rendering of the *CBA*, was given prominence over all other genealogies. Felicity's influence on the compilation is apparent but her actual involvement might have been limited or, at least, unknown to her contemporaries: her first cousin Enguerrand IV of Coucy only names Baldwin of Avesnes in connection with the book which was used to compile the *Lignage de Coucy*.³⁰⁰

Croenen argues that descent-oriented genealogies (and, chiefly, those of the *CBA*) 'might have served as records of kinship'. At first sight, it might seem materially difficult for two persons to determine whether they are kin by checking for common ancestors, as 'it looks fairly unlikely that one could trace a common great-great-grandparent on the basis of a descent-oriented genealogy, which starts from a single ancestor.' However, the scholar reminds us that 'the odds were always much higher that a common ancestor was of royal or princely extraction' because kings tended to pursue a very active marriage policy for their children and relatives (p. 90). This hypothesis is reinforced here by the way in which descent-oriented genealogies are inserted in the narrative: they are systematically linked to a single ancestor of

²⁹⁹ See for example Charles Verlinden, 'Boudewijn van Henegouwen, een onbekende reiziger door Azië uit de dertiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, 65 (1952), 122-29 (p. 128, n. 41). Such scepticism might be explained by the fact that Heller skimmed on examples and that, therefore, his conclusions seemed more focused on redaction B.

³⁰⁰ See Chapter 4, 1.

high lineage (Kings Louis IV and Louis VI of France, Countess Richilde, and Counts Baldwin II, Baldwin III, Baldwin IV and Baldwin V of Hainault).

Detecting kinship was, among other things, useful to arrange marriages which conformed to the rules of canon law and this could indeed be one of the uses to which the *CBA* could be put.³⁰¹ However, the descent-oriented genealogies of the *CBA* focus on specific families (such as the Coucys) or persons in the entourage of Baldwin of Avesnes and are much less complete for other branches. This therefore seems to indicate that something other than an objective record of kinship is at stake. The genealogies then become more a way of asserting the collective identity of a restricted group of nobles.

2. From Redaction A to Redaction B

2.1. The Status of Book I

The status of the first book of the *CBA* is problematic for redaction B. Book I of the *CBA* contains the section recounting the history of the world from Creation until Pontius Pilate; it is usually distinguished visually from the later parts of the chronicle, and is frequently bound in a separate volume. With the single exception of A* (which lacks the teachings of Cato), the content of this particular book is identical in all early manuscripts. Indeed, in the order of the narrative, the first portion of text where redaction B diverges from redaction A concerns the chapter on Richilde of Hainault. Furthermore, as no full copy of the *CBA* has survived (at least for its first three versions), it is difficult to find manuscripts of the chronicle preserving both Book I and the narrative of the Christian era through at least the first modified chapter. KBR, MS II 988 (in two volumes including the text from the Creation to 1186) and Cambrai, BM, MS. 683 (from Creation to 1090) are the only such cases,

³⁰¹ The genealogies of redaction B display certain marriages which went against the fourth-degree rule (for instance the marriages between the sons of Gobert II of Apremont and the daughters of Nicholas of Quiévrain, mentioned twice: the spouses were related to the fourth degree as they all shared James of Avesnes as great-great-grandfather: 'CHanBA', pp. 429 and 430). This tends to contradict Croenen's idea that the genealogies could be used to check kinship in order to comply with the marital constraints imposed by the Church.

both of which clearly display a redaction A text. Consequently, none of the preserved early copies of redaction B include the text of Book I.

This lack of material evidence is insufficient for us to draw firm conclusions. But one has to bear in mind that the modifications of redaction B deal only with a small number of sections, all located at a late stage of the narrative (covering a period from the end of the eleventh century to the beginning of the thirteenth century). Given that redactions A and B were sponsored by the same patron (Baldwin of Avesnes), one can assume that the integration of the additions in redaction B would only imply the making of codices which comprised the text of the *CBA* from the start of the Christian era to 1278. Indeed, Baldwin of Avesnes would already have had a copy of redaction A, and thus, of Book I, whose content was not changed for redaction B. This might explain why redaction B is only preserved in manuscripts lacking Book I. Consequently, although redaction A* has to be set apart, Book I, which in many instances has been preserved on its own, is thus exempt from the distinction between redaction A and redaction B.

2.2. New Textual Sources

Although redaction B mostly consists of original additions (which will be examined in the next section), part of the material inserted by the compiler for this last draft of the *CBA* is drawn from textual sources which he had not used previously. The strong mark that Baldwin of Avesnes' sponsorship seems to have left on redaction B (see below) calls for a comment regarding the recourse to these three new texts, which will be reviewed in their order of appearance in the narrative.

2.2.1. *The Genealogia ducum Brabantie ampliata*

In Chapter 85, the compiler inserts the usual transition in order to include a genealogy of the dukes of Brabant. After the mention of Duke John I, which already formed part of redaction A, he states: 'Pour ce que nous avons parle dou duc Jehan de Braibant et parlerons encore, vous dirons nous de ses ancisseurs' ('CHanBA', p. 426). The following genealogy, although it comprises some original elements, is essentially drawn from Chapters 6 to 9 and, above all, 10 to 14 of the *Genealogia*

ducum Brabantie ampliata.³⁰² This work is one of four genealogies which were written during the first years of Duke John I's reign, seemingly in a clerical environment, probably in order to reinforce the legitimacy of the Brabantine dynasty, which had been weakened by the dynastic crisis following the death of Henri III in 1261.³⁰³ The *Genealogia ampliata* can be precisely dated between February 1270 and November 1271, as it mentions Margaret of France, who was only duchess of Brabant for that brief period.³⁰⁴

The recourse to the *Genealogia ampliata* is telling in two different ways. First of all, in all likelihood, the decision to insert this text must have stemmed from Baldwin of Avesnes rather than from the compiler: the lord of Beaumont seems to have been close to John I and it appears that they were both part of a circle of nobles for whom historiography was of special interest (see Chapter 4). One can indeed wonder to what extent the composition of such genealogies was in this case the by-product of a trend among a specific group of people rather than the result of an individual initiative.³⁰⁵ This hypothesis is reinforced by the strong Carolingian focus of both the Brabantine genealogies (which were, to some extent, quite innovative in this respect) and the *CBA*.³⁰⁶

A second interesting aspect regarding the use of the *Genealogia ampliata* concerns the manner in which it is integrated into the *CBA*. The Latin original starts with King Priam, thus illustrating the Brabantine claim of a Trojan origin (a frequent claim among royal and princely houses at the time), and his professed descendants, the Merovingian kings, before turning to the Carolingian kings. Along the way the author mentions the numerous foundations and holy members of the Brabantine

³⁰² Johannes Heller, 'Genealogia ducum Brabantiae ampliata', in *MGH SS*, XXV (Hanover: Hahn, 1880), 391-99.

³⁰³ Regarding these genealogies, see Paul De Ridder, 'Dynastiek en national gevoel in Brabant onder de regering van Hertog Jan I (1267-1294)', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 33 (1979), 73-99 (esp. pp. 76-78 and 88-90) and Robert Stein, 'Brabant en de Karolingische dynastie. Over het ontstaan van een historiografische traditie', *Bijdragen en medelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 110 (1995), 329-51. Whereas both scholars place the first three genealogies in the late 1260s/early 1270s, they disagree on the dating of the *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae metrica* (between 1285 and 1288 according to De Ridder, p. 77, whereas Stein, p. 333 argues that it is contemporary with the other genealogies).

³⁰⁴ Stein, p. 336.

³⁰⁵ Genealogies usually came into existence under specific circumstances (Genicot, *Les Généalogies*, p. 18) and their geographical dissemination was generally limited (p. 36).

³⁰⁶ Stein, pp. 332 and 350-51. The *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae ampliata* goes as far as boldly stating that John I is, contrary to King Louis IX, the legitimate heir of the French throne because he descends from Charlemagne ('Genealogia ducum Brabantiae', p. 395, chapter 8).

dynasty.³⁰⁷ The compiler of the *CBA*, besides having ‘systematically suppressed all the ideological and dynastic claims which he found in his sources’,³⁰⁸ also chooses a different and meaningful point of departure for the genealogical tree: he starts by mentioning the father of King Lothair I and Charles, duke of Lower Lotharingia.³⁰⁹ It could be argued that the histories of Trojan and Merovingian kings had been treated before, and that, therefore, no repetition was needed. But such is also the case for Carolingian history, and one cannot but notice that the start of the list of John I of Brabant’s ancestors is, content-wise, almost identical to that of Chapter 47, based on the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*.³¹⁰ This reinforces the assumption made above that the latter chapter could be viewed as a sort of introduction to all the subsequent genealogies. The Carolingian shadow thus looms large over all the noble genealogies of the *CBA* and seems to be an important identifying factor for the different families at stake.

2.2.2. *The Chronicon Laetiense*

A second new textual source used by the compiler is the *Chronicon Laetiense*, a short history of the convent of Liessies composed around 1204-1205.³¹¹ The compiler used small excerpts from Chapters 2, 3, 8 and 12 of this work at the beginning of the Avesnes genealogy in order to write the early history of the lords of Avesnes, who were neighbours of the monks of Liessies and with whom they had many dealings. Because of important structural differences, Heller balks at concluding that the *Chronicon Laetiense* was the exact source for these passages. However, the compiler’s reorganisation of the text is, as in many other instances in the *CBA*, merely due to his systematic concern with providing a chronologically ordered narrative. Furthermore, as Heller himself admits, the wording of the translation follows that of the original closely (‘CHanBA’, p. 427, note 13). The

³⁰⁷ De Ridder, pp. 77-78.

³⁰⁸ Croenen, p. 88.

³⁰⁹ This is supposed to be Louis IV of France, but the text mentions Charles. In BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 5218, ‘Loÿs’ was added in cursive writing.

³¹⁰ The text of the *CBA* even re-uses elements of the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium* for the Brabantine genealogy, notably in a passage lacking in the manuscript used by Heller because of an eye skip and only found in BnF, MS n. acq. fr. 5218: it mentions the marriage of Matilda, daughter of Lambert I of Louvain with Count Eustache I of Boulogne and their descent as found in Chapter 47.

³¹¹ Johannes Heller, ‘Chronicon Laetiense’, in *MGH SS*, XIV (Hanover: Hahn, 1883), 487-502.

monastery of Liessies had a long-standing relationship with the Avesnes family. Its church was the private cemetery of the lords of Avesnes.³¹² Baldwin of Avesnes himself seems to have had contacts early on with this abbey. Indeed he is not lord of Beaumont yet when, on 5 February 1248, he settles a dispute between the abbey and Vellat of Biauvoir.³¹³ What is more, his seigneurie of Beaumont was barely 20 kilometres away from Liessies, which might indicate that also in this case a source had been accessed thanks to Baldwin of Avesnes' help.

2.2.3. *The 'cronikes de l'abbéie Saint-Hubert en Ardenne'*

The last new textual source included at the stage of redaction B cannot be determined so easily. It concerns a passage on the ancestors of Godfrey of Bouillon inserted after the mention of the latter's death, in accordance with the compiler's writing devices.³¹⁴ The *CBA* seems to refer to its source rather accurately, stating that 'On truève ès cronikes de l'abbéie Saint-Hubert en Ardenne que...' (*Istore*, II, 593; my emphasis). However, the few paragraphs which follow this introduction are nowhere to be found in the extant manuscripts of the chronicle of Saint-Hubert, generally called *Cantatorium Sancti Huberti Andaginensi*.³¹⁵ One can only point for some passages to a vague resemblance with Chapter 23 of the latter work. It is one of the rare passages of the *CBA* where the Old French chronicle seems to provide more details than its putative source. This calls for a lengthier examination of this section and of its possible source(s).

In his analysis of the passage in question, Georges Despy concludes that it belongs to a lost chronicle stemming from the same abbey.³¹⁶ Despy based his investigation on a fragment in Latin copied in a fourteenth-century manuscript (Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, XIII, 748) and he did not seem to be aware that he was actually dealing with a section of the *CBA* (here in its Latin

³¹² Daniel Dereck, 'La Noblesse dans le comté de Hainaut du XI^e au XIII^e siècle. Aperçu général', in *Recueil d'études d'histoire hainuyère offertes à Maurice A. Arnould*, ed. by Jean-Marie Cauchies and Jean-Marie Duvosquel, 2 vols (Mons: Hannonia, 1983), I, 583-97 (p. 591)

³¹³ Copy dated on 4 August 1790 in Lille, Archives du Nord (ADN), 9 H 132/570 and copy in cartulary of the abbey of Liessies, ADN, 9 H 9*, fol. 22^r.

³¹⁴ See Chapter 2, 2.

³¹⁵ *La Chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium*, ed. by Karl Hanquet (Brussels: Kiessling, 1906).

³¹⁶ Georges Despy, 'Un fragment d'une "Cronica monasterii Sancti Huberti in Ardenna" perdue de la fin du XIII^e siècle (?)', *BCRH*, 121 (1956), 147-73. I would like to thank Philippe Demonty for bringing this article to my attention.

translation, copied entirely in the German codex).³¹⁷ He therefore erroneously deduced that this fragment was an excerpt of a Latin chronicle written at the end of the thirteenth century in Saint-Hubert, while it merely is the translation into Latin of a passage of the *CBA* which itself derives from an earlier (and unknown) Latin source.

In spite of Despy's lack of awareness of the textual history of the fragment, his analysis remains useful. He is convinced that the passage comes from a text which is clearly independent from the *Cantatorium*. Both texts indeed display differences in terms of content, style and ideology, not to mention the fact that the fragment is described as an excerpt from a *chronicle*, i.e. a generic designation which the *Cantatorium* has never received.³¹⁸ Additionally, the chronicle extract comprises several important chronological and genealogical errors ('fragment', pp. 166-67). Nevertheless, one could argue that all these differences spring from the compilation work of the author of the *CBA* himself: he often modifies the narrative order of his sources and, at times, distorts the genealogies or tones down some of the ideological judgments of the texts he uses.³¹⁹

One of the interesting features of the passage is the mention of the duke's and duchess' gift of a church (as well as some income) to Saint Thierry, abbot of Saint-Hubert. The text refers to a charter given by the duke and lists all the nobles who sealed it; this would be the foundation of the priory of Bouillon in November 1069.³²⁰ According to Despy, the latter account has to be given greater credibility than the one recounted in Chapter 23 of the *Cantatorium*.³²¹ The charter was

³¹⁷ Regarding the content of the Latin version, see Chapter 1, 3.3. Despy thus also did not know that other copies of the Latin version contained the same fragment.

³¹⁸ Despy, 'fragment', respectively pp. 148-51, 162-63, 165-66. One could argue that the qualificative of 'chronicle' was merely given by the compiler of the *CBA* to the work he was using.

³¹⁹ The genealogical 'error' pointed out by Despy (Ida of Boulogne is mentioned as the daughter of Godfrey the Hunchback, whereas she was actually his sister) can be contrasted with a genealogical section on the counts of Boulogne which is found further in the *CBA*: turning away from his source, the compiler considers Godfrey of Bouillon as the oldest son of Ida and Eustache *as grenons*: his younger brother Eustache inherited the county simply because his older brothers (Godfrey and Baldwin) had died without children (*Istore*, II, 670). This other genealogical 'error' certainly entails ideological implications, as it enhances a little more Godfrey of Bouillon's prestige.

³²⁰ Regarding this charter, see Georges Despy, 'Les Actes des ducs de Basse-Lotharingie du XI^e siècle', *Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut grand-ducal de Luxembourg*, 95 (1981), 65-132 (p. 69). I am grateful to Philippe Demonty for pointing me to this article.

³²¹ The author of the *Cantatorium* has given an account of the foundation of the priory of Bouillon which actually draws elements from the foundation of the priory of Stenay (Despy, 'fragment', pp. 155-57).

probably preserved in Bouillon, and would have escaped the attention of the author of the *Cantatorium*, who was working in Saint-Hubert.³²²

The existence of a lost chronicle written at the abbey of Saint-Hubert is plausible: there is proof that annals (now lost) were composed at this same abbey in the middle of the twelfth century. Despy suggests that the fragment he studied was part of a late thirteenth-century chronicle which had been written at Saint-Hubert on the basis of existing annals ('Un fragment', pp. 168-69). The fragment studied shows that the original work from which it stemmed must have had at least three different sources: 'la charte de 1069 sur le fait de la fondation du prieuré de Bouillon; les Annales perdues pour la mention de la guerre du duc Gothelon contre le comte de Bourgogne en 1033; le *Cantatorium* lui-même pour certains détails comme l'attribution à Godefroid le Barbu du titre de Patrice de Rome' (p. 169, note 1).

Bearing in mind the textual evidence which had escaped Despy's notice, his conclusion can be broken down into two logical scenarios which would account for the source of this intriguing passage in the *CBA*. Either, as Despy envisages it, the passage on Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestors is an excerpt from a lost chronicle totally independent of the *Cantatorium*; or the compiler of the *CBA* has himself used the three sources mentioned above to compose this chapter on the ancestors of Godfrey of Bouillon. The recourse to a charter preserved in Bouillon by the chronicler is not as unlikely as it might seem: Baldwin of Avesnes had been entrusted with the castle of Bouillon on 26 June 1283 (i.e. a few months before the *terminus ad quem* of redaction B of the *CBA*) in order to hold it (temporarily) on behalf of his half-brother Count Guy of Dampierre.³²³

Nevertheless, two elements force us to consider a third potential scenario. First of all, the explicit and very specific reference to one source made at the start of the passage (see above) renders the second scenario (a passage based on multiple sources) unlikely. The second element, which disqualifies Despy's hypothesis of a work independent of the *Cantatorium*, needs a more elaborate explanation: it involves the *Chronicon Hanoniense* of Gilbert of Mons and the passage which, according to Despy (see quotation above), was drawn from the lost annals of Saint-Hubert. Consider the beginning of the fragment in redaction B of the *CBA*:

³²² Despy, 'Un fragment', p. 161, n. 1 and p. 164, n. 2.

³²³ Appendix, no. 31

On truève ès cronikes de l'abbéie Saint-Hubert en Ardenne que il ot un duc en Loherainne qui ot non: Gosselons. Il tenoit le chastel de Buillon en propre alues et fu cuens de Vredun. Il ot grant guerre contre le conte Ouedon de Bourgoigne et tant dura la guerre que li dus ocist le conte Ouedon. Après moru li dus. Si eschéy sa terre a son fil qui ot non: Godefrois à la Barbe. (*Istore*, II, 593)

Surprisingly enough, one finds a similar passage in Gilbert of Mons' chronicle:

In diebus illis defuncto Gosselone duce Lothoringie – qui dux dicebatur Bullionis castri, quod quidem castrum proprium erat allodium – illo, inquam, Gosselone qui Odonem Campaniensem cum magno exercitu suo in bello vicerat et ipsum Odonem interfecerat, filius ejus unicus Godefridus, miles juvenis, ei in omnibus bonis ejus successit. (*CH*, 7)

If the compiler of the *CBA* was admittedly drawing his information from the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, why then would he have made explicit reference to a chronicle in Saint-Hubert (not mentioned by Gilbert of Mons)? The simplest assumption would be that Gilbert of Mons also independently used the chronicle of Saint-Hubert which the *CBA* refers to, creating the similarities in the two accounts.³²⁴

The use of such a chronicle by Gilbert of Mons might come as a surprise, given that, according to Vanderkindere, 'la *Chronique du Hainaut* est entièrement originale; elle ne fait d'emprunt direct à aucune autre source'. Vanderkindere only notices one exception (of capital importance in our case): Chapters 6 and 8 of the *Chronicon Hanoniense* both draw material from the *Cantatorium*.³²⁵ In other words, the passage quoted above (taken from Chapter 7) which must come from an unidentified chronicle of Saint-Hubert, just happens to be situated between two other passages clearly deriving from the *Cantatorium Sancti Huberti Andaginensi*! One can therefore wonder whether the 'cronikes de l'abbéie Saint-Hubert en Ardenne' could be an unidentified version of the *Cantatorium*. Several elements support indeed such a case.

Firstly, the *Cantatorium*, which was written between 1098 and 1106, now survives only in one thirteenth-century manuscript which belonged to the abbey of

³²⁴ What is more, the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, in contrast with the *CBA*, does not mention that Gothelon was count of Verdun, which implies that the *CBA* had access to a more complete source than Gilbert of Mons' text.

³²⁵ *Chronique Gislebert*, p. xxx.

Orval and several modern copies all stemming from that same manuscript.³²⁶ Furthermore, the medieval copy is of poor quality and, according to its editor, has modified the order of the original text.³²⁷ The original text could thus have been substantially different. The passage found in the *CBA* and the *Chronicon Hanoniense* might therefore come from a now lost version of the *Cantatorium*.

Nevertheless, the similarity between the *CBA* and Gilbert's chronicle concerns only a fraction of the actual insertion of redaction B. The rest of the text, narrating for the most part the reign of Godfrey the Bearded, has no equivalent in the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. As stated above, one of its striking features is the mention of a charter linked to the foundation of the priory of Bouillon. There is no mention whatsoever of that charter in the *Cantatorium* nor, for that matter, in the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. However, many episodes included in the *Cantatorium* refer to actual charters. Despy has rightly criticised previous scholarly works for spotting too often traces of lost charters in the *Cantatorium*.³²⁸ Nonetheless, interesting factual numbers can be pointed out: out of twenty-one preserved charters linked to the abbey of Saint-Hubert, fifteen were used by the author of the *Cantatorium*.³²⁹ The unused documents concern mainly the priories of the abbey of Saint-Hubert, which were left aside by the author of the *Cantatorium*, with the exception of the priory of Bouillon.³³⁰ The interest for the latter priory probably stems from the life of the author himself, who, twenty years before composing the work, was prior of Bouillon for a short time.

Hanquet, when comparing the preserved charters with the *Cantatorium*, explains that the author 'indique avec soin les personnages intervenant comme acteurs, l'objet de l'acte et sa date' and that he makes these documents fully part of the narrative.³³¹ This reminds us of the manner in which the lost charter of foundation of the priory of Bouillon is integrated into the passage of the *CBA* on the ancestors of Godfrey of Bouillon.

³²⁶ Regarding the manuscript tradition, see *La Chronique de Saint-Hubert*, pp. xx-xlii. For the date of composition see pp. vi-viii and Abbé Sylv. Balau, *Les Sources de l'histoire de Liège au Moyen Age. Etude critique* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1903; repr. Brussels: culture et civilisation, 1982), p. 378.

³²⁷ *La Chronique de Saint-Hubert*, p. xxxii; Karl Hanquet, *Etude critique de la chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium* (Brussels: Office de Publicité, 1900), pp. 23 and 112-14; Balau, p. 374.

³²⁸ Despy, 'Un fragment', p. 151, n. 1 is mainly after Godefroid Kurth, *Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert en Ardenne* (Brussels: Kiessling, 1903) and his student Hanquet, *Etude critique*, pp. 140 and 150.

³²⁹ Hanquet, *Etude critique*, p. 143.

³³⁰ Despy, 'Un fragment', p. 149, n. 1 and p. 152.

³³¹ Hanquet, *Etude critique*, pp. 144 and 148.

Coincidentally, Chapter 8 of the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, one of only two chapters using the *Cantatorium* which have been identified, concludes the account of the agreement made by Countess Richilde with Théoduin, bishop of Liège with information similar to that found in a charter:

Hec quidem omnia Fossis sub testimonio Godefridi, ducis Bullionis, et Alberti comitis Namurcensis, et comitis Lovaniensis, et comitis Cyniacensis, et comitis Montisacuti in Ardenna, et aliorum Leodiensis ecclesie quamplurium fidelium, nobilium et servilis conditionis virorum ordinata fuerunt. (CH, 8)

The *Cantatorium* displays a more concise account of this agreement.³³² One therefore wonders how Gilbert got hold of such precise information: could he have had access to an original document? Or, and this seems plausible given that most of the witnesses are linked to Liège or the Ardennes, could he be using a different version of the *Cantatorium* where more detailed summaries of the two charters discussed above could be found?

If the *CBA* did indeed borrow from the *Cantatorium*, how did the compiler gain access to it? If one believes what Gilbert of Mons, who definitely used it, states in Chapter 27 of his *Chronicon Hanoniense*, the abbot of Saint-Hubert became the chaplain of Hainault at the end of the eleventh century, and had to come to the court of Hainault three times a year to sing the mass. Under such circumstances one should not be surprised that a copy of the *Cantatorium* could have ended up in the comital library of Hainault. That the compiler of the *CBA* might then have had access to the same copy as Gilbert is a distinct possibility.

2.3. A Delayed Insertion: The Genealogy of the Avesnes Family

The genealogies of John of Brabant and of Godfrey of Bouillon share the same structural and narrative pattern: they are both 'ancestor-oriented' and were both inserted after the mention of the person who formed the last link in the genealogy. Even though the *CBA* uses a more 'neutral' discourse than, for instance, the *Genealogia ducum Brabantie ampliata*, these genealogies are, because of their structure, undoubtedly focused on one individual (John I of Brabant or Godfrey of

³³² *Cantatorium*, pp. 68-69.

Bouillon). In this respect they differ from the genealogy of the Avesnes family, whose particular structure might explain why the compiler had to postpone its insertion in the *CBA* to the stage of redaction B.

The compiler's seemingly confident assertion ('quant nous parlerons de la generation d'Avesnes'; 'CHanBA', p. 417) in redaction A, added to the knowledge (clearly visible in other passages of redaction A) he has of the Avesnes and their relatives, clearly show that it cannot have been the case that the Avesnes genealogy was not integrated because the genealogical information had yet to be collected. The text had possibly yet to be written or completed, but what seems to have been especially problematic for the compiler was its insertion in the *CBA*.

The process of integration of genealogical and, more generally, descriptive material has already been described above: the compiler inserts it after mentioning in the narrative the person who forms the focal point of the subsequent descriptive section. The newly inserted ancestries of John I of Brabant and Godfrey of Bouillon display the same pattern, and, at first sight, one could argue that the genealogy of the Avesnes family also does: it stems from the mention of a specific person (John I of Châtillon, count of Blois, lord of Avesnes). However, there is a significant difference: John of Châtillon is in no way the focal point of the section: the section opens with the history of the first lords of Avesnes, and it focuses on the whole descent of Nicholas of Avesnes (a.k.a. Nicholas Plukiel), in which John of Châtillon, though admittedly being the direct successor of the lords of Avesnes (he is the eldest among the oldest branch), is just a pawn.

The compiler seems to have struggled to find where he would insert this chapter, which was probably of the utmost importance to his patron. As a 'descent-oriented' genealogy (just as the one stemming from Richilde), this section should have been included after an episode where the narrative mentioned one of the earlier lords of Avesnes. But there seems to be no such passage in the *CBA*, which explains the compiler's problem. He thus decided to insert the section following the pattern which he usually uses for 'ancestor-oriented' genealogies, singling out an individual in order to trace his ancestry. But where in other cases this ancestry usually leads to a single individual, here the tree ends with multiple ramifications.

There is another piece of internal evidence which shows that once the genealogy of the Avesnes family was complete, the author of the *CBA* apparently waited until the last moment to include it: the particular wording of cross-references.

The compiler frequently uses idioms such as ‘si com nous vous avons dit/vous avés oï desus’ or ‘si com vous dirons cha avant’ either in order to recall what he has mentioned or anticipate what he will include in his narrative. In the section on the Avesnes, however, the formula changes: in both the A and B redactions he uses no less than five times the phrase ‘(si cum) nous avons dit *ailleurs*’ to refer to material which is outside of the Avesnes section. This shows that, on the one hand, the section was completed only when all other genealogies had already been written down, and, on the other, that the compiler was hesitating regarding the location of the chapter in the text. In turn, when the reference is internal (i.e. related to material present in the genealogy of the Avesnes family), the compiler employs the usual *desus* (e.g., ‘CHanBA’, p. 430). All this suggests that the genealogical tree of the Avesnes was composed independently, only to be inserted later into the narrative, and not without a certain amount of hesitation. The decision to insert it in a chapter listing the descent of Counts Baldwin III and Baldwin IV of Hainault and displaying a strong interest for Raoul of Coucy superimposed the houses of Hainault, Coucy and Avesnes on a same narrative (and ideological) plan.

2.4. Other Additions, Corrections, Revisions

2.4.1. Genealogical Material

The genealogies of redaction A focused on the descent of Raoul I of Coucy and displayed a good (though less clearly visible) knowledge of several branches of the Avesnes family (see Table 5). Redaction B offers similar features but also adds some new ones.

The interest in the Coucys persists: the compiler, sometimes with a correction, sometimes with a short expansion, puts the final touches to this genealogy which was already very comprehensive in redaction A. Two further additions complement the Coucy genealogical tree: the names of the children of Hugh XI of Lusignan, count of La Marche (‘CHanBA’, p. 436) are added, and the compiler extends the list of descendants of Count Raoul I of Soissons (pp. 436-37). Potential sources of information for part of these new passages can once again be found among Baldwin of Avesnes’ social network: Hugh XI of Lusignan was none other

than the uncle of his daughter-in-law Agnes of Valence, wife of his son John. The connection with the count of Soissons is harder to establish, although one can note that many of his descendants married members of families related to the Avesnes (among others from the families of Rumigny, Audenarde, Barbençon, Enghien and, above all, Antoing).³³³

The focus on the Avesnes family, which had been latent in redaction A, is now explicit, with the addition in Chapter 85 of a prominent and detailed genealogical section dedicated to the descendants of Nicholas 'Plukiel' of Avesnes (see above). The branches of Avesnes, La Flamengrie and of the castellans of Saint-Omer all derive from the latter's children. The information displayed for each of these divisions is often detailed (although not always accurate)³³⁴ and the disparity observed for other genealogies (see 1.2) is less obvious here.³³⁵ This renders all the more blatant the omission of the marriage and descent of Bouchard of Avesnes, a textual clue which has been instrumental in attributing the sponsorship of the chronicle to Baldwin of Avesnes.³³⁶

A brief survey of each of the three branches stemming from Nicholas 'Plukiel' provides a glimpse of the different familial alliances at stake while confirming that once again the social and familial network of Baldwin of Avesnes played an important role in the composition of the genealogies. The descent of James of Avesnes, Nicholas' oldest son, was certainly the one with which Baldwin of Avesnes was most familiar, as he was part of it. The marriages of James of Avesnes' children include alliances with the comital houses of Blois, Chiny, Grandpré and the seigneuries of Rozoy and Enghien. One can already point to direct ties with Baldwin

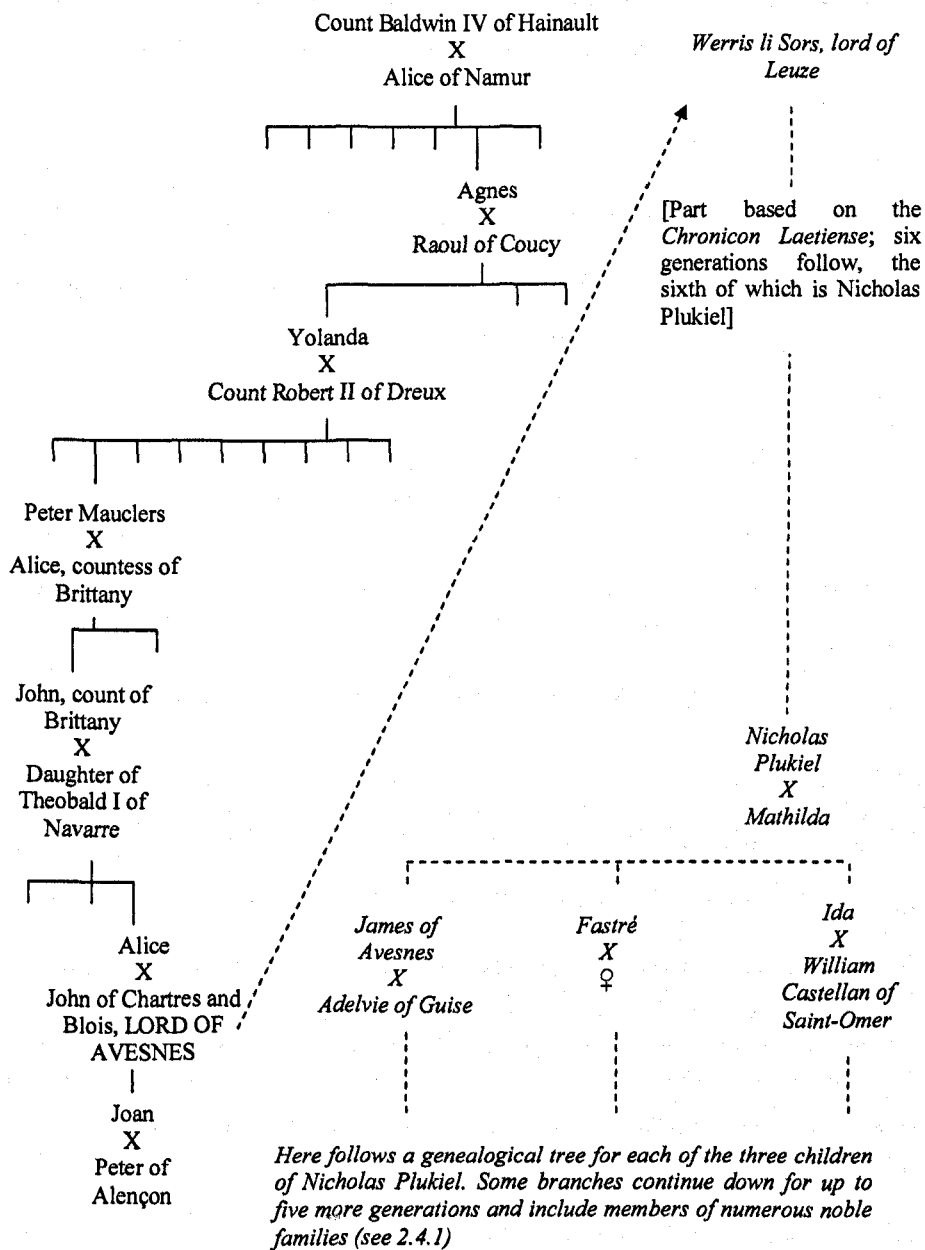
³³³ Baldwin of Avesnes is mentioned together with the count of Soissons in two judicial documents preserved in Lille (ADN, B 1241/2291 and 2292), one of which was written on 21 September 1281. These two records, composed of several sheets of parchment sawn together, give an account of the different steps in the judgment of a conflict surrounding the lands of Beuvrages and Saint-Saulve. In B 1241/2292, Baldwin of Avesnes is blamed for contesting the validity of the judgment which had been rendered by the count of Soissons regarding this case.

³³⁴ Luc-Francis Genicot, 'La Maison d'Avesnes. Histoire généalogique et sociale des origines à Gauthier II' (unpublished undergraduate thesis, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1967), p. VI.

³³⁵ The family of Grandpré, stemming from Mary of Avesnes, might be an exception, displaying scarce information regarding its members ('CHAnBA', p. 431).

³³⁶ See for instance Heller, 'Ueber die Herrn', p. 143; *Istorie*, I, p. x.

Table 5: The Genealogy of the Avesnes Family Added in Redaction B: Schematic Structure ('CHanBA', Chapter 85)³³⁷



³³⁷ The additions made in redaction B are italicised and highlighted with dotted lines.

of Avesnes: the Chiny/Looz and the Rozoys were strong supporters of the Avesnes during their quarrel with the Dampierres;³³⁸ so were the Enghiens, who remained very present in Baldwin's life after John of Avesnes' death (on 25 December 1257);³³⁹ John of Châtillon, count of Blois, was also lord of Avesnes and certainly knew Baldwin personally.³⁴⁰ Moreover, James of Avesnes' further descendants married members of families who can also be linked to the patron of the *CBA*. The houses of Coucy, Le Rœulx, Trazegnies, Gavere (lords of Liedekerke), Audenarde and Mortagne (castellans of Tournai) were, if not allies of the Avesnes, then good acquaintances of Baldwin's.³⁴¹ The Barbençons (who were the lord of Beaumont's next door neighbours) and Quiévraains, although they did not seem to take a clear stance in the quarrel with the Dampierres, were, as Hainaulters, indirectly involved in it.³⁴² Members of the Aspremont, Louvain and Berthout families married to descendants of James of Avesnes also had crossed paths with Baldwin of Avesnes.³⁴³

³³⁸ Arnold IV of Looz and III of Chiny ('CHanBA', p. 429, ll. 6-17 and p. 439, l. 35) was their warrantor (Duvivier, II, 129-30 and 428-30), witness (284-85), and rejected the transmission of Hainault to Charles of Anjou (361-363). He also had to settle the terms of John of Avesnes' wedding (Appendix, no. 1). his path crosses Baldwin of Avesnes' again in 1270 (no. 21). Adelaide of Rozoy, sister of Bouchard of Avesnes ('CHanBA' p. 428, l. 26; pp. 429, l. 28 to 430, l. 32) and her son Roger ('CHanBA' p. 429, ll. 29-34) were their warrantors (Duvivier, II, 53-61 and, for Roger only, 68-70, 129-30) and supporters (61-64).

³³⁹ The interactions of Siger, lord of Enghien, and his sons Walter, lord of Enghien, Arnold, James and Englebert ('CHanBA', pp. 430, l. 35 to 431, l. 17) are too numerous to be detailed here: examples can be found in Appendix, nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, 14, 18, 23, 38, 40 and Duvivier, II, 51-63, 129-30, 414-21, 464-67.

³⁴⁰ Although documentary evidence of contacts is scarce: see Appendix, no. 5 and Duvivier, II, 413-14 (he warrants peace between Countess Margaret and Florent V, count of Holland).

³⁴¹ For Le Rœulx (and Eustache Kanivés, lord of Trazegnies) see below. Giles 'Le Brun' of Trazegnies, constable of France ('CHanBA', p. 421, l. 22; p. 424, l. 28), was warrantor of Countess Margaret several times (see Duvivier, II, 130-32 and 525-28) and, because he was a Hainauter, was indirectly involved in the Avesnes-Dampierre feud (136-37); after 1257, and on several occasions, he acted with Baldwin of Avesnes as witness or even judge (Appendix, nos. 11, 12, 13, 17). Otto, lord of Trazegnies ('CHanBA', p. 429, ll. 22-23; p. 435, ll. 9-10), is witness to a sale made to Baldwin of Avesnes in 1276 (Appendix, no. 27), and, together with the lord of Beaumont, is among the executors of Florent of Avesnes (Appendix, no. 33). Rasso [(VII)] of Gavere, lord of Liedekerke, ('CHanBA', pp. 431, ll. 13-17 and 433, l. 8), allied with John of Avesnes in 1252 (Duvivier, II, 299-300) and can be found with John or Baldwin of Avesnes on several occasions (130-32, 256; Appendix, nos. 17 and 24). John, 'said lord of Audenarde', lord of Rozoy ('CHanBA', pp. 429, l. 36 to 430, l. 3; p. 437 B, l. 10; p. 446, l. 20) was warrantor of the Avesnes (Duvivier, II, 129-30, 431-33), while Baldwin of Avesnes advised him when he granted a dower to his wife (Appendix, no. 23) and was among his warrantors when Guy of Dampierre sent him to jail (Appendix, no. 30). Arnold of Mortagne ('CHanBA', p. 424, ll. 23-38 and p. 431, l. 30), castellan of Tournai, his half-brother Roger, and his sons Thomas, Baldwin and William also accumulate several mentions in connection with the Avesnes or Baldwin of Avesnes himself (see Duvivier, II, 51-63, 129-30, 130-32, 228-51 (p. 243), 257-58, 453-56, 464-67, 519-20 and Appendix, nos. 7, 10, 27, 31, 34 and 35). Armand d'Herbomez, *Histoire des châtelains de Tournai de la maison de Mortagne*, 2 vols (Tournai: Casterman, 1895), I, 30-31 and 88 finds it hard to determine which side Arnold of Mortagne had chosen during the Avesnes-Dampierre feud, although he is inclined to think that he was a devotee of the Avesnes (88-89).

³⁴² See Duvivier, II, 130-32 and 413-14. John, lord of Barbençon ('CHanBA', p. 430, ll. 37-38, p. 433, l. 53, pp. 436-437), is found with Baldwin of Avesnes in another instance (Appendix, no. 38) whereas

The descent of Fastré of Avesnes, second son of Nicholas 'Plukiel', lord of La Flamengrie, was certainly easy to reconstruct as the ramifications of this genealogical tree comprise some of the most fervent devotees, such as the Houffalize (see above) or Thierry de La Hamaide ('CHanBA', p. 432, l. 9), whose testimonial in the 1249 inquest on the legitimacy of John and Baldwin of Avesnes was crucial.³⁴⁴ Giles of Berlaimont ('CHanBA', p. 431, ll. 3-6), vassal of Baldwin, could also have been an informant.³⁴⁵

The last branch stemming from Nicholas 'Plukiel' consists of the innumerable descendants of Ida of Avesnes and William, castellan of Saint-Omer. This section is impressively detailed³⁴⁶ and even includes an explanation on the different twists and turns in the succession to the castellany. Once again, several supporters of the Avesnes appear when we look at the different branches: the house of Antoing, Philip, lord of Créquy, and Arnold of Longvillers, lord of Cayeux.³⁴⁷ Other individuals such as Gerard of Prouvy or Raoul Flament appear in this genealogy, but charter evidence does not indicate that they were among the regular

Nicholas of Quiévrain ('CHanBA', p. 425, l. 28, p. 430, l. 17; p. 429, ll. 15-17) has been witness (Duvivier, II, 464-67; Appendix, no. 7), warrantor and advisor alongside him (Appendix, nos. 10 and 23).

³⁴³ Gobert II, lord of Aspremont ('CHanBA', p. 429, l. 15; p. 430, ll. 15-24; p. 440 ll. 2-3), was apparently a partisan of the Dampierres (Duvivier, II, 51-60), but he also carried out an inquest with Baldwin on a dispute between the counts of Luxembourg and Bar (Appendix, no. 21). Henry of Louvain, lord of Gaasbeek, and his brother Arnold, lord of Breda ('CHanBA', p. 430, ll. 5-7), seemingly rubbed shoulders with Baldwin because of their kinship with the Audenarde family (Appendix, nos. 23, 30, 31). As to Walter V Berthout, lord of Mechlin, he rejected Charles of Anjou's rule in Hainault (Duvivier, II, 361-63) and was present with Baldwin of Avesnes for the transferral of the duchy of Brabant from Henry IV to his younger brother John I (Appendix, no. 18).

³⁴⁴ See Duvivier, II, 222-24, 228-51 (esp. pp. 236-39 and 242-43). He was also warrantor for the Avesnes on other occasions (129-30 and 431-33)

³⁴⁵ For mentions as vassal (with his brother John: 'CHanBA', p. 431, l. 3) see appendix, nos. 4, 8. He was warrantor of the Avesnes (Duvivier, II, 431-33) and, along with Baldwin of Avesnes, acted successively as potential hostage (453-56), witness or representative of the count of Hainault (Appendix, nos. 19 and 37). It is hard to determine whether this was the same person from 1247 to 1287 as all lords of Berlaimont were named Giles.

³⁴⁶ The text mentions for instance that two of the daughters of Baldwin of Rumes 'sont a marier' ('CHanBA', p. 433).

³⁴⁷ Philip, lord of Créquy ('CHanBA', pp. 434 l. 50 to 435 l. 10), Arnold of Longvillers, lord of Cayeux (p. 434, ll. 42-43) and Hugh, lord of Antoing (pp. 433, l. 3 to 435 l. 1) all are among warrantors of the Avesnes for an agreement between both parties in 1235 (Duvivier, II, 51-61) and among those who request the archbishop of Reims confirm this agreement (61-64). Hugh of Antoing appears again elsewhere as warrantor (129-30) and as peacekeeper (431-33). Michael V of Harnes ('CHanBA', p. 433, ll. 7-21), Hugh of Antoing's son, leads the warrantors of John and Baldwin of Avesnes in 1256 (Duvivier, II, 431-33), is warrantor for the Avesnes (Duvivier, II, 53-61), and takes active part when agreements are sought or reached (61-64, 413-14). Hugh of Antoing's sons (from a second marriage) Walter, lord of Belonne, and Giles, lord of Assevaing, are involved in a sale judged by several vassals of the count of Flanders, including Baldwin (Appendix, no. 31). For the lords of Antoing, see Léopold Devillers, 'Notice sur un cartulaire et sur les archives du chapitre d'Antoing', *ACAM*, 9 (1869), 103-43 and 297-320 (especially pp. 302-11).

acquaintances of Baldwin's.³⁴⁸ Finally, one should not forget that the Saint-Omer family were also an important defender of the Avesnes party.³⁴⁹

The genealogical additions of redaction B do not focus exclusively on the Avesnes family. In Chapter 56 an addition lists the descendants of Eustache III Kanivés, lord of Le Rœulx, whereas a passage on Goswin of Mons is expanded in order to outline both his ancestry and his descent (with exclusive interest for the Jauche family). Chapter 152, in turn, inserts a record of the descent of Robert I of Wavrin, seneschal of Flanders (see Tables 6 and 7 below). Where did the interest in these specific noble houses spring from?

From a textual viewpoint, links between the families described in these three additions and the Avesnes family (in its broadest sense) stand out. Indeed, when one examines the end of all these added trees, one notices that several marriages formed bonds between the families of Le Rœulx, Jauche and Wavrin on the one hand, and some of the noble houses related to the Avesnes on the other. For instance Gerard III of Jauche married the daughter of John of Aulnoy-lez-Valenciennes, while his son Gerard IV married the daughter of Nicholas of Belœil.³⁵⁰ The alliances of the family of Le Rœulx include marriages with members of the houses of Mortagne (castellans of Tournai) and Belœil. The Wavrin family (whose members for a long time assumed the office of seneschal of Flanders) counts no less than three marriages with members of the Gavere family. The houses of Le Rœulx, Wavrin and Cysoing also made marital alliances with the Antoing family.³⁵¹ The same sort of systematic bonds formed thanks to marriages appear elsewhere in the genealogies of the *CBA*, especially in the tree devoted to the Avesnes, which explains why there are some overlaps and cross-references from one genealogy to the other. The fact that lineages belonging to four different additions of redaction B seem to have formed bonds with each other through their 'marital histories' suggests that the new genealogical material included in this last version revolves around more than the compiler's mere wish to

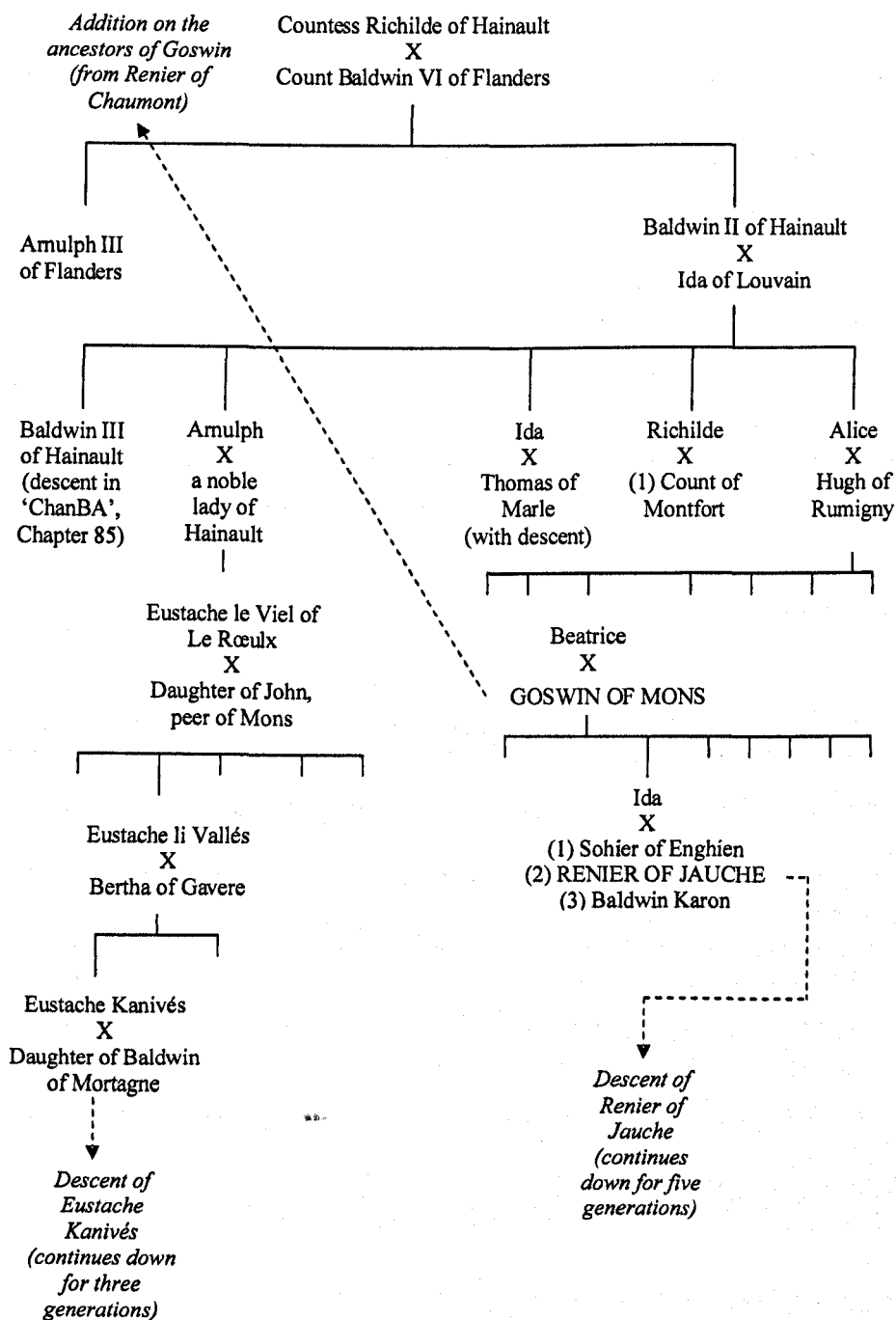
³⁴⁸ Gerard, lord of Prouvy (p. 434, ll. 11-13), is witness for a treaty in which Baldwin of Avesnes is mentioned (Appendix, no. 40); Raoul Flament ('CHanBA', p. 435, ll. 26-27) confirms, along with Baldwin and others, a sale to the count of Flanders in 1287 (Appendix, no. 35)

³⁴⁹ William V, castellan of Saint-Omer ('CHanBA', p. 432, ll. 33-35), is a warrantor for the Avesnes in the 1235 agreement (Duvivier, II, 51-61, 61-64)

³⁵⁰ Regarding the numbering of the lords of Jauche named Gerard, see the remarks of Georges Despy, *Les Campagnes du roman pays de Brabant au Moyen Age: la terre de Jauche aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre Belge d'Histoire Rurale, 1981), p. 13.

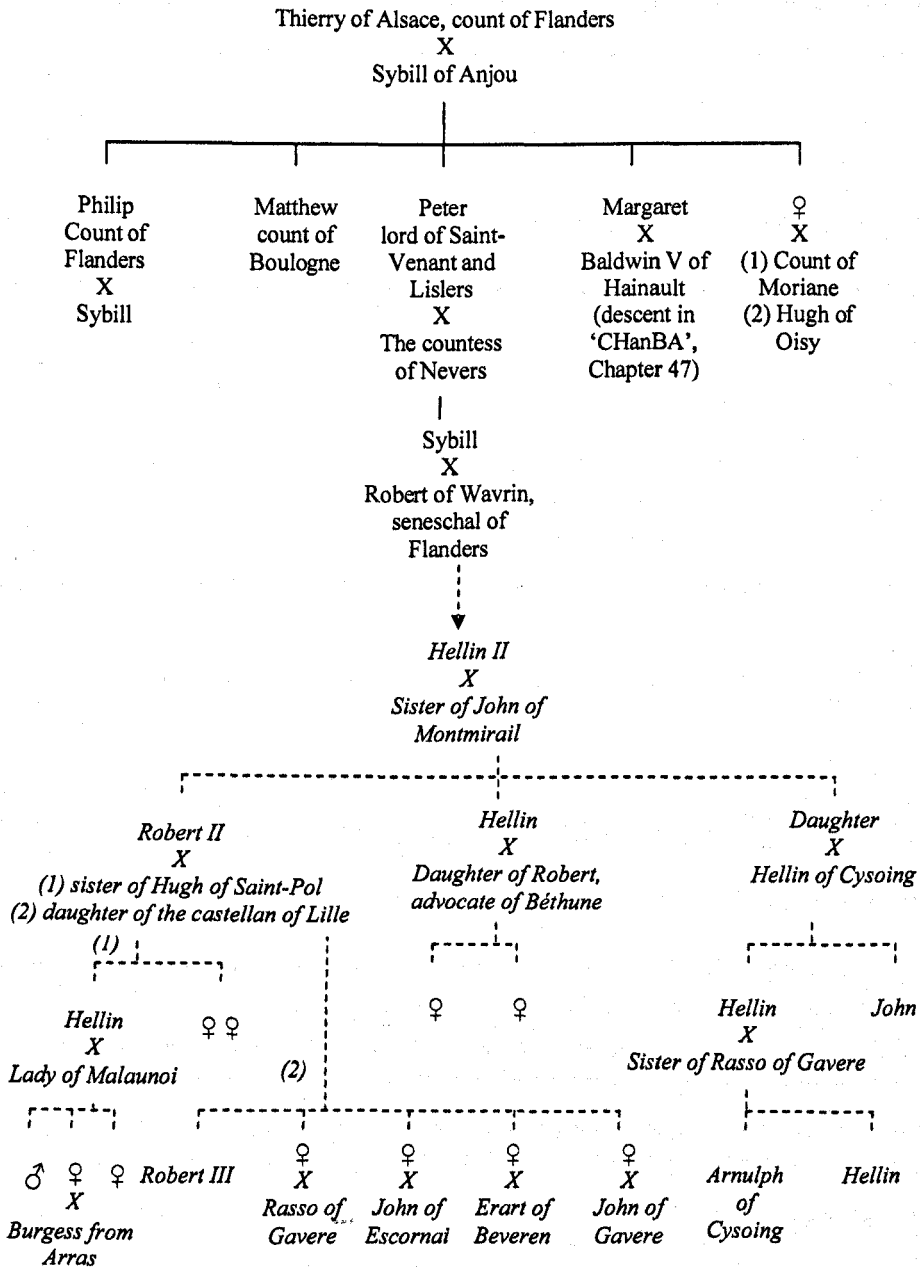
³⁵¹ See 'CHanBA', p. 433, ll. 18, 20, 24-26.

Table 6: *The Jauches and Le Rœulx in Redaction B: Schematic Structure*
 ('CHanBA', Chapter 56)³⁵²



³⁵² The additions made in redaction B are italicised and highlighted with a dashed arrow.

Table 7: The Wavrins in Redaction B ('CHanBA', Chapter 152)³⁵³



³⁵³ The additions made in redaction B are italicised and highlighted with dashed lines.

complete or expand the existing genealogies. The selection of this new material has to be considered once again in connection with the patron of the *CBA*.

Indeed, links between each of the three aforementioned noble houses and Baldwin of Avesnes can be pointed out. The lord of Le Rœulx and his relatives were undoubtedly some of his most frequent associates. This family was one of the most prominent in Hainault and formed part of the close entourage of the count.³⁵⁴ Although Eustache IV of Le Rœulx did not seem to take a clear stance in the Avesnes-Dampierre feud, he and his son Eustache Kanivés, lord of Trazegnies, are found together with Baldwin of Avesnes in several instances.³⁵⁵ As prominent members of the court of Hainault, they played, with the lord of Beaumont, their role of witnesses, advisors or warrantors in several cases linked to the county.³⁵⁶ But they also acted as witnesses and warrantors for Baldwin of Avesnes on other occasions.³⁵⁷ Eustache IV's son, lord of Trazegnies, even arbitrated together with Baldwin a conflict involving the abbey of Aulne.³⁵⁸ Giles Rigaus, son and successor of Eustache V, was only lord of Le Rœulx during the last five years of Baldwin of Avesnes' life, but he counted among his close acquaintances: together with him he was one of the executors of Florent of Avesnes and a representative of Count John I of Hainault.³⁵⁹

The Jauches are found associated (mainly as witnesses) with Baldwin of Avesnes in different documents, and, in almost every case, together with members of

³⁵⁴ The lord of Le Rœulx is one of the peers of Hainault (Léopold Genicot, 'Noblesse et principautés en Lotharingie du XI^e au XIII^e siècle', in *Etudes sur les principautés lotharingiennes*, ed. by Léopold Genicot (Leuven: Université de Louvain, 1975), pp. 39-58 (p. 50, n. 43) and is already mentioned as one of the *commilitiones* of the count by Gilbert of Mons (Léopold Genicot, 'Le Premier Siècle de la 'curia' de Hainaut (1060 env.-1195)', *Le Moyen Age*, 53 (1947), 39-60 (p. 52, n. 43)).

³⁵⁵ Eustache IV ('CHAnBA', p. 421, ll. 12-27) is among those who commit to maintain the peace between Countess Margaret and Count Florent V of Holland in 1256 (Duvivier, II, 413-14)

³⁵⁶ Eustache IV and Eustache Kanivés ('CHAnBA', p. 421, ll. 16 and 21-22; p. 431, ll. 11-12; p. 433, ll. 17-18) are mentioned with Baldwin as men and advisors of Countess Margaret (Appendix, no. 17) and as advisors of John 'said lord of Audenarde', lord of Rozoy (Appendix, no. 23). Eustache IV acts with Baldwin in several other instances as witness (Duvivier, II, 464-67; Appendix, nos. 7 and 13), or advisor (no. 20) for Countess Margaret, while Eustache Kanivés is with the lord of Beaumont among warrantors for the countess and the Flemish comital family in 1274 (no. 26).

³⁵⁷ See Appendix, nos. 16, 40 (witness) and 20 (warrantor) for Eustache IV and 24 for both (warrantors).

³⁵⁸ Appendix, no. 25.

³⁵⁹ Appendix, nos. 33 and 38. Giles Rigaus supposedly became lord of Le Rœulx in 1284 (Théophile Lejeune, 'Recherches historiques sur Le Rœulx, ses seigneurs et les communes de l'ancien bailliage de cette ville', *ACAM*, 22 (1890), 115-384 (pp. 230-33)). The Giles Rigaus mentioned in the genealogies (p. 421, ll. 15-17 and ll. 23-24) appears to be his uncle and namesake.

the Le Rœulx family.³⁶⁰ Gerard II of Jauche was, according to Duvivier, a proud partisan of John of Avesnes and, if one believes the fourteenth-century chronicler James of Guise, he would have enrolled the 'Ronds de Hainaut' to fight the Dampierre party at the battle of West-Kapelle in July 1254.³⁶¹

The addition of the ancestry of Goswin of Mons, which directly precedes that on the Jauche family (i.e. the descendants of Goswin), is intriguing. Territorial and devotional elements can partially explain it. In the brief outline of Goswin's ancestors, the text specifies that his eponymous grandfather and the latter's wife, Ermengarde, 'estorerent l'eglyse Nostre-Dame d'Aimmeries et leur donnerent grans possessions'.³⁶² This mention is in no way trivial, as the compiler rarely provides information other than individuals' names, functions and descent in the genealogies. Furthermore, the church of Aymeries was the oldest of three dependent priories of the Benedictine abbey of Anchin, in the land of Ostrevent.³⁶³ The abbey of Anchin is given particular importance in the *CBA*, as the text recounts its foundation in unique fashion.³⁶⁴ The preserved foundation charter for the priory of Aymeries (1088) confirms the accuracy of the information given by redaction B of the *CBA*.³⁶⁵ Baldwin of Avesnes had interactions with this priory, in part because some of its possessions were located in the land over which he ruled. In 1261, he settled a conflict between the priory and the people of Beaufort regarding the *curtis* of Glarges.³⁶⁶ In addition, in 1276 Baldwin of Avesnes purchased the allod of Aymeries from Gerard III of Jauche.³⁶⁷ His son John had the judicial rights over Ghissignies, where the priory also had a *curtis*, which he sold in March 1277.³⁶⁸ Baldwin of

³⁶⁰ The Jauche were also peers of Hainault (Genicot, 'Noblesse et principautés', p. 50, n. 43). Gerard II of Jauche ('CHanBA', p. 421, ll. 36-37; p. 422, ll. 33-50), as Eustache IV of Le Rœulx, maintains the peace between Countess Margaret and Florent V of Holland (Duvivier, II, 413-14). His son Gerard III ('CHanBA', p. 422, ll. 39-40 and 44-48) is warrantor (Appendix, nos. 24 and 27) and representative of the count of Hainault (38) with Baldwin of Avesnes.

³⁶¹ Duvivier, I, 216 and Ernst Sackur, 'Iacobi de Guisia annales historiae illustrium principum Hanoniae', in *MGH SS*, XXX, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1896), 44-334 (pp. 324-25). The 'ronds' or 'societas rotundorum' were a group of dissidents who fought against the regime of Countess Margaret following the murder of a butcher named Gerard 'Le Rond' (see pp. 320-24).

³⁶² 'CHanBA', p. 422.

³⁶³ Jean-Pierre Gerzaguet, *L'abbaye d'Anchin de sa fondation (1079) au XIV^e siècle* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1997), pp. 241-58.

³⁶⁴ See *Istore*, II, 564-65 and Chapter 5, 3.1.

³⁶⁵ Gerzaguet, p. 241 and Erik Van Mingroot, 'De stichtingsoorkonde van de O.L. Vrouwepriorij te Aymeries (1088). Diplomatisch onderzoek', *BCRH*, 155 (1989), 151-86.

³⁶⁶ Gerzaguet, p. 170.

³⁶⁷ Appendix, no. 27.

³⁶⁸ Cf. a sale he made to the abbey of Saint-Vaast dated March 1276 in a document destroyed in 1915 which used to be preserved at the Archives du Pas-de-Calais in Arras, série H 2915; see Jules Chavanon and others, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790*.

Avesnes must have had particular interest in that territory as in 1288 he acquired from John I of Hainault several portions of land in the neighbouring villages of Pont-sur-Sambre, Quarte and Pantegnies.³⁶⁹ These acquisitions were thus made at a late stage in Baldwin's life, which might suggest a devotional interest.³⁷⁰ One should add that, after Baldwin's death, Felicity of Coucy, his widow, granted the trusteeship of the chapel of the castle of Aymeries to the abbey of Anchin and offered some fields to the priory of Aymeries for Evrard, abbot of Anchin.³⁷¹ The presence of Felicity thus lurks again behind some of the apparent focal points of the *CBA*.

Whereas close connections with Baldwin of Avesnes could be found for the houses of Jauche and Le Rœulx, thus explaining the insertion of their respective genealogies, the inclusion of genealogical material on the Wavrin family is a little more obscure. This important noble family had held the hereditary function of seneschal of Flanders since the first half of the twelfth century.³⁷² Historical links between the Wavrin and Hainault families can admittedly be pointed out: Goswin of Wavrin was on hostile terms with Count of Flanders Philip of Alsace and found shelter at the court of Hainault; his brother Hellin I, seneschal of Flanders had even allied with James of Avesnes to fight Count Philip.³⁷³ However, Robert II of Wavrin ('CHanBA', p. 433, l. 24; p. 444 B, ll. 19-31) and his brother Hellin ('CHanBA', p. 444, ll. 40-41) were clearly supporters of the Dampierres in their struggle against the Avesnes.³⁷⁴ They both assisted the Dampierre brothers in the bloody battle of Westkapelle, where they were made prisoners.³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, after the death of his brother John in 1257, Baldwin of Avesnes became reconciled with his mother and the Dampierre family (see Chapter 4.). This led him to treat with nobles who used to be his enemies, such as Robert II, his sons Hellin III and Robert III, or his nephew

Archives ecclésiastiques, série H, Fonds de l'Abbaye de Saint-Vaast, 3 vols (Arras: Imprimerie moderne, 1902-11) III. I am very grateful to Cyril Longin who kindly provided this reference and information on this document. Regarding the *curtes* of the priory of Aymeries, see Gerzaguet, pp. 244-45.

³⁶⁹ ADN, B 1208/2988.

³⁷⁰ Furthermore, Baldwin was an old man then and these domains were closer to his seigniorship of Beaumont: he had obtained them from his nephew in exchange for fiefs near Valenciennes.

³⁷¹ E.-A. Escallier, *L'Abbaye d'Anchin 1079-1792* (Lille: Lefort, 1852), pp. 173 and 188.

³⁷² Warlop, I, 162-63 and 235. Pierre Feuchère, 'Histoire sociale et généalogie: la noblesse du nord de la France', *Annales ESC*, 6 (1951), 306-18.

³⁷³ Warlop, I, 256-57. For the numbering of the Wavrins named Robert and Hellin, see Warlop, IV, 1191-1203.

³⁷⁴ Duvivier, I, 142.

³⁷⁵ 'CHanBA', p. 461.

Hellin I of Cysoing.³⁷⁶ Baldwin of Avesnes must thus have witnessed the decline of Hellin III who, before 1283, was forced to sell the office of seneschal to the count of Flanders because of his financial troubles, a situation recounted in the newly inserted section of redaction B.³⁷⁷

Among the other new genealogical features of redaction B is a passage on the counts of Boulogne. Redaction A already contained a genealogical section on this princely family (Chapter 212; see Table 4) based on the little-known *Genealogia comitum Bononiensium*, which traced their history from the mythical Arthurian knight Léger to Matilda II of Boulogne's marriage to Philip Hurepel. Redaction B continues this genealogy (up to 1280) but in a different part of the narrative (Chapter 227). The addition also includes narrative information, as it dwells upon the problems of succession to the county. The insertion of this section is made in typical fashion, listing the descent of Philip Hurepel, count of Boulogne, right after the mention of his death.

Contrary to all the other additions inserted at the stage of redaction B, the section on the counts of Boulogne is difficult to connect directly with Baldwin of Avesnes. There is undoubtedly an indirect link with the house of Brabant (Adelaide, daughter of Duke Henry I, inherited the county of Boulogne), which might explain why Baldwin of Avesnes could have been interested in the matter.³⁷⁸ However, one should also take into account the possibility of an interest stemming from the compiler or, alternatively, related to the intended audience of the *CBA*. Baldwin of Avesnes seemingly sponsored the *CBA* at a late stage in his life (he was around 65 years old, and five years away from his death, when redaction B was finished), and one wonders if he might not have done so with a dedicatee other than himself in

³⁷⁶ For the Cysoing family, see Warlop, IV, 1050-1060. Baldwin of Avesnes is with Robert II of Wavrin among the advisors of Countess Margaret in 1265 (Appendix, no. 17) and they are among several noblemen providing warrant letters to Henry V of Luxembourg for a debt owed by the family of Flanders and Baldwin himself (no. 24). Hellin III of Wavrin ('CHanBA', p. 444, ll. 23-24 and 31-38), his half-brother Robert III ('CHanBA', p. 444, l. 28) and Hellin I of Cysoing (p. 444, ll. 44-46) are both involved in a sale in which Baldwin of Avesnes acts as *avoés* (protector) of the latter's wife (Appendix, no. 29). Hellin I of Cysoing is also implicated in a sale judged by several vassals of the count of Flanders, including Baldwin (no. 31).

³⁷⁷ 'CHanBA', p. 444. Warlop, I, 271 and 296.

³⁷⁸ Regarding the marital alliance between the houses of Brabant and Boulogne see Jean-Luc Fray, 'Les Comtes d'Auvergne, le Brabant et le Boulonnais au XIII^e siècle: de la Limagne à la Lotharingie', in *Retour aux sources. Textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse* ([Paris]: Picard, 2004), 405-17.

mind.³⁷⁹ If one considers the genealogical material of the *CBA*, it is striking that Baldwin's nephews (John I of Avesnes' sons) had all, through their mother Adelaide of Holland, ancestors among the ruling houses of Boulogne and Brabant. One thus wonders if redaction B of the *CBA* could have partly been aimed at John I of Avesnes' children.³⁸⁰ The early reception of the *CBA* indicates the relevance of this hypothesis given that John II of Avesnes owned a copy of the *CBA* (probably a redaction B manuscript) whereas three of his brothers could possibly be connected to the work and its dissemination (see Chapter 1, 4).

2.4.2. Historical Material

Besides substantial genealogical additions, redaction B also displays two exclusively historical narrative insertions. They both deal with the history of the Holy Roman Empire; in all likelihood, the compiler tried to balance the variety of his narrative, as the *CBA*'s historiographical account for years after 1250, based on the lost chronicle of Primat, deals almost exclusively with the kingdom of France. The first addition, the content of which is similar to (but more detailed than) that of Chapter 138 of Book XXXI of the *Speculum historiale*, is placed only a few lines after the genealogy of the counts of Boulogne ('CHanBA', Chapter 227). It describes, in one paragraph, the conflicts between Emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX, as well as his successor Innocent IV. The second insertion, somewhat longer, is located right after the account of Charles of Anjou's campaign in Sicily ('CHanBA', Chapter 241) and surveys the *interregnum* of the Holy Roman Empire until the reign of Rudolph of Habsburg. It is telling in different ways regarding the level of interaction between patron and compiler in the conception of the *CBA*.

The most distinctive component of the second insertion is undoubtedly the account of the battle of Westkapelle, a bloody confrontation between Flanders and Holland, which took place on 4 July 1253 following disagreements between William II of Holland, king of the Romans, and Countess Margaret of Flanders and Hainault

³⁷⁹ Such a situation is not unfrequent in medieval literary patronage. See Remco Sleiderink, *De stem van de meester. De hertogen van Brabant en hun rol in het literaire leven (1106-1430)* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2003), p. 159.

³⁸⁰ Van der Meulen, 'Avesnes en Dampierre', pp. 47-72 does not make such a suggestion but underlines the links between John II of Avesnes and the *CBA* on the one hand (pp. 53-54), and Baldwin of Avesnes and his nephew Florent on the other (p. 55).

regarding several imperial territories.³⁸¹ Its historical value has been pointed out,³⁸² and Heller even views it as the best available testimony on the subject. Paradoxically, Heller considers that this passage is clearly biased in favour of the Holland-Avesnes party, and asserts that ‘mit Hass und Frohlocken wird die Niederlage der Dampierre’s geschildert: “Mout estoit celle ystoire belle et grande!”’.³⁸³ Given Baldwin of Avesnes’ presumed involvement in the battle, one would expect such bias in the *CBA*.³⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Heller’s statement needs qualification.

Several elements indicate that the account of the battle of Westkapelle is less biased than Heller claims. First of all, the sentence quoted by Heller concerns the Flemish expedition to the island of Walcheren, and does not involve the Dutch party.³⁸⁵ Secondly, other chroniclers show much stronger bias by choosing sides in the conflict. Matthew Paris, for instance, traces the origins of the clash in the evil deeds of Margaret of Constantinople.³⁸⁶ The *CBA* seems much more reluctant to blame the countess of Flanders; on the contrary, it refers to William II of Holland’s responsibility:

L’oicoison fut telle. Li conte de Flandres de lonc tans devant tenoient la terre de Waucres et des isles apendans en fief des rois d’Alemaingne, et li conte de Hollande en estoient chastelain et avoient le tierc des forfais, et ce tenoient il des contes de Flandres; *mais puis que li quens Guillaumes fut esleus a roi, il ne voloit obeir a la contesse de Flandres*, ains manda une court sollempnee a Frankenevort et fist la forjuger tout ceu que elle avoit en Zelande et en Waucres, et le retint a sien oes. Quant la contesse Marguerite le sot, elle fist une grant semonce a Brievieliet. (‘CHanBA’, p. 461, my emphasis)³⁸⁷

³⁸¹ See Luykx, *Het grafelijke geslacht Dampierre*, pp. 55-57.

³⁸² See recently Michel de Waha and Jean Dugnoille, ‘De Avesnes en Holland vóór 1299’, in *1299. Één graaf*, pp. 23-36 (p. 27). For a list of primary sources mentioning the battle see the notes in Duvivier, I, 227-28.

³⁸³ Heller, ‘Ueber die Herrn’, p. 144.

³⁸⁴ Baldwin was certainly engaged ideologically, but according to some he was on the battlefield: ‘Hoc anno Guido comes Flandrie captus est in Hollandia cum multis Flandrensibus, id operante Balduino de Avesnis fratre eius uterino.’ Ludwig C. Bethmann, ‘Annales Marchianenses’, in *MGH SS*, XVI (Hanover: Hahn, 1859), 609-17 (p. 616).

³⁸⁵ This way of referring to the Flemish fleet is confirmed further in the text: ‘Au derrain de toute *celle grant ystoire qui la estoit venue* n’en eschapa onques uns sous [...]’ (‘CHanBA’, p. 561; my emphasis).

³⁸⁶ *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Santi Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry R. Luard, 7 vols (Longmans: London, 1872-84), V, 436-37). See also James of Guise’s critics towards the countess (Sackur, p. 325).

³⁸⁷ For a historical commentary, see Theo Luykx, ‘De strijd van Margareta van Constantinopel, gravin van Vlaanderen en Henegouwen, voor het behoud van hare rijksgebieden’, *Gedenkschriften van de oudheidkundige kring van het land van Dendermonde*, 3rd series, 2 (1950), 1-31 (pp. 17-18 and note 52).

In other words, the text does not abide by William's actual stance on the matter, which was that Margaret had failed to render homage to him for Imperial Flanders.³⁸⁸ Furthermore, the text admittedly describes the heavy losses of the defeated Flemish army, which counted many more soldiers than the enemy's, but it does not glorify in any way the tremendous upset caused by the Hollanders. A rational explanation is even given to justify the Flemish downfall: the army of Holland surprised them while they were disembarking, and they did not have time to prepare their horses. Finally, the compiler makes absolutely no mention of the Avesnes.

The rather sober tone and the cautiousness of the compiler are easily explained: the *CBA* was compiled at a time when Baldwin of Avesnes had fully integrated into the Flemish comital entourage. Many of his former enemies had thus become regular acquaintances and the situation was too sensitive for him to sponsor a work boasting his past convictions.³⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the reference to the battle remains, in itself, ambivalent: the compiler used the history of the *interregnum* to narrate one of the greatest victories of the (never-mentioned) Avesnes party. This account, under deceptively neutral and diplomatic appearances, was possibly also meant as a subtle celebration of an earlier triumph of the Avesnes family.

The text continues with the death of William II of Holland in a battle against the Frisians and the subsequent coronation of Richard of Cornwall as king of the Romans. Baldwin of Avesnes would certainly have had first-hand information on the latter matter: he and his brother John supported the candidacy of Richard of Cornwall to the imperial throne, recruited some of his electors and attended his coronation.³⁹⁰ Surprisingly enough, though, the compiler leaves blanks for certain dates (the year of William II's death, and that of Richard's coronation).³⁹¹ This suggests a peculiar process in the interaction between compiler and patron: Baldwin of Avesnes probably commissioned these additions, and he certainly was the source of information for part of their content, e.g. the list of Flemish nobles taken prisoner at Westkapelle or the names of the electors who were absent at Richard of Cornwall's

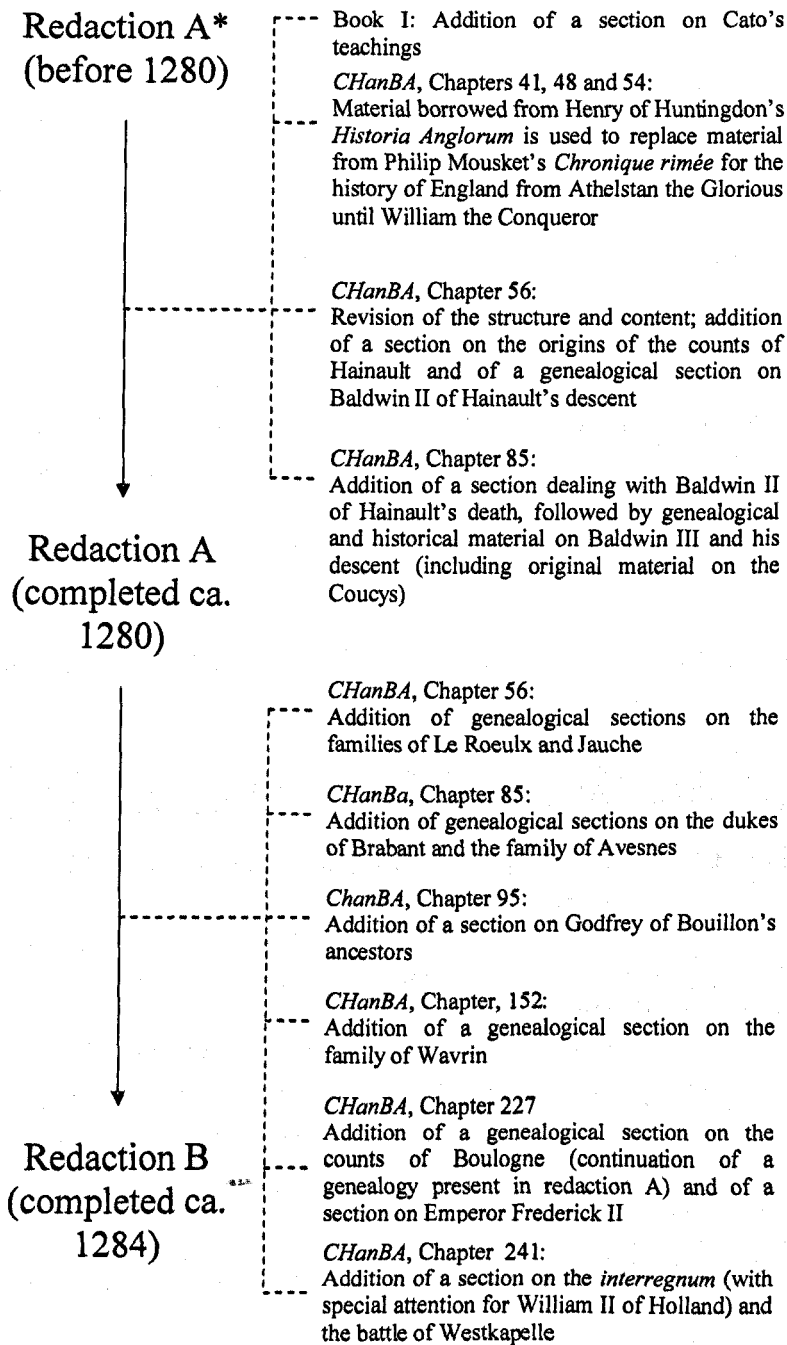
³⁸⁸ E.H.P. Cordfunke, 'Familiërelaties en dynastieke belangen', in *Wi Florens... De Hollandse graaf Floris V in de samenleving van de 13^{de} eeuw*, ed. by D.E.H. de Boer, E.H.P. Cordfunke and H. Sarfatij (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1996), pp. 20-34 (p. 24) and Duvivier, I, 212.

³⁸⁹ See above the Wavrin family and Chapter 4.

³⁹⁰ Henry S. Lucas, 'John of Avesnes and Richard of Cornwall', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 81-101 (pp. 95-99).

³⁹¹ It should be noted that only two manuscripts preserve the last part of redaction B: Beinecke Libr., MS 339 and BnF, MS fr. 15460. Both are closely related and might stem from the same model.

Table 8: The Textual Evolution of the CBA from Redaction A* to Redaction B:
Schematic Structure



coronation.³⁹² But it seems that, after collecting narrative information from oral sources, the compiler wrote a first draft where he left blanks for specific details (such as dates or names).³⁹³ At a later stage, he would go back to his informers in order to fill in the gaps. BnF, MS n. acq. fr. 5218, the best and earliest copy of redaction B, confirms this trend: blanks appear in several other sections added at the stage of redaction B; in other manuscripts these blanks were filled out.³⁹⁴

Conclusion

The composition of the *CBA* seems to have formed a coherent project: the inclusion of the genealogies of several noble families was probably intended from the start, as suggested by Chapter 47, which has a strong structuring function. The fact that three different versions (or stages) of the text are preserved is in part the result of the constraints of history-writing: the activity of compiling implied the use of written sources, but the composition of genealogies demanded extensive research to collect up-to-date information. After compiling the bulk of his written sources (in A*), the compiler translated, ordered and integrated into the narrative the genealogies of the *Chronicon Hanoniense* as well as the original (i.e. not based on written sources) Coucy genealogy on the other (redaction A). The latter insertion indicates the participation of Felicity of Coucy in the sponsoring of the *CBA*. At that point, the genealogy of the Avesnes was also close to completion, but its inclusion was problematic. Consequently it was only inserted in the final version (redaction B) along with several other original genealogical and historical sections, many of which can be linked to Baldwin of Avesnes or his entourage.

The analysis of the three versions unveiled how the discreet influence of the patrons played a role in the writing of the *CBA*. They and, at times, their entourage were important sources of information for genealogies and, in the case of Baldwin

³⁹² Some of the information given in the section is, however, plainly wrong: see the remarks of Alphonse Wauters, 'Sur le peu de créance que méritent quelques-unes de nos sources historiques', *BARB*, 3rd series, 28 (1894), 293-309 (pp. 308-09).

³⁹³ The compiler does not know the name of the wife of Gerard I of Jauche and leaves a blank, possibly in the hope of filling it in a later revision ('CHanBA', p. 422, l. 32).

³⁹⁴ See for instance the date of the death of Henry II of Brabant and of Goswin of Avesnes. It is hard to determine whether the gaps were completed by the original authors or by the scribe. In the aforementioned examples, the dates which were added are erroneous.

Avesnes, specific historical events. Furthermore, it seems that they also provided a few additional written sources to exploit in each new draft of the *CBA*, such as the *Genealogia ducum Brabantie ampliata*. Some of them might not even have been part of the initial project. The patrons' influence on the compiler can also be felt more indirectly: his sporadic additions, his careful omissions, his sober tone, the way in which he restructures his sources all take their sensitivities and tastes into account. In spite of suggestions and occasional requests, it seems that the patron's intervention remained limited, and that the compiler could work rather freely. The historical chapters involving the family and region of Baldwin of Avesnes might teach us more about his impact in the composition of the *CBA*; but before doing so, one must first look at his biography while also trying to trace the compiler's presence in the text.

CHAPTER FOUR

People behind the Text: Patron and Compiler(s)

Baldwin of Avesnes has been the subject of many conjectures. Several scholars have viewed him as the author of the *CBA*, while others also thought he could have composed the fabliau *Trubert*.³⁹⁵ Charles Verlinden suggested that he might have been the 'Baldwin of Hainaut', whom William of Rubrouck met during his journey to Mongolia.³⁹⁶ A novelist even portrayed him as the half-brother of the famous minstrel Adenet le roi.³⁹⁷ Scholars thus have speculated a great deal about the life of the patron of the *CBA*. However, very few have ventured to offer any sort of assumption regarding the anonymous compiler of the universal chronicle. This chapter aims to fill both of these voids by providing a reliable biography of Baldwin of Avesnes and by approaching the personality of the compiler of the *CBA* thanks to the (scarce) hints provided by the text itself.

1. Baldwin of Avesnes, Patron of the CBA

Scholars have formulated various hypotheses regarding the sponsorship of the *CBA*, the most convincing of which is certainly that which views Baldwin of Avesnes as the chronicle's patron. Indeed, the assumption of the existence of an earlier Latin text the *Historiae Balduini*, written for Count Baldwin VI of Hainault, is merely a case of mistaken identity on the part of the fourteenth-century chronicler James of Guise who confused Baldwin of Avesnes with his grandfather.³⁹⁸ More recently, Meyer-Zimmermann has contended that the *CBA* was in fact sponsored by Bouchard of

³⁹⁵ For the latter see Willem Noomen, 'Trubert', in *Nouveau recueil complet des fabliaux*, ed. by Willem Noomen, 10 vols (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983-98), X (1998), 143-262 (p. 146).

³⁹⁶ Verlinden.

³⁹⁷ [Thomas C. Grattan], *Legends of the Rhine and of the Low Countries*, 3 vols (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1832), I, 231-309 and II, 1-146 (the text talks about 'Adenez Lekoi, the minstrel of the duke of Brabant': see I, 305).

³⁹⁸ See the arguments of Heller, 'Ueber die Herrn', pp. 145-47 and 'ChanBA', p. 416.

Avesnes (d. 1244) and originally ended with the capture of Damietta in 1249.³⁹⁹ Her hypothesis rests on the assumption that the last ten chapters (235 to 244 in 'CHanBA') of the *CBA* disrupt the chronology of the narrative and distinguish themselves stylistically. This idea is interesting but unconvincing: Chapter 235 might have been a later addition as it shows a few significant stylistic differences;⁴⁰⁰ nonetheless, the following chapters display the same style and vocabulary as the rest of the *CBA*.⁴⁰¹ Furthermore, the *CBA* used the second edition of the *Speculum historiale* (ca. 1254) as a source, notably for the chapters on the Tartars (204 and 232 in 'CHanBA').⁴⁰² If one follows Meyer-Zimmermann's reasoning, this would mean that at best, the *CBA*, which includes passages from the *Speculum historiale* in its account of Emperor Tiberius' rule (d. 37 AD), would have been written using the first edition of the *Speculum historiale* (finished by 1244) and that the work would then have been completed using the second edition of Vincent of Beauvais' work at some point in the 1250s, i.e. ten years or more after Bouchard of Avesnes' death; this seems unlikely. If, on the contrary, the *CBA* used strictly the second edition of the *Speculum historiale*, the work would then have been composed for the largest part in the 1250s, after the death of the presumed patron, which seems even more unlikely.

The link between the *CBA* and Baldwin of Avesnes can be made thanks to both external and internal elements. External testimonies link the work to the lord of Beaumont. Firstly, the *Livre du lignage de Coucy*, a collection of genealogies sponsored by Enguerrand IV of Coucy and written in May 1303, states that its main source was 'un grand livre de cronicques que messire Baudouin d'Avennes, jadis sires de Beaumont, avoit, lequel livre parloit de toutes les anchiennes lignees tant des rois comme des barons de France'.⁴⁰³ Secondly, the abridged version of the *CBA* (see Chapter 1, 3.4.) is entitled in several manuscripts 'cronikes estraittes et abregies des livres monsieur Baudouin d'Avesnes, fil jadis le contesse Margherite de Flandres et de Hannau, qui fut mout sagez hons et en assanbla de pluseurs livres'.⁴⁰⁴ One finds a

³⁹⁹ Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 6-11.

⁴⁰⁰ The transition 'Or lairons un poi a parler dou roi et des pelerins; si vous dirons d'auchunes choses qui estoient avenues en Flandres et en autres lius' ('CHanBA', p. 454) is very unusual.

⁴⁰¹ The lexical occurrences which she considers proper to the last ten chapters (Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 7, note 50) can actually be found elsewhere in the *CBA*.

⁴⁰² Monique Paulmier-Foucart, *Vincent de Beauvais et le grand miroir du monde* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), p. 19, note 42 and p. 120.

⁴⁰³ Aix-en-Provence, BM, MS 1158, fol. 55^r (*olim* 672). Enguerrand IV was the first cousin of Felicity of Coucy, Baldwin of Avesnes' wife.

⁴⁰⁴ KBR, MS 10478-79, fol. 127^A (see also KBR, MS 10233-36, fol. 1^A).

similar testimony for the Latin translation of the *CBA* as the title 'Ex chronicis Hainoniensibus recollectis per Magistrum Balduinum de Avesnis' can be found in various manuscripts.⁴⁰⁵ Internal evidence also points to the lord of Beaumont: on the one hand the genealogies of the *CBA* give a prominent place to his lineage; on the other, the author remained silent on the episode of the Avesnes feud with the Dampierres, which could have tarnished the familial pride. Further evidence regarding Baldwin of Avesnes' connection with the *CBA* was provided in Chapter 3, where it was also demonstrated that Baldwin's wife, Felicity of Coucy, played a part in the coming about of the text. Some scholars have believed that Baldwin of Avesnes was himself the author of the *CBA*; this possibility seems improbable given that this compilation was a major-scale project and also given the inaccuracy of some information regarding events in which the lord of Beaumont was directly involved.⁴⁰⁶

2. *Baldwin of Avesnes: A Biography*

The sole extensive biography of the lord of Beaumont was written more than 150 years ago and is (with a single exception) based solely on printed editions of archival and narrative sources.⁴⁰⁷ It remains, in spite of this, fairly useful, but historians who have an interest in the Avesnes and Dampierre feud have barely employed it. Baldwin is usually distinguished from the rest of the Avesnes clan because he became reconciled with Countess Margaret following the death of his brother John, but this rarely goes beyond a mere mention, and his individual position and actions have hardly ever been examined.⁴⁰⁸ For all these reasons, a revised biography of Baldwin of Avesnes is necessary. The first section will treat the lord of Beaumont's life until 1257 in the tumultuous context of the feud between his brother and himself (the Avesnes), on the one hand, and their half-brothers (the Dampierres) and mother on the other. Given its importance for the history of the Low Countries during the thirteenth century, this quarrel has been sufficiently studied, and one can safely rely

⁴⁰⁵ 'CHanBA', p. 418.

⁴⁰⁶ See Heller, 'Ueber die Herrn', pp. 141-44 and Chapter 3, 2.4.2.

⁴⁰⁷ Gachet, 'Bauduin d'Avesnes'.

⁴⁰⁸ Duvivier, I, 310-13 and Gachet, 'Bauduin d'Avesnes' are the exceptions.

on the secondary literature.⁴⁰⁹ The second section deals with a lesser known part of the lord of Beaumont's life: that which follows his reconciliation with his mother. This necessitates the use of unedited archival sources. The third section examines briefly the literary patronage (and more specifically, of historical works) in the Low Countries at the time of Baldwin of Avesnes in order to determine whether the *CBA* is an isolated case or whether it takes root in a specific environment.

2.1. The Avesnes and Dampierre Feud Until Around 1257

Baldwin of Avesnes was the third son of Bouchard of Avesnes (d. 1244) and Margaret of Constantinople, who later became countess of Flanders (1244-78) and Hainault (1244-80). The impact of this marriage on the history of Flanders and Hainault during the thirteenth century was considerable and needs to be described.

⁴⁰⁹ Duvivier is the groundbreaking work but he makes some errors regarding dates (which have been corrected here without specific notification) and is at times biased in favour of the Avesnes. Remarks and corrections regarding that matter have been made by Theo Luykx in his numerous works: see previously mentioned references and *Johanna van Constantinopel, Gravin van Vlaanderen en Henegouwen. Haar leven (1199/1200-1244). Haar regering (1205-1244), vooral in Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Standaard; Utrecht: de Haan, 1946); 'Aantekeningen over de geboorte- en sterfdata van gravin Margareta van Constantinopel en van hare kinderen, de Avesnes en de Dampierres', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 5 (1950), 63-77; *De grafelijke financiële bestuursinstellingen en het grafelijk patrimonium in Vlaanderen tijdens de regering van Margareta van Constantinopel (1244-1278)* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1961). The best synthesis on the Avesnes and Dampierre feud is undoubtedly Hans van Werveke, 'Avesnes en Dampierre. Vlaanderens vrijheidsoorlog', in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. by J.A. Van Houtte and others, 12 vols (Utrecht: de Haan, 1949-58), II (1950), 306-37. Among more recent literature one can include: Michel de Waha, 'La Marche impériale de Namur-Luxembourg. Vicissitudes d'un concept géo-politique de 1150 à 1300', in *Ermensinde et l'affranchissement de la ville de Luxembourg. Etude sur la femme, le pouvoir et la ville au XIII^e siècle*, ed. by Michel Margue (Luxembourg: CLUDEM, 1994), pp. 91-159 (esp. pp. 136-46); Thérèse de Hemptinne, 'De landsheren van de zuidelijke gewesten: de gravinnen en graven van Vlaanderen/Henegouwen, Namen en Luxemburg, de hertog van Brabant, de prins-bisschop van Luik', in *Wi Florens...*, pp. 68-77 (see also the contribution by Cordfunke in the same volume); several contributions of great interest can also be found in the volume *1299: één graaf, drie graafschappen. De vereniging van Holland, Zeeland en Henegouwen*, ed. by D.E.H. de Boer, E.H.P. Cordfunke and H. Sarfatij (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000). The chapters by Maurice Vandermaesen in the second edition of the *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. by Dirk P. Block and others, 15 vols (Utrecht: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1977-83), II (1982), 399-448 are also helpful but not without small errors. So far, the only substantial synthesis in English on this family feud is that by Henry S. Lucas, 'John of Avesnes and Richard of Cornwall', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 81-101, which should be used with caution (see the remarks of Donald E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: University Press, 1967), p. 17). David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London and New York: Longman, 1992), pp. 156-57 and Robert L. Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172-1225', *Speculum*, 27 (1952), 281-322 (pp. 293-94 and 300) provide a short summary. Most archival sources are available in printed editions, mainly in Duvivier, II and also in Reiffenberg, *Monuments*, I-III.

Bouchard of Avesnes was probably the third son of James of Avesnes, the mightiest nobleman in Hainault after the count.⁴¹⁰ The Avesnes had been the cause of much trouble for the counts of Hainault, but things started to change at the turn of the thirteenth century, a time when many territorial princes managed to assert their power over the nobility.⁴¹¹ Walter II, lord of Avesnes, Bouchard's older brother, was indeed on friendly terms with Joan of Constantinople (d. 1244), countess of Flanders and Hainault.⁴¹² Bouchard was apparently destined for clerical life; he is mentioned in 1205 as cantor of the church of Laon.⁴¹³ However, he quickly returned to the secular world, possibly because his brother was still without an heir.⁴¹⁴ Ferrand of Portugal (d. 1233), count of Flanders and husband of Joan, even named him bailiff of Hainault and entrusted him with the protection of Margaret, Joan's younger sister.⁴¹⁵

Margaret of Constantinople (1202-80) was the second daughter of Baldwin, count [IX] of Flanders and [VI] of Hainault, first Latin emperor of Constantinople, and of his wife Mary of Champagne. Her father left for the crusade in 1202 and would soon be followed (1203-04) by his wife; she died from the plague in August 1204. Within a year and while in captivity, Baldwin IX also passed away.⁴¹⁶ Margaret and her older sister Joan, the couple's only children, were left in the custody of regent Philip of Namur, Baldwin IX's brother. In September 1208 Philip sent them both to the French court of Philip Augustus, where they would stay for almost three and a half years.⁴¹⁷ In 1212, following her sister's marriage to Ferrand of Portugal, Margaret was entrusted to Bouchard of Avesnes.⁴¹⁸ In the same year, at Le Quesnoy, the ten year-old Margaret married Bouchard, who was certainly in his

⁴¹⁰ The *CBA* mentions Bouchard as second son, which has led Luykx (*Johanna*, pp. 199-200, note 2) to argue that Duvivier was biased when ranking him third son. However, Genicot, 'La Maison d'Avesnes', pp. 106-07 argues that the sources suggest that Bouchard is indeed the third son. One can add that the *CBA* possibly wanted to enhance the status of Bouchard: moving certain individuals up in the genealogical trees is not infrequent in the *CBA* (see Chapter 3, n. 319).

⁴¹¹ Genicot, 'Noblesse et principautés', pp. 39-58.

⁴¹² Genicot, 'La Maison d'Avesnes', p. 256.

⁴¹³ Duvivier, II, 3. Bouchard probably was subdeacon (*subdiaconus*) of the same chapter (Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 200 and 209). Some chroniclers also mention him as treasurer of Tournai and/or provost of the chapter of Saint-Pierre in Lille (Duvivier, I, 45-46).

⁴¹⁴ Genicot, 'La Maison d'Avesnes', p. 257. According to the testimony of Roger of Nouvion in the inquest of 1249 (Duvivier, II, 237-38), Bouchard had been a *miles* for 13 years when he married. This does not fit with the mention as cantor in 1205, but one can assume that Bouchard had already left his clerical state several years before marrying Margaret.

⁴¹⁵ Luykx, *Johanna*, p. 200 and Duvivier, I, 56 (note 4) and II, 20-21.

⁴¹⁶ Wolff, p. 289.

⁴¹⁷ Regarding the decision of Philip of Namur, often criticised by historians, see the nuanced view of de Waha, 'Marche', p. 135.

⁴¹⁸ Some chroniclers claimed he was her tutor, but Wauters, *Table*, IV (1874), p. ix thinks that this is doubtful.

thirties, possibly even forties.⁴¹⁹ On 20 February 1215 Pope Innocent III, following a petition by Countess Joan, demanded an investigation of the legitimacy of this union.⁴²⁰

Both Bouchard and Joan's motives for their respective actions have been questioned not only by chroniclers but also by scholars.⁴²¹ It seems clear that, as a younger son, Bouchard had an interest in marrying Margaret, who was a member of the comital family, although her appanage depended entirely on her sister's goodwill.⁴²² If one believes the various testimonies of the 1249 investigation it seems that Joan, had, at first, apparently agreed to this union (Duvivier, II, 225-51). However, the increasing French influence at the court of Flanders following the battle of Bouvines (during which Bouchard fought on the Flemish side), coupled with Bouchard's repeated demands regarding his wife's inheritance rendered him undesirable.⁴²³ This conflict prompted the couple to leave for the castle of Houffalize, where they would live for six years.⁴²⁴ As mentioned above, Joan then protested to the pope who, after the investigation was completed, excommunicated Bouchard on 19 January 1216.⁴²⁵ The sentence would be repeated several times by Honorius III, with the additional excommunications of several of Bouchard's partisans, and of Margaret herself.⁴²⁶

Margaret gave birth to her and Bouchard's three children in Houffalize. The first, Baldwin, died in childhood, and certainly before the birth of the third child, also named Baldwin.⁴²⁷ A letter of Louis IX dated 1235 enables one to place the birth of John of Avesnes in April 1218 and that of Baldwin in September 1219.⁴²⁸ Several papal bulls declaring the illegitimacy of the marriage had been sent before those

⁴¹⁹ Duvivier, I, 43 and Luykx, *Johanna*, p. 200.

⁴²⁰ Duvivier, I, 50-55 and Luykx, *Johanna*, p. 200

⁴²¹ For a sound critical outline see Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 203-07.

⁴²² Duvivier, I, 58. This marriage also might have helped him in acquiring the seigniorship of Etrœungt from his brother Walter II (Genicot, 'La Maison d'Avesnes', pp. 257-258 and Duvivier, II, 16-17).

⁴²³ Duvivier, I, 62-67. Joan was now ruling alone as her husband had been captured by the French at Bouvines and would only be freed in 1226.

⁴²⁴ See the testimony of Henry of Houffalize in Duvivier, II, 248.

⁴²⁵ Duvivier, I, 68. Regarding the pope's attitude, see the remarks by Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 207-10.

⁴²⁶ Duvivier, I, 70.

⁴²⁷ Luykx, 'Aantekeningen', p. 68.

⁴²⁸ The brief sent to Louis IX in the name of the Avesnes in 1246 (Duvivier, II, 162-63) and the *Livre du lignage de Coucy* (quoted in *Istore*, I, p. xviii) both suggest, however, that they might have been older. This is a possibility, but the date of 1214 for the birth of Baldwin of Avesnes, mentioned by many scholars (starting with Gachet, 'Bauduin d'Avesnes' p. 255) is not reasonable: Margaret would then already have given birth to three children by the age of twelve.

dates, which meant that the offspring stemming from that union could also have been seen as illegitimate.⁴²⁹

In 1219, Bouchard of Avesnes was captured and put in jail by Countess Joan for two years.⁴³⁰ Margaret then left with her children for Rozoy and stayed with Adelaide of Avesnes, Bouchard's sister.⁴³¹ Margaret apparently pleaded with her sister to free Bouchard and provided hostages.⁴³² She eventually complied with the Church's wish that she be separated from her husband in 1221. Bouchard was liberated but on the condition that he go to Rome for absolution.⁴³³ Between August and October 1223, during Bouchard's absence, Margaret agreed to marry William II, lord of Dampierre.⁴³⁴

Bouchard returned in 1224-1225 and soon found (or conceived of) an opportunity for revenge with the rise of the 'False Baldwin', a hermit in whom the population and several nobles had claimed to recognise Count Baldwin IX.⁴³⁵ According to Philip Mousket, the False Baldwin went everywhere accompanied by John and Baldwin of Avesnes, which gave Bouchard an opportunity to see his children.⁴³⁶ But the masquerade was soon uncovered by Countess Joan.⁴³⁷ William of Dampierre entrusted John and Baldwin to his brother Archambaud of Bourbon, who kept them (in prison, if one believes Mousket) for six or seven years.⁴³⁸ The pope then ordered Bouchard to rejoin clerical life but the latter preferred to retire to his seigniorship of Etrœungt.⁴³⁹ The same year (1226), Count Ferrand was liberated. He died seven years later (July 1233), two years after William of Dampierre (3 September 1231),⁴⁴⁰ who had fathered five children with Margaret: Joan, William, Guy, John and Mary.⁴⁴¹

⁴²⁹ Duvivier, I, 76.

⁴³⁰ Duvivier, I, 75.

⁴³¹ Duvivier, II, 249.

⁴³² According to several witnesses in the 1249 investigation (Duvivier, II, 233, 235-36, 240, 243, 249).

⁴³³ Duvivier, I, 82-83.

⁴³⁴ Luykx, *Johanna*, p. 203.

⁴³⁵ For a discussion of the episode of the false Baldwin see Luykx, *Johanna*, 211-39 and Wolff, pp. 294-300.

⁴³⁶ *Chronique rimée*, vv. 24846-850.

⁴³⁷ The *CBA* also includes an account of this episode: 'CHanBA', Chapter 236.

⁴³⁸ Duvivier, I, 94-95.

⁴³⁹ Duvivier, I, 95 and Wauters, *Table*, IV, p. xxiv.

⁴⁴⁰ E.I. Strubbe and L. Voet, *De chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp and Amsterdam: Standaard Uitgeverij, 1960; repr. Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1991), p. 394.

⁴⁴¹ Luykx, 'Aantekeningen', pp. 69-75 and *Grafelijk geslacht*, pp. 28-32.

William of Dampierre's death brought the return of the Avesnes children. On 19 January 1235, an agreement was made regarding the distribution of Margaret's inheritance under the supervision of King Louis IX of France: it would be divided into seven equal parts, one for each child.⁴⁴² As Duvivier puts it, this could have settled the dispute once and for all; nonetheless, Mary, Joan of Constantinople's only child, heiress to the counties of Flanders and Hainault, who was promised to Robert of Artois, Louis IX's brother, died in 1236.⁴⁴³ The problem of Margaret's succession now became more complicated: if her sister were to die childless, she would inherit both counties. Joan still hoped (in vain) to give birth to an heir and married Thomas of Savoy.⁴⁴⁴ In the upcoming struggle between the children stemming from Margaret of Constantinople's two marriages, Margaret would give unconditional support to the Dampierre offspring.

On 31 March 1237 Pope Gregory IX declared the Avesnes children illegitimate.⁴⁴⁵ The Avesnes would reply by requesting letters from Emperor Frederick II, who proclaimed their legitimacy in 1239-40 and issued a confirmation in February 1242.⁴⁴⁶ In March 1239, Bouchard (and his sons) had received the rest of his appanage from his brother Walter.⁴⁴⁷ If one believes Verlinden's suggestion that Baldwin of Avesnes might have been the knight whom William of Rubrouck met during his travels to Mongolia, then Baldwin would have married a Cuman princess at the end of the same year. He also would have travelled to Mongolia for Emperor of Constantinople Baldwin II in the course of 1243-44. All this seems, however, highly unlikely.⁴⁴⁸ In 1242 negotiations between the Avesnes and Dampierre failed at Valenciennes. Around the same period, Margaret was probably lobbying the pope in favour of the Dampierres.⁴⁴⁹ At the end of 1244, Bouchard of Avesnes passed away and Baldwin inherited Sart-le-Doulers (part of the seigniorship of Doulers).⁴⁵⁰ A few

⁴⁴² Duvivier, II, 51-55. Bouchard of Avesnes was present.

⁴⁴³ Duvivier, I, 109-10.

⁴⁴⁴ Duvivier, I, 111-12.

⁴⁴⁵ Duvivier, II, 71. Duvivier, I, 112 speculates (probably with reason) that this condemnation might have been issued at the request of Joan and Margaret.

⁴⁴⁶ Duvivier, I, 113-18 and II, 93-94.

⁴⁴⁷ Duvivier, II, 80-83.

⁴⁴⁸ Verlinden is right when claiming that no documents proving the presence of Baldwin in the West can be found for the years 1243-44 (p. 127), but his whole hypothesis rests on a dangerous argument *ex nihilo*.

⁴⁴⁹ Duvivier, I, 117-18.

⁴⁵⁰ Duvivier, I, 124.

months later, when Joan of Constantinople died (on 5 December 1244),⁴⁵¹ the struggle for her sister's succession was already in progress, as each party tried to plead its cause with the new pope Innocent IV.⁴⁵² Margaret paid homage to the French king for Flanders in March 1245 and to the emperor for Imperial Flanders and Namur in July.⁴⁵³ The bishop of Liège, however, refused her homage for Hainault, on account of the customary law which required the fief to return to the bishop whenever the vassal died without a male heir.⁴⁵⁴ This was the start of Margaret's long struggle for her imperial fiefs, which would systematically be claimed by the Avesnes.⁴⁵⁵

In January 1246 both parties agreed to submit the case to the arbitration of French king Louis IX and cardinal-legate Eudes of Châteauroux, bishop of Tusculum, and to comply with the decision that these judges would make.⁴⁵⁶ In July the arbitrators granted Flanders to the Dampierres and Hainault to the Avesnes.⁴⁵⁷ Many scholars have commented on the impartiality and wisdom shown by Saint Louis in this move;⁴⁵⁸ however, one cannot but notice that it was also in his best interest to diminish his neighbour's power.⁴⁵⁹ The Dampierres, unlike their rivals, promptly approved the sentence.⁴⁶⁰

The Avesnes were certainly not happy with the decision, but they were too weak to protest and had to look for potential allies.⁴⁶¹ John of Avesnes therefore married Adelaide of Holland, sister of Count of Holland William II in September 1246.⁴⁶² This alliance was concluded only because Count William II himself had a strong interest in it: he also was a rival of Margaret's, with whom he was having disagreements regarding Zeeland. John of Avesnes was thus a mere pawn in William

⁴⁵¹ Strubbe and Voet, p. 393.

⁴⁵² Duvivier, I, 125-27 and 131-34.

⁴⁵³ Duvivier, I, 129-31. A small part of Flanders was under imperial suzerainty, just as the counties of Hainault and Namur and part of Zeeland (for details, see Luykx, 'Strijd', pp. 2-3).

⁴⁵⁴ Luykx, 'Strijd', 6-7.

⁴⁵⁵ In practice however, this decision had little effect, as Margaret received homage from her vassals from Hainault (Luykx, 'Strijd', p. 6). This can actually be said of most imperial decisions made against Margaret (p. 15).

⁴⁵⁶ Duvivier, I, 140-41.

⁴⁵⁷ Duvivier, II, 165-68.

⁴⁵⁸ See for instance Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), pp. 254-55.

⁴⁵⁹ See Duvivier, I, 158-59, Van Werveke, p. 307 and Vandermaesen, p. 399. If customary law had been applied strictly, both counties should have been assigned to one and the same person (Van Werveke, p. 306).

⁴⁶⁰ De Waha and Dugnoille, 'Avesnes en Holland', p. 25.

⁴⁶¹ Van Werveke, p. 307.

⁴⁶² De Waha and Dugnoille, 'Avesnes en Holland', p. 25.

II's politics.⁴⁶³ When the latter became king of the Romans in October 1247, he had to reinforce his power and diminish French influence in the Empire. His repeated assignment of imperial territories (Hainault, Namur and Imperial Flanders) to John of Avesnes must be viewed in that context.⁴⁶⁴

John of Avesnes' attempts to acquire land through battles against Margaret (in Rupelmonde in mid-1247) or by feudal grant by his brother-in-law (who granted him the county of Namur on 27 April 1248) remained unsuccessful.⁴⁶⁵ William II's power in the Empire was still too fragile and the king of the Romans had no choice but to consent to an agreement with Margaret regarding her imperial fiefs.⁴⁶⁶ At the turn of the years 1248 and 1249, the Avesnes were thus forced to accept Louis IX's 1246 sentence and to abandon their claims on Imperial Flanders.⁴⁶⁷ These settlements led to a more peaceful period between the Avesnes children and their mother which would last for approximately two years.

Margaret seems to have been sincerely looking for reconciliation: she granted incomes and lands to John and Baldwin,⁴⁶⁸ let John participate in the government of Hainault and even agreed to an investigation which was to be carried out to acknowledge the Avesnes children's legitimacy.⁴⁶⁹ Baldwin of Avesnes' first individual documents appear in greater number during these quieter times.⁴⁷⁰ In March 1249 he confirmed a donation made by his brother.⁴⁷¹ On 3 February 1250 he declared that the abbey of Aulne had paid him for the tithe of Thirimont.⁴⁷² Between the latter date and May 1250 (when he confirmed a sale made by James of Werchin seneschal of Hainault, to the abbey of Cambron), Baldwin became lord of Beaumont.⁴⁷³ In June 1250 he granted the tithe of Floursies to the abbey of Cambron

⁴⁶³ De Waha and Dugnoille, 'Avesnes en Holland'. The alliance would, however, provide important benefits for John of Avesnes' sons, who exercised strong influence at the court of Holland during the second half of the thirteenth century (Cordfunke, esp. p. 31). John II of Avesnes would even become count of Holland and Zeeland in 1299 (*1299: één graaf*).

⁴⁶⁴ See the example of Namur in Van Werveke, p. 311.

⁴⁶⁵ Duvivier, I, 168-73.

⁴⁶⁶ Luykx, 'Strijd', p. 15. Duvivier, I, 201-02 and II, 257.

⁴⁶⁷ De Waha and Dugnoille, 'Avesnes en Holland', p. 26.

⁴⁶⁸ Duvivier, I, 177-78; Luykx, *De grafelijke financiële bestuursinstellingen*, pp. 185-86.

⁴⁶⁹ Van Werveke, p. 308. Vandermaesen, p. 400 is right to argue that this was a mistake on the part of the countess. For more details on the investigation, see Duvivier, I, 185-99.

⁴⁷⁰ Baldwin of Avesnes, as a knight, settled a conflict between the abbey of Liessies and Vellat of Beauvoir on 5 February 1248 (see Chapter 3, p. 122 and note 313). Before then he was systematically mentioned together with his brother John.

⁴⁷¹ See Appendix, no. 2.

⁴⁷² He then still refers to himself as 'fils la contesse de Flandres et de Haynau' (Mons, Archives de l'Etat (AE), Cartulaires, 1, fol. 287)

⁴⁷³ Appendix, no. 3.

and, three months later, approved a gift made by the castellan of Beaumont to his son.⁴⁷⁴

It was also during this peaceful episode that Baldwin of Avesnes got married to Felicity of Coucy: in August 1251 they exempted, together, the templars at Saint-Aubin from some taxes in Sart-Le-Dourlers.⁴⁷⁵ Felicity was the daughter of Thomas of Coucy, lord of Vervins, himself son of Raoul, lord of Coucy. The family of Coucy had strong Capetian ties, and one wonders whether Baldwin's marriage could have been arranged by Margaret: mother and son were on good terms at the time, and this union bound an Avesnes with the French crown (i.e. Flanders' suzerain), thus decreasing the opportunity for new conspiracies with the king of the Romans.⁴⁷⁶

But this period of concord was only temporary and three factors would revive the conflict.⁴⁷⁷ Firstly, following their investigation, the bishop of Châlons and the abbot of Liessies declared the legitimacy of John and Baldwin of Avesnes in November 1249.⁴⁷⁸ This sentence was confirmed by Pope Innocent IV (17 April 1251) and enforced by the bishop of Cambrai (9 April 1252).⁴⁷⁹ The Avesnes were thus in a position where they could rightfully contest the 1246 arbitration. Secondly, the death of William of Dampierre, heir to the county of Flanders, in a tournament in Trazegnies on June 1251 caused much grief to the countess and reawakened the past tensions between both parties, as there were rumours that the Avesnes were responsible for it.⁴⁸⁰ Finally, William II of Holland, who now had a firmer grip on the Empire, violated the agreements he had made with Margaret regarding Imperial Flanders and Namur: in July 1252, on account of the fact that she had failed to pay homage to him, he granted those territories to John of Avesnes (edict of Frankfurt).⁴⁸¹ In addition, this sentence was confirmed in December by Innocent IV, who was a fervent supporter of William.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁴ Reiffenberg, II, 798-99 and AE, Cartulaires, 1, fol. 121^B-^VA.

⁴⁷⁵ Duvivier, II, 274-75. The exact date of their marriage remains unclear: Barthélemy (pp. 409 and 452-53) uses Duvivier, I, 179 to claim that it took place before 1250, but it seems more logical to place it after Baldwin acquired the seignory of Beaumont or, like Duvivier, to consider he received a Beaumont as a wedding gift.

⁴⁷⁶ In that respect, Baldwin's marriage contrasts with his brother's, who was looking for alliances to fight against Margaret.

⁴⁷⁷ See Vandermaesen, p. 400.

⁴⁷⁸ Duvivier, II, 253-54.

⁴⁷⁹ Duvivier, II, 262-63 and 281.

⁴⁸⁰ Duvivier, I, 203-05.

⁴⁸¹ See Chapter 3, note 388.

⁴⁸² Duvivier, II, 297-98.

The ensuing tensions would lead to a judicial procedure by which Margaret hoped to appeal against the decision of the arbitrators of the 1249 investigation. This lawsuit remained, however, fruitless.⁴⁸³ In spite of the rising hostility, documents suggest that Baldwin was still governing his lands in a normal fashion: he approved a sale to the abbey of Aulne in December 1251,⁴⁸⁴ confirmed two donations by his brother John in 1252,⁴⁸⁵ and donated alms to the abbey of Aulne in January 1253.⁴⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the conflict between Margaret and the king of the Romans escalated and led to the confrontation in Westkapelle on 4 July 1253. The Flemish underwent a humiliating defeat and many important nobles were captured, in particular Guy of Dampierre, future count of Flanders, and his brother John.⁴⁸⁷

The Dampierres would be their rivals' prisoners for three years in Holland. Margaret was probably feeling desperate about the situation, as she made a bold move by offering the county of Hainault to Charles of Anjou, the young and ambitious brother of King Louis IX (who had been in the Holy Land since 1248). Charles invaded Hainault at the end of 1253 and, a few months later, a counter-attack was launched by John of Avesnes and his supporters, chiefly William II of Holland.⁴⁸⁸ Nonetheless, thanks to the intervention of the pope, a truce was reached in July 1254.⁴⁸⁹

The return of Louis IX in September prevented the resumption of the conflict. Furthermore, the death of Innocent IV in December weakened William II's position. Louis IX was working for peace and, when on 28 January 1256, William II died accidentally in Frisia, the Avesnes lost their greatest ally.⁴⁹⁰ They thus lobbied for the election of Richard of Cornwall, a procedure in which Baldwin of Avesnes likely played a diplomatic role for his brother and possibly travelled to England on his

⁴⁸³ Duvivier, I, 220-26.

⁴⁸⁴ Appendix, no. 4.

⁴⁸⁵ Appendix, nos. 5 and 6.

⁴⁸⁶ AE, Cartulaires, 1, fols 120^vB-21^vB.

⁴⁸⁷ 'CHanBA', p. 461 and Chapter 3, 2.4.2.

⁴⁸⁸ Henry of Guelders, bishop of Liège, could not support his vassal because of internal problems in the bishopric, Alain Marchandise, 'Le Prince-évêque de Liège et les comtes de Hainaut des maisons d'Avesnes et Wittelsbach (1247-1433). Un marché de dupes quasi-permanent', *Revue du Nord*, 337 (2000), 629-57 (pp. 641-43). This explains why the reaction to Charles of Anjou's invasion was not quicker.

⁴⁸⁹ For the whole paragraph, see Duvivier, I, 232-55.

⁴⁹⁰ Duvivier, I, 258-64 and de Waha and Dugnoille, 'Avesnes en Holland', p. 27.

behalf.⁴⁹¹ However, the process was too slow and the Avesnes had to accept a settlement.⁴⁹² On 24 September 1256 Louis IX issued the *dit de Péronne*: in brief, it restored the agreement of 1246, with the difference that the lands of Crèvecœur, Arleux, Bouchain and Ostrevent, which had belonged to Hainault, now passed under Flemish jurisdiction. It also settled the amount of the debts owed between the different parties (including Charles of Anjou). Within two or three weeks, Baldwin of Avesnes renounced all rights he might have on the county of Hainault in favour of John,⁴⁹³ an agreement was reached with Florent 'de Voogd', regent of Holland, on Zeeland and the Dampierre brothers were released.⁴⁹⁴

In the meantime, the lord of Beaumont also took care of his territories and vassals: in August 1257 he exchanged with his brother-in-law Thomas of Coucy, lord of Vervins, land in the county of Rethel in exchange for land in Hainault;⁴⁹⁵ in December he confirmed a sale of land by Philip of Ostergnies to the abbey of Aulne.⁴⁹⁶

The Avesnes pursued the lobbying for Richard of Cornwall, who was elected king of the Romans on 13 January 1257.⁴⁹⁷ Because of this they managed to renegotiate slightly the terms of the *dit de Péronne* with a new agreement in Valenciennes in November 1257: Bouchain, Ostrevent and the homage for the county of Namur would return to Hainault.⁴⁹⁸ But one month later, on Christmas Eve, the struggle for power of the Avesnes brothers came to an end with the death of John of Avesnes.⁴⁹⁹ This was the start of a very different life for Baldwin of Avesnes.

⁴⁹¹ The king had received his homage for a fief in April 1256; see Lucas, 95-96 and *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the reign of Henry III*, 6 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1901-13), V (1908), 468. He is mentioned again in the Exchequer on 10 May 1257 (V, 553).

⁴⁹² Van Werveke, p. 310.

⁴⁹³ Duvivier, II, 433-35. See also 444-46.

⁴⁹⁴ For details on the *dit de Péronne*, see Duvivier, I, 269-76 and II, 414-21 and Luykx, 'Strijd', pp. 22-24.

⁴⁹⁵ AE, Trésorerie des Comtes de Hainaut, Chartes, 59.

⁴⁹⁶ Appendix, no. 8.

⁴⁹⁷ Lucas, p. 97. They are present at his coronation; they are also witnesses when he confirms the privileges of the city of Cologne (p. 99).

⁴⁹⁸ Duvivier, I, 286-87.

⁴⁹⁹ Duvivier, I, 292.

2.2. Peaceful Years? Baldwin of Avesnes between Flanders and Hainault (1258-89)

Without his elder brother Baldwin of Avesnes had his back against the wall. In spite of the long-standing feud and the intense struggle in which he had sided with his brother, he did what was in his best interest: he chose to become reconciled with his mother, the countess.⁵⁰⁰ In that respect he took a different stance from his sister-in-law: Adelaide of Holland, following John's death, remained hostile to Margaret and fled to Holland with her children, none of whom had come of age; there she would soon have to assume the regency of the county following the death of her last important supporter, her brother Florent 'de Voogd'. She was thus in charge of the government and of the education of her seven children and her nephew, heir to the county of Holland, the future Florent V.⁵⁰¹ Baldwin, following an earlier agreement, asked Margaret to confirm the donation of land in Hainault to John of Avesnes' children, which she did on 16 March 1258.⁵⁰²

Baldwin's sincerity was quickly put to the test by Margaret. In 1252 William II of Holland, king of the Romans, had granted John of Avesnes the investiture of the county of Namur.⁵⁰³ John had then given the county in fief to Henry V of Luxembourg, which William II had confirmed on 12 February 1254.⁵⁰⁴ However, the county of Namur had actually been under the jurisdiction of the Courtenay family since 1212.⁵⁰⁵ Following the *dit de Péronne*, Baldwin of Avesnes had promised to defend the interests of Mary of Brienne, wife of Baldwin of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, in the county of Namur against Henry V of Luxembourg.⁵⁰⁶ The latter was refusing to return the county to the empress and started a siege which would last until 1264.⁵⁰⁷ The lord of Beaumont was therefore asked to lead an army of Flemings and Hainaulters against the count of Luxembourg, probably in the

⁵⁰⁰ A literary account of this episode is given in the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*, ed. by Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Renouard, 1876), pp. 222-23.

⁵⁰¹ Van der Meulen, 'Avesnes en Dampierre', pp. 49-51.

⁵⁰² Duvivier, II, 519-20. This was probably in his own interest rather than in his nephews': he was also owed a portion of land according to the agreement.

⁵⁰³ Duvivier, II, 284-85.

⁵⁰⁴ Duvivier, II, 360-61.

⁵⁰⁵ De Waha, 'Marche', pp. 136-37 and Alexandre Pinchart, *De l'inféodation du comté de Namur au comté de Hainaut* (Mons: Hoyois, 1850), pp. 43-44.

⁵⁰⁶ Duvivier, II, 324.

⁵⁰⁷ It seems that he had the support of the inhabitants of the city of Namur (Pinchart, 57-58).

summer of 1258.⁵⁰⁸ However, Baldwin probably felt uncomfortable at having to assail one of his former allies,⁵⁰⁹ and he avoided the confrontation.⁵¹⁰ Some have accused him of treachery on this occasion.⁵¹¹

Even though he did so with little conviction, Baldwin of Avesnes had switched sides, and this was probably a cause of worry for Adelaide of Holland, as she requested that he confirm his renunciation to the county of Hainault.⁵¹² He thus issued her letters to this end on 10 January 1259.⁵¹³ Documents show that at the time his activities consisted essentially of dealings (involving himself or his vassals) with local abbeys such as Aulne,⁵¹⁴ Bonne-Espérance,⁵¹⁵ or Hautmont.⁵¹⁶

The early 1260s started to bring change in the lord of Beaumont's political deeds. He was admittedly still treating affairs concerning his lands or his vassals with local abbeys, such as Vicoigne⁵¹⁷ or the priory of Aymeries,⁵¹⁸ but his action also started to take different forms, as when together with Giles 'Le Brun', constable of France, he arbitrated and settled a dispute between the chapter of the cathedral of Cambrai and the aldermen and citizens of that city on 29 June 1260.⁵¹⁹ Also, it appears that, in spite of the disappointment over Namur, Baldwin of Avesnes gradually gained the trust of his former foes: on 1 November 1261 he was mentioned first amongst the men of Margaret (the countess called him 'karissimus filius noster') in the settlement of a conflict involving the abbey of Aulne;⁵²⁰ during that period he

⁵⁰⁸ On 17 June Empress Mary of Brienne had ordered the castellan and garrison of Namur to pledge fidelity to Margaret (Duvivier, II, 523).

⁵⁰⁹ Henry probably had fought with the Avesnes against Charles of Anjou (Duvivier, I, 248 and II, 219). Gachet, 'Bauduin d'Avesnes', p. 268 also points out the kinship between the houses of Avesnes and Luxembourg.

⁵¹⁰ Pinchart, p. 58 and Jean Bertholet, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile du duché de Luxembourg et comté de Chiny*, 8 vols (Luxembourg: Chevalier, 1741-1743; repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1973), V, 103.

⁵¹¹ See the account of the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp. 232-33.

⁵¹² Duvivier, I, 316-17.

⁵¹³ Duvivier, II, 532.

⁵¹⁴ He agrees to the grant by Margaret and John of Avesnes of several privileges regarding Clermont in favour of the abbey (March 1258 or 1259: AE, Cartulaires, I, fol. 64').

⁵¹⁵ Margaret settles a conflict between Baldwin and the abbey of Bonne-Espérance on 17 July 1259 (R.D.F. Engelbertus Maghe, *Chronicum ecclesiae beatae Mariae Virginis Bonae -Spei Ordinis Praemonstratensis. Ex archivis eiusdem, et quibusdam auctoribus compositum* (s.l., 1704; repr. Brussels: Archives générales du royaume, 1999), pp. 198-99); in January 1260 the lord of Beaumont gives his windmill of Mainrieu to the same abbey (p. 197).

⁵¹⁶ In March 1259 he agrees to a donation by Walter of Beaussart to this abbey; Léopold Devillers, *Description analytique de cartulaires et de chartriers accompagné [sic] du texte de documents utiles à l'histoire du Hainaut*, 8 vols (Mons: Dequesne-Masquillier, 1865-78), III (1867), 197.

⁵¹⁷ Appendix, no. 12.

⁵¹⁸ Lille, Archives du Nord (ADN), 1 H 11/189 and Gerzaguet, p. 170.

⁵¹⁹ Appendix, no. 11.

⁵²⁰ Appendix, no. 13.

is also mentioned in the household accounts of the Flemish count;⁵²¹ he even arbitrated a conflict together with the countess and Nicholas, bishop of Cambrai, on 2 May 1262.⁵²²

In some way, this was a time of reconversion for the lord of Beaumont. Even his former enemy Count Theobald II of Bar was now calling him 'dearest' ('chier'). The document which includes this comment actually deals with debts that the countess of Flanders and Hainault owed to Theobald for his participation at the battle of Westkapelle.⁵²³ This friendly attitude thus comes as a surprise: Theobald was among the prisoners of the Avesnes following the Westkapelle defeat, and he seemed to feel rather bitter about his captivity.⁵²⁴ The count of Bar reportedly even lost an eye during the war against the Avesnes.⁵²⁵ In other words, he must have felt some resentment towards his old enemy. However, in the long term, it seems that he and Baldwin became sincerely reconciled.⁵²⁶

The best illustration of Baldwin of Avesnes' goodwill certainly is his role in the Flemish negotiations over the acquisition of the county of Namur. Following John of Avesnes' death, Richard of Cornwall had promised Margaret to give her Imperial Flanders and Western Zeeland, and on 20 April 1258 he had revoked the 1252 edict of Frankfurt;⁵²⁷ on 2 July 1262 he had received Guy of Dampierre's homage for these territories.⁵²⁸ The count of Flanders was thus in a more secure position regarding his imperial territories and transgressed the agreement made in November 1257 (see above) by purchasing the county of Namur from Emperor

⁵²¹ Between 23 June 1260 and 7 February 1261 (Ghent, Rijksarchief (RA), Gaillard, 1 membrane 1; Godfried Croenen has kindly provided his transcription of this document).

⁵²² Appendix, no. 14.

⁵²³ Appendix, no. 10.

⁵²⁴ At least if one believes the verses which he composed during his imprisonment: he mentions that he does not have 'joie, soulaz, ne ris' (v. 6), that he is 'loiez et pris / Entre les mainz mes morteus anemis' (vv. 19-20) and that 'De la prison ou je sui en doutance, / Ou chascun jor me vient de mal en pis, / - Toz jors I sui de la mort en baance' (vv. 23-25), Holgen Petersen Dyggve, 'Personnages historiques figurant dans la poésie lyrique française des XII^e et XIII^e siècles', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 46 (1945), 123-53 (pp. 151-52).

⁵²⁵ And Guy of Dampierre came out of it walking with a limp for the rest of his life. See Luykx, *Grafelijk geslacht*, p. 56 and *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Santi Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry R. Luard, 7 vols (Longmans: London, 1872-84), V, 437.

⁵²⁶ According to Baron Joseph B.M.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Froissart. Etude littéraire sur le XIV^{me} siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Durand, 1857), I, 5-6 'Dans ce même château de Beaumont, Baudouin d'Avesnes donnait l'hospitalité à Thibaud de Bar, qui composait des vers.' Nevertheless, there does not seem to be any evidence to support this claim.

⁵²⁷ Luykx, 'Strijd', p. 25.

⁵²⁸ Duvivier, II, 551-52. He had already received Margaret's in June 1260 (Duvivier, II, 545-46).

Baldwin of Courtenay in March 1263.⁵²⁹ Nonetheless, Count Henry V of Luxembourg was still occupying the city of Namur and had to be evicted. The count of Flanders first resorted to arms, but, soon thereafter, negotiations started.⁵³⁰

The lord of Beaumont seems to have played a key part in the negotiations in particular in a number of planned marriages.⁵³¹ Baldwin of Avesnes had had two children with his wife Felicity: Beatrix (d. 1320)⁵³² and John (d. 8 February 1284).⁵³³ Unfortunately, the lack of information does not allow to determine precisely the course of events, but it appears quite clearly that there were negotiations both for a marriage between Beatrix and Henry VI of Luxembourg and for a marriage between John and a daughter of Count Henry's (the latter never took place, while the former did). In both instances, documents explicitly state that the marriage agreements were made to settle the disputes between the count of Luxembourg on the one hand, and Baldwin of Avesnes and his kinsmen (Margaret is mentioned in the case of Beatrix), on the other.⁵³⁴ Strubbe and Voet place Beatrix's wedding in 1260-1261. If this is correct, the union would have served to reduce the tension with the count of Luxembourg before purchasing the county from Baldwin of Courtenay; if, on the contrary, the wedding took place after 1263, as de Waha suggests, it would mean that the negotiations with Henry V only started after the acquisition of the county. As for the attempt at marrying John of Avesnes to one of Henry V's daughter, it might have occurred before or after Beatrix's wedding. The latter case would not be that surprising, as double alliances were frequently used to reinforce bonds between two families. Peace was finally reached when the counts of Flanders and of Luxembourg

⁵²⁹ See Pinchart, pp. 58-59 and D.D. Brouwers, *L'Administration et les finances du comté de Namur du XIII^e au XV^e siècle. Sources. IV. Chartes et règlements*, 2 vols (Namur: Wesmael-Charlier, 1913-14), I (1913), 101-10.

⁵³⁰ Bertholet, V, 132 and Jean Bovesse, 'La Rupture du lien personnel entre les comtes de Flandre et de Namur à la fin du XIII^e siècle', in *Album J. Balon* (Namur: Godenne, 1968), pp. 191-213 (p. 193, note 1).

⁵³¹ Regarding marriages as a means used by princes to overpower their vassals see for instance Genicot, 'Noblesse et principautés', pp. 44-46.

⁵³² Strubbe and Voet, p. 380.

⁵³³ [Jean-Noël Paquot], *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, 18 vols (Louvain: Imprimerie académique, 1763-1770), XVI (1769), 353.

⁵³⁴ In both cases papal dispensations had to be granted because of kinship to the fourth degree: for John, see Jean Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urbain IV (1261-1264)*, 5 vols (Paris: Fontemoing, 1900-58), II, 345 and Camille Wampach, *Urkunden- und Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der altluxemburgischen Territorien bis zur burgundischen Zeit*, 11 vols (Luxembourg: St Paulus, 1935-55), III (1939), 484-85; for Beatrix, see *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum*, ed. G.H. Pertz and Karl Rodenberg, 3 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883-94), III (1894), 665.

agreed to the marriage of Guy of Dampierre and Isabella of Luxembourg in 1264; this union had allegedly been suggested by the lord of Beaumont.⁵³⁵ Gachet believes that Margaret gave the city of La Roche to Baldwin in 1265 as a reward for this success.⁵³⁶

The ties between Baldwin of Avesnes and the count of Luxembourg became strengthened as a result of this episode, and documents show them together on several other occasions during the second half of the 1260s: Baldwin was among the men of Margaret who had to adjudicate a dispute between the countess and Henry V on 24 September 1265;⁵³⁷ on 5 August 1266 Pope Clement IV converted a grant that Baldwin and Henry V had offered for the dispensation needed for their children's marriage into help for the Holy Land;⁵³⁸ Baldwin also appeared as witness when Renaud, lord of Han-sur-Lesse, handed over Spontin to the count of Luxembourg.⁵³⁹

Likewise, the relationship between Margaret and her son was now cordial: he defended her interests against the wrongdoings of the bailiff of Vermandois,⁵⁴⁰ he was also among her advisors in November 1269 for the terms of a donation to the abbey of Epinlieu and the house of Saint-Lazare.⁵⁴¹

Towards the end of the 1260s, the king of the Romans assigned an important diplomatic task to Baldwin of Avesnes: the latter intervened on behalf of Richard of Cornwall in the accession of John I to the ducal throne of Brabant. John had succeeded to his older brother Henry IV, who had resigned his ducal office because of mental disability. Baldwin of Avesnes was among the witnesses for the transferral of power on 24 May 1267,⁵⁴² and several official documents demonstrate that he and Nicholas III, bishop of Cambrai, were the official representatives of the emperor during the whole process.⁵⁴³ they received John's homage on his behalf (21 June

⁵³⁵ Bertholet, V, 132-33.

⁵³⁶ Gachet, 'Bauduin d'Avesnes' p. 269 and Appendix, no. 16. This gift is maybe not insignificant: Baldwin of Avesnes' grandfather, James of Avesnes, was the son of Matilda of La Roche, and he had attempted to obtain the county (at the time) of La Roche (de Waha, 'Marche' p. 114 and 'CHanBA', Chapter 47).

⁵³⁷ Appendix, no. 17.

⁵³⁸ *MGH Epistolae*, III, 665.

⁵³⁹ Appendix, no. 15.

⁵⁴⁰ As indicated by a decision of the Parlement de Paris dated 9 February 1266, *Les Olim ou registres des arrêts rendus par la cour du roi sous les règnes de Saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis le Hutin et de Philippe le long*, ed. by Beugnot, 3 vols in 4 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1839-48), I, 631.

⁵⁴¹ Appendix, no. 20.

⁵⁴² Appendix, no. 18.

⁵⁴³ See the letter addressed to them by Richard of Cornwall on 3 June 1267, Brussels, Archives générales du royaume (AGR), Chambres des Comptes, reg. 1, fols 7^v-8^r.

1267) and they sent out letters to his vassals (11 May 1268).⁵⁴⁴ Later that summer, the lord of Beaumont was present in Cambrai when Richard confirmed the privileges of the abbey of Saint-Ghislain.⁵⁴⁵ Three years later, on 12 December 1271, the king of the Romans granted Baldwin the advocacy of this abbey.⁵⁴⁶

During the 1270s Baldwin received other opportunities to showcase his diplomatic skills at both international and local levels. On 2 April 1270 he and the lord of Aspremont settled a dispute between Henry V of Luxembourg and Theobald II of Bar, following a request by the French king Louis IX.⁵⁴⁷ Baldwin of Avesnes must have been on good terms with both counts in order to be assigned such a task. This was further confirmed when Theobald II of Bar allied with Henry V's son against Frederick III of Lorraine: among other things he swore that he would be ready to attack anyone, except a specific number of named princes and nobles, among whom Baldwin of Avesnes is mentioned.⁵⁴⁸ Baldwin also arbitrated conflicts on a smaller scale: in July 1272 he resolved, together with the lord of Trazegnies, a dispute involving the abbey of Aulne.⁵⁴⁹

The lord of Beaumont now seemed fully integrated at the court of Flanders and lived harmoniously with his mother. With her and his half-brother Guy of Dampierre he provided at the beginning of the 1270s warrant letters to Henry V of Luxembourg for money that the latter was owed.⁵⁵⁰ On 22 June 1271 Margaret gave Baldwin the village of Raismes and part of the woods of Vicoigne near Valenciennes, the most important city of Hainault at the time.⁵⁵¹ Valenciennes seems to have been one of the lord of Beaumont's favourite cities and he had a house there (or several).⁵⁵² There are different mentions of festivities he held at the end of August 1273 on the outskirts of Valenciennes in the 'Prés Notre-Dame'.⁵⁵³ He also instituted

⁵⁴⁴ AGR, Chambres des Comptes, reg. 1, fols. 7^r-^v and 77^r.

⁵⁴⁵ Appendix, no. 19.

⁵⁴⁶ Reiffenberg, VIII, 453-54.

⁵⁴⁷ Appendix, no. 21.

⁵⁴⁸ Appendix, no. 22 and AGR, Chambres des Comptes, reg. 37, fol. 52^v.

⁵⁴⁹ Appendix, no. 25.

⁵⁵⁰ Various charters from May 1272 to August 1274: Appendix, nos. 24 and 26 and ADN, B 401/1768 and 1773.

⁵⁵¹ ADN, B 1208/1734.

⁵⁵² On 5 November 1271 he hosted in his house the aldermen of Valenciennes for an agreement regarding the hospital of Vilers-en-le-Cauchie (ADN, 65 H 80/445). Théodore Bernier, *Histoire de la ville de Beaumont* (Mons: Dequesnes-Masquillier, 1880; repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1982), p. 21 mentions that Baldwin had a residence called 'hôtel de Beaumont' in Valenciennes.

⁵⁵³ *Récits d'un bourgeois de Valenciennes (XIV^{ème} siècle)*, ed. by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (Louvain: Lefever, 1877; repr. Geneva: Mégaritot, 1979), p. 37. François Vinchant, *Annales de la province et comté du Hainaut, contenant les choses les plus remarquables advenues dans ceste*

a feast day with a market on Saint Mathew's day (21 September), possibly as early as 1263.⁵⁵⁴ Finally, Valenciennes was the burial place of Baldwin and his family (see below). During that period he is also mentioned on several occasions in the household accounts of the Flemish count.⁵⁵⁵

Many other indications show that a good relationship had grown not only between Baldwin and his mother but also between the lord of Beaumont and his half-brother Guy of Dampierre. In November 1273 Margaret wrote her testament and chose him as one of her executors.⁵⁵⁶ On 20 April 1274 he advised her together with Guy of Dampierre regarding the privileges of Nieuwpoort.⁵⁵⁷ In September 1275 he confirmed Margaret's donation of a fountain to the abbey of Vicoigne.⁵⁵⁸ In July 1278 he and Guy approved, as Margaret's vassals, a sale by Mary of Landast to the abbey of Marchiennes.⁵⁵⁹ In that same year he also promised to respect an agreement between Guy and the French King Philip III.⁵⁶⁰ Margaret also gave Baldwin the manor of La Wastinne, near Ypres.⁵⁶¹

Baldwin of Avesnes' diplomatic competence could therefore be put to use when the county of Flanders was in trouble; this was the case during the trade war between Flanders and England. In 1270, following King Henry III of England's failure to pay out a money fief he owed annually to Margaret, the countess seized all English belongings in Flanders. The English response was to arrest all Flemish merchants in England.⁵⁶² The conflict would only be settled with the treaty of Montreuil on 28 July 1274.⁵⁶³ This agreement followed Guy of Dampierre's request to meet recently-crowned King Edward I for negotiations in Montreuil. Upon his arrival, Edward was met by Guy of Dampierre, who had Baldwin of Avesnes read a

province, depuis l'entrée de Jules César, jusqu'à la mort de l'infante Isabelle, 6 vols (Brussels: Société des bibliophiles belges, 1848-53), II, 362.

⁵⁵⁴ Paquot, XVI, 352 mentions the creation of the market by Baldwin of Avesnes, whereas *Récits d'un bourgeois*, p. 37 states, without mentioning Baldwin, that 'En l'an 1263 commencha la feste de Valenciennes à le Saint-Mahieu'.

⁵⁵⁵ Jan Buntinx, *Het memoriaal van Jehan Makiel, klerk en ontvanger van Gwijde van Dampierre (1270-1275)* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1944), pp. 85-86 and 91-92.

⁵⁵⁶ ADN, B 445/1811.

⁵⁵⁷ ADN, B 1374/1825.

⁵⁵⁸ Cartulary of the abbey of Vicoigne, ADN, 59 H 96*, fol. 78^v.

⁵⁵⁹ ADN, 10 H 210/3443.

⁵⁶⁰ L.-A. Warnkönig, *Histoire de la Flandre et de ses institutions civiles et politiques, jusqu'à l'année 1305*, trans. and rev. by Albert Eugène Gheldolf (Brussels: Hayez; Paris: Vandale; Paris: Lacroix, 1835-64), III (Vandale, 1846), 350.

⁵⁶¹ ADN, B 1359/2700.

⁵⁶² See Nicholas, p. 177.

⁵⁶³ Regarding this treaty, see H. Berben, 'Het verdrag van Montreuil 1274. De Engelsch-Vlaamsche handelspolitiek 1266-1287', *RBPH*, 23 (1944), 89-126.

speech on his behalf in front of a large crowd.⁵⁶⁴ Touched by the humility of the count's discourse, the king was ready to find an agreement.⁵⁶⁵

The lord of Beaumont was probably the ideal man to deliver Guy's message, as he had ties with the English royal family: he had campaigned for the imperial election of Richard of Cornwall, King Henry III's brother, and his son John had married Agnes of Valence, daughter of William, Earl of Pembroke, half-brother of King Henry III.⁵⁶⁶ More than a familiar face Baldwin was also, to some extent, a symbol of reconciliation because of his own life. His commitment to Guy of Dampierre in this affair went beyond the negotiations of Montreuil-sur-Mer: following the treaty, debts had to be paid, and the lord of Beaumont was among the nobles who would be held as hostages in Montreuil-sur-Mer if the count of Flanders failed to pay what he owed to King Edward I.⁵⁶⁷ Guy of Dampierre took his time to reimburse the English king (the debt was finally settled in 1287) and Edward had to threaten him by several means, notably by summoning the hostages to Montreuil-sur-Mer on 28 November 1277 and again on 24 June 1285.⁵⁶⁸

Although Baldwin had grown very close to his former enemies, he was also in frequent contact with his nephew John II of Avesnes. On 13 December 1271 John confirmed several donations to the church of Vicoigne and asked Baldwin to seal the letter on his behalf because he did not have his own seal yet, and he made a similar request for the confirmation of a transaction with the church of Saint Aubert of Cambrai in August 1273.⁵⁶⁹ On 12 May 1272 the lord of Beaumont was among the witnesses when John pledged to respect the privileges of the church of Saint Waudru

⁵⁶⁴ ADN, B 505/1836.

⁵⁶⁵ Berben, pp. 98-99.

⁵⁶⁶ One can wonder whether this wedding took place in the context of the revolts of the barons led by Simon of Montfort against Henry III in the mid 1260s; for an account in the *CBA*, see 'CHAnBA', pp. 457-58 and 462-63 and Chapter 5, 3.3. William of Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was a partisan of the king in that struggle (Huw Ridgeway, 'William de Valence and his *Familiares*, 1247-1272', *Historical Research*, 65 (1992), 239-57 (p. 240)), just like the comital family of Flanders. John's marriage with Agnes of Valence might have been a way for Baldwin of Avesnes to reinforce the alliance with the English royal family, in similar fashion to what he did with the count of Luxembourg.

⁵⁶⁷ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Edward I. A.D. 1272-1281* (London: H.M.S.O., 1901), p. 187.

⁵⁶⁸ *Patent Rolls. 1272-1281*, p. 247. A response to this or a similar contemporary summoning was given by Baldwin and others from Alost on 26 May 1278: Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates; ab ingressu Gulielmi I in Angliam, A.D. 1066 ad nostra usque tempora*, 4 vols in 7 (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1816-69), I (1816), 555 and Rymer, *Foedera*, I, 659.

⁵⁶⁹ Respectively ADN, 59 H 97*, fol. 125^A-^B (Cartulary of the abbey of Vicoigne) and 36 H 157/2839.

in Mons.⁵⁷⁰ In March 1274 John confirmed Baldwin's appanage and possessions.⁵⁷¹ The lord of Beaumont thus had at the time cordial relations with his nephew and helped him with the local politics of Hainault. However, there might also have been some tensions between the two men: in 1272 Baldwin of Avesnes had sided with the Dampierres when they completed the acquisition of the county of Namur thanks to a financial agreement with Count Henry V of Luxembourg.⁵⁷²

Baldwin also continued to manage his own territories. On 16 April 1274 he exchanged a small portion of land with the abbey of Vicoigne and in October of the same year he granted an income to the house of the Temple at Valenciennes.⁵⁷³ The lord of Beaumont even expanded his territory by acquiring the allod of Aymeries from Gerard of Jauche.⁵⁷⁴ He might have been preparing the future, as his daughter Beatrix would inherit this domain after his death and become lady of Aymeries. Baldwin's awareness that he was nearing the end of his life became even more acute in the 1280s. Indeed, apart from the usual lot of transactions with the clergy,⁵⁷⁵ Baldwin, together with his wife Felicity, founded a hospital for the poor in Beaumont in January 1282. In April of the same year, Baldwin made a gift to the Beguines of Beaumont.⁵⁷⁶ Husband and wife also donated the pastures of the village of Cousolre to the abbey of Bonne-Espérance in 1280.⁵⁷⁷ Baldwin was, it seems, trying to save his soul. He allegedly made his last will and testament on 1 June 1283.⁵⁷⁸

Baldwin's anxiety about the future might have stemmed from the death of Margaret of Constantinople on 10 February 1280.⁵⁷⁹ This event marked an important

⁵⁷⁰ Vinchant, p. 361.

⁵⁷¹ Duvivier, II, 558-61.

⁵⁷² Duvivier, I, 312; Comte Joseph de Saint-Genois, *Monumens anciens*, 3 vols (Lille: Danel; Brussels: Weissenbruch; Paris: Saillant, 1782-1816; repr. Brussels: Archives Générales du Royaume, 1998), I, 636-37. The acquisition of Namur 'fut l'un des griefs les plus sérieux que Jean de Hainaut fit valoir plus tard contre son oncle Guy de Dampierre' (Duvivier, I, 318).

⁵⁷³ See respectively ADN, 59 H 96*, fol. 72^v and Léopold Devillers, *Inventaire analytique des archives des commanderies belges de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem ou de Malte* (Mons: Manceaux, 1876), pp. 37-38.

⁵⁷⁴ Appendix, no. 27.

⁵⁷⁵ With the churches of Saint-Géry (ADN, 11 G 17/123) and Saint-Jean (40 H 128/793) of Valenciennes in 1280-1281; with the abbey of Cambron on 24 September 1283 (Reiffenberg, II, 803-04); with the abbeys of Aulne (Devillers, *Description analytique*, V (1870), 23-24) and of Anchin (ADN, B 4045/2934) in the summer of 1288.

⁵⁷⁶ Bernier, pp. 165 and 217-18 and Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies. Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 2001), p. 264. Vinchant, III, 14 mistakes the foundation of the hospital for that of the beguinage of Valenciennes. The beguinage had been founded in 1281 (Simons, p. 256)

⁵⁷⁷ Gachet, 'Bauduin d'Avesnes', p. 272.

⁵⁷⁸ According to Bernier, p. 22.

⁵⁷⁹ Strubbe and Voet, p. 394.

step in the history of Flanders and Hainault, as the separate ruling of each county now took full effect. It also exacerbated existing tensions between Guy of Dampierre and John II of Avesnes. Following Margaret's death, John II held a position stronger than ever before: he was now count of Hainault, and he had the support of John of Enghien, bishop of Liège (since 1274), and Rudolph of Habsburg, king of the Romans (since 1273).⁵⁸⁰ This was the opportunity for him to challenge the possession of Imperial Flanders: on 6 November 1279 Rudolph granted him these territories.⁵⁸¹ Things changed when Bishop of Liège John of Enghien was succeeded in 1281 by none other than Guy of Dampierre's own son, John of Flanders. The latter even allegedly granted Hainault to his father in 1282!⁵⁸²

In this tense context Baldwin chose to support his half-brother rather than his nephew. Throughout the 1280s, the lord of Beaumont and Guy of Dampierre were very close and assisted each other on several occasions. Baldwin was taking part in the decisions made by the count. On 3 May 1280 he played the role of advocate in a sale involving the family of Cysoing confirmed by Guy.⁵⁸³ At the beginning of the 1280s he was among the advisors of the witnesses of a sale to the cathedral of Tournai confirmed by Guy.⁵⁸⁴ On 25 November 1286 he confirmed Guy's donation of Peteghem to Guy of Namur.⁵⁸⁵ On 11 April 1287 he confirmed that Guy had inherited Bailleul.⁵⁸⁶ On 18 May 1287 he gave a *vidimus* of Guy's request to his receiver to pay the canons of Valenciennes.⁵⁸⁷ And on 19 November 1287 he assisted the count of Flanders with reference to the conclusion of the investigation regarding a conflict between Hellin of Waziers and the city of Douai.⁵⁸⁸ Guy of Dampierre not only assigned important tasks to Baldwin, such as guarding the castle of Bouillon,⁵⁸⁹ he also granted him favours: in November 1283 he promised to leave the nomination to a vacant prebend in Andennes to Felicity of Coucy;⁵⁹⁰ on 29 September 1287 Baldwin asked him to seal warrant letters for money he had borrowed from the

⁵⁸⁰ The Enghien family was the most fervent supporter of the Avesnes in their struggle against the Dampierres (see Chapter 3, p. 132 and note 339).

⁵⁸¹ Margaret was then still alive but she had transmitted the rule of Flanders to her son Guy of Dampierre on 29 December 1278 (Duvivier, I, 319).

⁵⁸² Duvivier, I, 320.

⁵⁸³ Appendix, no. 29.

⁵⁸⁴ Appendix, no. 31.

⁵⁸⁵ Appendix, no. 34.

⁵⁸⁶ Appendix, no. 35.

⁵⁸⁷ ADN, 11 G 61/471.

⁵⁸⁸ Appendix, no. 37.

⁵⁸⁹ Appendix, no. 32 and Chapter 3 p. 124.

⁵⁹⁰ Brouwers, p. 194.

aldermen of Ypres.⁵⁹¹ All things considered, Baldwin of Avesnes had clearly chosen the party of his brother: on 25 May 1287 he led the list of Flemish nobles who had sealed the count of Flanders' protestation against the bishop of Tusculum, in which Guy of Dampierre claimed that, besides Imperial Flanders, Crèvecoeur, Arleux and Ostrevent had always been held by his ancestors, the counts of Flanders.⁵⁹²

Baldwin's clear choice to support Guy of Dampierre might explain the way a document regarding the lands of Beuvrages and Saint-Saulve dated 21 September 1281 (probably written by a lawyer or supporter of John II of Avesnes) portrays the lord of Beaumont and his son harassing the count of Hainault at inappropriate times during the day.⁵⁹³ Although there was certainly hostility between Baldwin of Avesnes and his elder nephew between 1280 and 1287, the lord of Beaumont still had cordial contacts with other members of the Avesnes family: in 1286 Florent of Hainaut (John II of Avesnes' brother) chose him as one of several warrantors for his testament;⁵⁹⁴ on 1 September 1282 he was warrantor of John of Audenarde, who had been condemned to prison by Guy of Dampierre.⁵⁹⁵

John of Dampierre, bishop of Liège, and Bouchard of Avesnes, bishop of Metz had been assigned the task of solving the conflict between Guy of Dampierre and John II of Avesnes in June 1284.⁵⁹⁶ In November 1287 Baldwin was among those who pledged that the count of Hainault would accept the arbitrators' future sentence.⁵⁹⁷ This might indicate that he was now on better terms with his nephew, but he certainly was as close to Guy of Dampierre as before: in January 1288 he was among the warrantors for the marriage of Beatrix of Dampierre to Hugh of Châtillon and on 31 August 1288 he received money from Guy for a fief he had acquired.⁵⁹⁸ At any rate, the lord of Beaumont undoubtedly became reconciled with the count of Hainault after the judges issued their sentence on 15 March 1288:⁵⁹⁹ on 10 April 1288 he and his nephew Bouchard, bishop of Metz, settled a dispute regarding

⁵⁹¹ Saint-Genois, *Monumens anciens*, I, 751.

⁵⁹² Appendix, no. 36. and Duyvievier I, 312 This claim was far from the truth: see above p. 159.

⁵⁹³ ADN, B 1241/2291.

⁵⁹⁴ *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299*, ed. by Jaap G. Kruisheer, 5 vols (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1970-2005), IV (1997), 535-39.

⁵⁹⁵ Appendix, no. 30. Baldwin of Avesnes and John of Audenarde were related: James of Avesnes was John's great-grandfather ('CHanBA', p. 429).

⁵⁹⁶ S.A. Waller Zeper, *Jan van Henegouwen, heer van Beaumont. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlanden in de eerste helft der veertiende eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1914), p. 2.

⁵⁹⁷ Appendix, no. 38.

⁵⁹⁸ Appendix, no. 39 and ADN, B 4045/2940.

⁵⁹⁹ Van Werveke, p. 318.

Blaregnies between John of Hainault and William of Avesnes, bishop of Cambrai (both were nephews of Baldwin);⁶⁰⁰ that same year he also intervened (with Fastré of Ligne) in a conflict between the count and the city of Valenciennes.⁶⁰¹

Baldwin then probably felt that death was approaching for he started selling his territories: on 2 September 1288 he ceded Beuvrages and Saint-Sauve to John II of Avesnes, who paid him on 6 December by providing him (and his wife) a pension assigned on the incomes from Pont-sur-Sambre, Quarte, Pantegnies and other territories.⁶⁰² In similar fashion he sold La Wastinne and Dunkirk to Guy of Dampierre on 7 November 1288 in exchange for an income for him and his wife.⁶⁰³ The lord of Beaumont died on 10 April 1289.⁶⁰⁴ He was buried in the church of the Cordeliers (the Dominicans) in Valenciennes.⁶⁰⁵

Even after his death, the lord of Beaumont seemed to be a moderator whose memory could partly soothe ill-feelings between the Avesnes and Dampierre: it is probably not insignificant that when, in a context of renewed hostility, the count of Flanders sent messengers to the count of Hainault in June 1292, the latter received them 'apud Montes in Hanoye, in gardino nobilis mulieris domine Felicite relicte domini Balduini de Avesnis, quondam domini de Bellomonte'.⁶⁰⁶ One of the few recurring original features of the *CBA* is its emphasis on the action of the 'preudomes', who often are the ones who find a way to reach peace;⁶⁰⁷ Baldwin of Avesnes perhaps viewed himself as one of them. The lord of Beaumont was second

⁶⁰⁰ Dom Edmond Martène and Dom Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols (Paris: Delaulne and others, 1717; repr. New York: Franklin, 1968), I, column 1231.

⁶⁰¹ Vinchant, III, 23.

⁶⁰² Saint-Genois, *Monumens anciens*, I, 764 and ADN B 1208/2988.

⁶⁰³ ADN, B 1316/2976. After Baldwin's death, Felicity still received this income (ADN, B 1316/3072).

⁶⁰⁴ 10 April is mentioned in the necrologium of the church of Saint Waudru in Mons (Wilhelm Arndt, 'Ex necrologio Sanctae Waldetrudis', *MGH SS*, XXI, 618-19), whereas on 12 June 1289, John II of Avesnes confirmed that he had been paid by the count of Flanders a sum of 1,700 pounds which Baldwin had left him in his last will and testament (ADN, B 4046/3055, see also RA, Saint-Genois, 511). Ellen E. Kittell, *From Ad Hoc to Routine. A Case Study in Medieval Bureaucracy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 100, note 36 claims that Baldwin was still alive on 22 July 1290 (based on ADN, B 4048/3176) but she actually mistook Baldwin of Dampierre, son of Guy, for Baldwin of Avesnes. I am grateful to Michel Vangheluwe of the ADN for checking the text of this charter.

⁶⁰⁵ Paquot, pp. 351-52.

⁶⁰⁶ ADN, B 235/3362.

⁶⁰⁷ 'Là fut li rois et mout d'autres preudommes qui tratièrent de la pais' (*Istore*, II, 556) 'Preudommes se meslèrent de la pais' (II, 559), 'preudomme se meslèrent de la pais' (II, 564) 'li preudome [...] se meslèrent tant de la pais qu'elle fut faite' (II, 629; and other similar occurrences: II, 652, 663, 669, 676 and 688).

only to the counts;⁶⁰⁸ he was among their prominent advisors and in a position to mediate their conflicts.

2.3. Sponsoring the CBA: An Individual Innovation or the Product of a Collective Trend?

If one believes Enguerrand IV of Coucy, Baldwin of Avesnes 'fut ly ungs des plus saiges chevaliers de sens naturel qui fut en son temps'.⁶⁰⁹ There is probably some truth in that statement given the lord of Beaumont's negotiating skills and family history: his grandfather James of Avesnes seems to have cared about education, for he granted advantages to the abbey of Hautmont on the condition that the monks provide a competent grammar teacher for their pupils;⁶¹⁰ his father Bouchard had even lived as a cleric and therefore must have been a *litteratus*.

Baldwin was thus probably well educated, but this cannot account entirely for his interest in the past. There was a long-standing historiographical tradition in Flanders and Hainaut to which the CBA certainly owes a great deal. One can think of the numerous works produced in the monasteries of the counties (with whom Baldwin of Avesnes had frequent dealings),⁶¹¹ for instance at the Benedictine abbey of Anchin where, in the second half of the twelfth century, Sigebert of Gembloux' universal chronicle was continued, Andrew of Marchiennes wrote his *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum*, and several genealogies, notably of the counts of Flanders and Hainaut, were composed.⁶¹² Similar historical interests were manifest at the court of Hainaut: Count Baldwin V's chancellor, Gilbert, wrote the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, a work filled with genealogies and which

⁶⁰⁸ All documents show that he is never mentioned after any other lords of lower rank than that of count. The lord of Beaumont even had the right to mint coins. See Rénier Chalon, *Recherches sur les monnaies des comtes de Hainaut* (Brussels: Librairie scientifique et littéraire, 1848, pp. 131-36).

⁶⁰⁹ *Livre du lignage de Coucy*, Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1158 (olim 672), fol. 73^r.

⁶¹⁰ Jacques Prévot, *Le Grand Hautmont. L'abbaye de sa fondation à la Révolution: son domaine et son rayonnement...* (Avesnes-sur-Helpe: Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Arrondissement d'Avesnes, 1974), pp. 29-30.

⁶¹¹ See Small, p. 272, n. 5.

⁶¹² Mireille Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle de Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)* (Paris: Champion, 1999), pp. 328-31; Karl-Ferdinand Werner, 'Andreas von Marchiennes und die Geschichtsschreibung von Anchin und Marchiennes in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 9 (1952), 402-63; O. Holder-Egger, 'Genealogiae Aquicinctinae', in *MGH SS*, XIV (1883), 619-22.

the *CBA* translated at length; the same count allegedly sent clerks to libraries throughout France to search for the 'veraie ystoire' of Charlemagne.⁶¹³ The text which they brought back was the very popular *Pseudo-Turpin*, of which several translations were made in Northern France at the beginning of the thirteenth century (including one for Count Baldwin V's sister, Yolanda of Saint-Pol). The nobles who commissioned these works knew each other; this suggests that there must have been some sort of competition or emulation among them. These translations marked the beginning of French prose, a form which warranted truth and thus had special ties with historiography.⁶¹⁴ Other historiographical works in prose linked to Flanders and Hainault would follow: one can think of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*,⁶¹⁵ written for Roger IV, castellan of Lille, or the *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* by Henry of Valenciennes.⁶¹⁶ The *Chronique rimée* by Philip Mousket is a prime example of the diversity and popularity of historiography at the time in those regions: its author was a burgher from Tournai apparently writing for himself.

Baldwin of Avesnes might also have been influenced by the numerous cases of literary patronage he could witness in his direct entourage, some of which involved history- or chronicle-writing. At the time when the lord of Beaumont was frequenting the court of Flanders, the literary activity was fairly intense:⁶¹⁷ Baldwin of Condé was writing his *dits* under Countess Margaret's sponsorship; Guy of Dampierre often hosted minstrels and had several permanent ones, including the famous Adenet le Roi.⁶¹⁸ The latter was also sponsored by the ducal family of Brabant. At first sight there is no evidence of historiographical activity at the court of Flanders; nevertheless, an inventory drawn up after Guy of Dampierre's death in

⁶¹³ Quoted by Spiegel, *Romancing*, p. 55.

⁶¹⁴ See Chapter 1, 1 and Spiegel, *Romancing*. For details regarding the commissions of the translations, see Spiegel, *Romancing*, pp. 70-72.

⁶¹⁵ *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (Estoires Rogier)*, ed. by Marijke de Visser-van Terwisga, 2 vols (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995-99).

⁶¹⁶ See Small, 275-78.

⁶¹⁷ See for instance Mary D. Stanger, 'Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders', *French Studies*, 11 (1957), 214-29 (pp. 221-27); Colette-Anne Van Coolput-Storms, 'Walsche boucken voor het hof', in *Medioneerlandistiek. Een inleiding tot de Middelnederlandse letterkunde*, ed. by Ria Jansen-Sieben, Jozef Janssens and Frank Willaert (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), pp. 39-52; Olivier Collet, 'Littérature, histoire, pouvoir et mécénat: la cour de Flandre au XIII^e siècle', *Médiévales*, 38 (2000), 87-110 (pp. 103-05).

⁶¹⁸ Regarding the presence of minstrels at the court of Flanders, see Albert Henry, *Les Œuvres d'Adenet le Roi 1. Biographie d'Adenet; la tradition manuscrite* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1951), pp. 65-78.

1305 shows that he owned a book called *Cronikes de Flandres*.⁶¹⁹ One could also mention BnF, MS fr. 12203, a Flemish manuscript probably made in the 1280s which, besides three crusade-related texts (Villehardouin and Henri de Valenciennes' works; the *Estoires d'Outremer*) and the anonymous of Béthune's *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, contains a French translation of version B of the *Flandria generosa*.⁶²⁰ This sort of text collection illustrates nicely the diversity of Flemish historical culture at the time. The *CBA*, which draws upon the same type of texts, fits neatly into such a literary context. The court of Brabant also actively sponsored literature and was seemingly conscious of its past and of the political utility of history:⁶²¹ for the wedding of his daughter Beatrix, Duke Henry II displayed relics brought back by Godfrey of Bouillon from the Holy Land;⁶²² the dukes, like the counts of Flanders, claimed Carolingian ascendance;⁶²³ the *Slag bij Woeringen*, a chronicle in Dutch by Jan van Heelu which celebrated Duke John I's victory in the succession war for Limbourg, was a means of preparing the ground for a request of financial support from the Brabantine people.⁶²⁴

The lord of Beaumont's non-princely entourage also displayed numerous cases of literary patronage: his wife, Felicity of Coucy, came from a family which can be linked to works of the Old French crusade cycle;⁶²⁵ his sister-in-law, Aleyde of Holland, had commissioned the *Alexanders geesten* from Jacob van Maerlant;⁶²⁶ important noblemen from families which were part of Baldwin of Avesnes'

⁶¹⁹ *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, III (1999), 19. The work might have been in Latin, as several other books in the inventory are described as 'romans' (i.e. written in French).

⁶²⁰ Jean-Marie Moeglin, 'Une première histoire nationale flamande. L'ancienne chronique de Flandre (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)', in *Liber largitorius: études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*, ed. by Dominique Barthélemy and Jean-Marie Martin (Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 455-76 (pp. 471-74) links the manuscript to the comital court. However, there is also a strong connection with the house of Béthune (and with England) which, at the time, was ruled by Robert VII, son of Guy of Dampierre (see Kathy Krause, 'The Textual and Manuscript Contexts of the *Fille du comte de Ponthieu*', *Romance Philology*, 59 (2006), 323-42 (pp. 335-37)). Although Moeglin views the French translation of the *Flandria generosa B* as a comital initiative, little is actually known regarding its origins. In any case it testifies to an interest for history in Flanders at the time.

⁶²¹ For literary patronage at the court of Brabant during Baldwin of Avesnes' life, see Sleiderink, pp. 37-97.

⁶²² Luyckx, *Grafelijk geslacht*, p. 39.

⁶²³ See Chapter 3, 2.2.1.

⁶²⁴ De Ridder, pp. 90-91 and Sleiderink, 93.

⁶²⁵ In particular *La Conquête de Jérusalem* (Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, *Le Cycle de la Croisade* (Paris: Champion, 1955), pp. 39-44).

⁶²⁶ Frits van Oostrom, *Maerlants wereld* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996), pp. 120-21.

entourage, such as Arnold IV of Audenarde and possibly Eustache IV of Le Rœulx, also had dealings with minstrels.⁶²⁷

If, in terms of literary patronage, one considers solely vernacular historiography, it is striking to note that the *CBA* was written at a time when several dynastic or universal chronicles sponsored by princes were composed. Over a span of a little more than fifteen years appeared: the *Roman aux Roys*, i.e. the first draft of what would later be called the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, which Primat of Saint-Denis offered to French King Philip III in 1274, after an original commission by Louis IX around 1250;⁶²⁸ redactions A (1278-1281) and B (1281-1284) of the *CBA*;⁶²⁹ the first version of the *Rijmkroniek van Holland* written for Count Florent V in 1280-1282;⁶³⁰ BnF, MS fr. 12203 (see above); Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*, a Dutch translation of the *Speculum historiale* made for Florent V of Holland between 1283 and 1288; and the *Rymkroniek van de Slag bij Woeringen*, written by Jan van Heelu around 1290, probably following the duke of Brabant's commission. Was this a spontaneous burst of interest for history-writing? Or was it rather the result of a newly found trend in noble circles which led to an emulation phenomenon similar to that witnessed at the beginning of the thirteenth century with the *Pseudo-Turpin* translations? This should be kept in mind when looking at the *CBA* and its potential links with contemporary historiographical production.

The *Roman aux roys*' possible influence on the *CBA* is an intriguing question. The *CBA* does not seem to have borrowed directly from the *Roman*, but the latter may have helped inspire Baldwin of Avesnes to commission the *CBA*. The two works undeniably share affinities such as their 'objective tone', their genealogical concerns,⁶³¹ and also a similar corpus of sources. What is more, the *CBA* uses several texts written at the abbey of Saint-Denis: its author borrowed from Rigord (also used in the *Roman*), Guillaume le Breton and Primat's lost chronicle. The recourse to the latter text is especially surprising: it must have been finished in the second half of

⁶²⁷ Thomas Hérier dedicates one of his songs to a 'sire dou Rués' (Holger Petersen Dyggve, 'Personnages historiques figurant dans la poésie lyrique française des XII^e et XIII^e siècles', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 44 (1943), 55-97 (pp. 59-60); for Arnold of Audenarde see Stanger, p. 220.

⁶²⁸ Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques'.

⁶²⁹ And, in all likelihood, redaction A*.

⁶³⁰ Burgers, *Rijmkroniek*.

⁶³¹ The *Roman aux roys* aims to tell 'la genealogie des rois de France' (Guenée, 'Grandes chroniques', p. 742).

1278 (it ends with Pierre de la Broce's hanging, which took place on 30 June),⁶³² barely two or three years before it was incorporated into the *CBA*. How did the compiler come into possession of a copy of such a recent work, written in a region not that close to his patron's?⁶³³ The question of Baldwin of Avesnes' involvement in acquiring sources seems once again relevant.⁶³⁴

Baldwin of Avesnes' frequent presence at the court of Flanders meant that on several occasions he joined the count on his travels.⁶³⁵ He certainly accompanied him more than once to Paris, one of his regular destinations. That was the case in November 1273, i.e. shortly before Primat offered his *Roman aux roys* to Philip III.⁶³⁶ Could Baldwin have become aware of this ambitious project during this visit? Did he borrow some Dionysian works on a subsequent visit at the end of the 1270s? His wife Felicity of Coucy also came from a family which had strong Capetian ties.

The lord of Beaumont could also have had another interesting connection with the French court through his ties with Brabant: Duke John I had been married to Margaret of France for a short time (1270-71) and, above all, his sister Mary became queen of France in 1274 (i.e. the year of the presentation of the *Roman aux roys*). After that date, Brabantine influence at the French court only kept growing and John I joined King Philip III in many of his battles.⁶³⁷ Baldwin of Avesnes was probably close to the duke, to whom he had granted the investiture of the duchy on behalf of the king of the Romans when John was just sixteen years old (see above). Their bond is confirmed on a literary level, as a section on John's ancestors (based on a Latin genealogy made in Brabant) was included in the last redaction of the *CBA* (Chapter 3, 2.2.1). Baldwin's presence at the court of Flanders certainly reinforced his relationship with the Brabantine ducal family: the two princely houses were linked

⁶³² William C. Jordan, 'The Struggle for Influence at the Court of Philip III: Pierre de la Broce and the French Aristocracy', *French Historical Studies*, 24 (2001), 439-68 (p. 457).

⁶³³ The use of Rigord's work is also surprising because it was not disseminated outside Saint-Denis; see Elisabeth Carpentier, 'Les Historiens royaux et le pouvoir capétien: d'Helgaud de Fleury à Guillaume le Breton', in *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. by Genet, pp. 129-39 (p. 138).

⁶³⁴ For other examples see Chapter 3.

⁶³⁵ For the court as an itinerant entity, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270-1380* (Oxford: University Press, 2001), pp. 136-62.

⁶³⁶ RA, Gaillard 17. Baldwin of Avesnes joined the comital court in Crèvecœur on 25 November (excerpt published in Henry, p. 67) and is mentioned in the count's household accounts until the arrival in Paris on 30 November. On 5 December, he was still in Paris, as he ate there together with Count Guy (the document offers several other instances of the lord of Beaumont eating with the comital family: this confirms that he now had strong ties with his half-brother).

⁶³⁷ Jordan, 'Struggle', pp. 451-52 and Serge Boffa, 'Les Soutiens militaires de Jean Ier, duc de Brabant, à Philippe III, roi de France, durant les expéditions ibériques (1276-1285)', *Revue du Nord*, 78 (1996), 7-29.

through marital alliances (William of Dampierre and Beatrix of Brabant in 1248; Duke John I and Margaret of Flanders in 1273) and had important literary relations.⁶³⁸ What is more, Count Guy of Dampierre was on excellent terms with King Philip III. All this favoured cultural interaction between France, Brabant and Flanders. The minstrel Adenêt le Roi, who had worked at the court of Brabant under Duke Henry III and, after the latter's death (1261), at the Flemish court of Guy of Dampierre, returned to the service of the ducal family of Brabant, chiefly of Mary, whose reputation had been somewhat tarnished following the death of Louis, heir to the crown of France, born from Philip III's first marriage.⁶³⁹ Adenêt and Baldwin of Avesnes are both mentioned in the household of Guy of Dampierre when the latter traveled to the Parisian court at the end of 1273.⁶⁴⁰ Could Adenêt have served as an intermediary to bring back copies of the Dionysian texts used in the *CBA*?⁶⁴¹

The Brabantine connection is all the more interesting when considering the content of the *CBA*: the final chapter concerns Pierre de la Broce, a chamberlain who had great influence upon King Philip III and who was not seen in a favourable light by other barons (especially the entourage of the duke of Brabant).⁶⁴² In a seemingly unbiased tone, the *CBA* describes Pierre's rise to power at the French court and then explains how the chamberlain, jealous of the king's love for the queen, had claimed that she had poisoned the heir to the throne, her stepson Louis. The king instigated several investigations and 'a daerrains trouva li rois tout en menchoigne, et que Pieres l'avoit fait par desloiaute.' Pierre is put in jail and, following the request of the 'amis la roine', is hanged. The *CBA*'s account contrasts slightly with the other translation (by Jean de Vignay) of Primat's lost chronicle,⁶⁴³ which mentions several rumoured causes for Pierre's condemnation, stating that the likeliest one was Pierre's blaming the queen for Louis' death because of the way things ended:

⁶³⁸ See Sleiderink, p. 80 for the circulation of minstrels between the two courts.

⁶³⁹ Sleiderink, pp. 76-78.

⁶⁴⁰ See note 636.

⁶⁴¹ The latter idea and the suggestion of Mary de Brabant as a facilitator for the use of the lost Latin chronicle of Primat in the *CBA* stems from a fruitful conversation with Kathy Krause, whom I would like to thank here.

⁶⁴² 'CHAnBA', pp. 466-67. For a historical perspective on the events surrounding Pierre de la Broce see Sleiderink, pp. 76-77 and Jordan, 'Struggle' pp. 452-58.

⁶⁴³ 'Chronique de Primat traduite par Jean du Vignay', in *RHGF*, XXIII (Paris: Welter, 1894), pp. 1-106 (pp. 99-100). On this work see most recently David A. Trotter, 'Jean de Vignay, traducteur et écrivain à part entière?', in *Le Moyen Français. Le traitement du texte (édition, appareil critique, glossaire, traitement électronique)*, ed. by Claude Buridant (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 2000), pp. 209-21.

[...] car le duc de Breiban, frère de la royne, le duc de Bourgogne, le conte d'Artois, le conte de Flandres et les greigneurs d'iceli parenté, emploient de clameurs les oreilles du roy, et li requeroient que pour demoustrer que la royne estoit innocente, et pour vengier ycelle, il leur baillast Pierres de la Broce à faire en justice. ('Chronique de Primat', p. 100)

The *CBA* focuses on the false accusation made by Pierre de la Broce (rather than on the intervention of the queen's entourage) and proves the innocence of the queen by mentioning royal investigations. It aimed to give an account which, by its apparent objectivity, would dispel any suspicion surrounding the queen.

Mary of Brabant was probably aware of the need to brush up her image following the death of Pierre de la Broce: it seems that Adenêt le Roi's *Berte aus grans piés* can be read in the light of these events.⁶⁴⁴ The access of the author of the *CBA* to several Dionysian texts, including one fresh from the scriptorium, might have been the result of a friendly exchange between Baldwin of Avesnes and Mary of Brabant: the former received recent texts allowing his compiler to complete the chronicle while the latter was given an opportunity to exhibit a subtly favourable depiction of herself and of the house of Brabant in an ambitious historiographical project. The incorporation, at the stage of redaction B, of a genealogy linking the dukes of Brabant to the Carolingians should also be considered within that context.⁶⁴⁵ Godfrey of Brabant, who accompanied his brother Duke John I in his military expeditions, was like his sister Mary, a sponsor of Adenêt le Roi.⁶⁴⁶ He was equally very present at the court of France, having married the French noblewoman Joan of Vierzon.⁶⁴⁷ This thus qualifies him as another possible Brabantine intermediary in the access of the compiler of the *CBA* to Dionysian texts.⁶⁴⁸ Several members of the house of Brabant may thus have taken an interest in the chronicle sponsored by Baldwin of Avesnes and influenced its content selection. The Brabantine genealogies added in B were certainly not the only aspects of the *CBA* that might have appealed the ducal family: Duke John I had vowed to take the cross with King Philip III in

⁶⁴⁴ Sleiderink, pp. 77-78.

⁶⁴⁵ No elements indicate that this genealogy was part of the initial project, as Chapter 47 does not mention the house of Brabant. This could therefore well have been an unexpected addition meant as a grateful gesture because of help in accessing certain texts.

⁶⁴⁶ Sleiderink, pp. 78-80.

⁶⁴⁷ Regarding Godfrey see Boffa, pp. 28-29 and Alphonse Wauters, 'Godefroid de Brabant', *Biographie nationale*, 7 (1883), 865-75.

⁶⁴⁸ I am very grateful to Godfried Croenen for suggesting this possibility. With the exception of the documents involving Duke John I's investiture though there is no evidence of direct relations between Baldwin of Avesnes and Godfrey of Brabant.

1274 and the *CBA* included extensive accounts of the crusades which must have interested him.⁶⁴⁹

One might wonder about the role of the family of Brabant in the dissemination of the *Roman aux roys*,⁶⁵⁰ and, more specifically, whether the lord of Beaumont's idea of sponsoring a similar work (a bookish chronicle in Old French with a sober narrative tone) might have stemmed from intellectual exchanges with Mary and/or Godfrey and the French court and from the knowledge of the *Roman*. Indeed one should not forget that 'communication on the level of patron to patron may have been more common than between authors, few of whom had the means to establish a personal library or corpus of manuscripts.'⁶⁵¹

The *CBA* itself might have served as a source of inspiration, namely for the *Spiegel historiael*, a universal chronicle in Dutch sponsored by Count Florent V of Holland. Frits van Oostrom has pointed to a number of common characteristics between the two works: the use of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, the inclusion of several genealogies and of a section on Seneca taken from the *Speculum historiale* (Van Oostrom, p. 367). To these one may add the following: both works can be viewed as a lay version of the *Speculum historiale* with added recourse to other sources, notably for Roman history, English history, the crusades and the history of local saints and princes (pp. 312-15); they both treat subject matters such as Arthurian history following authoritative historiographical sources, neglecting the popular romances enjoyed by the public (p. 317); Carolingian ancestry is one of their concerns,⁶⁵² and so is Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestry (p. 348); they correct the chronological order of the *Speculum historiale*; they use similar complementary sources, such as Darès' *De Excidio Troiae* or Jordanes' *Historia Gothorum* (pp. 344 and 353); they both underline the history of the crusades by placing it at the start of a new division in their works (p. 354).⁶⁵³

Van Oostrom is certainly right to suggest that a more thorough comparison between the two texts could produce fruitful results. The scholar speculates in an interesting way on how Adelaide of Holland, John I of Avesnes' widow, might have

⁶⁴⁹ Boffa, p. 19.

⁶⁵⁰ There is a Brabantine manuscript among its earlier copies (Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 745). Mary of Brabant's patronage of courtly literature at the court of France has often been underlined (Collet, 101-02); could she also have had interest in vernacular historiography?

⁶⁵¹ Sayers, p. 150.

⁶⁵² This is also the case in the *Rijmkroniek* (Van Oostrom, p. 335).

⁶⁵³ This is the case with the early A redaction copies of the *CBA*: the third book starts in the 1090s with Peter the Hermit.

been involved in the *Spiegel historiael* project. She had returned to Holland upon her husband's death where she would act as regent while educating her children and the future Florent V. In 1278 Count Florent V expelled the Avesnes (notably Florent of Avesnes, who had managed to acquire a prominent position in Holland) from his court.⁶⁵⁴ They would return to Holland in 1281. In other words, the Avesnes were in Hainault right at the time when redaction A of the *CBA* was being completed. And only after their return to Holland did Count Florent commission the Dutch translation of the *Speculum historiale* from Jacob van Maerlant.⁶⁵⁵

Another Middle Dutch chronicle was probably influenced by the *CBA*: the *Rijmkroniek van Holland*. The 1305 revision and continuation of the work by comital clerk Melis Stoke most likely used redaction B of the *CBA* as a source for a passage on the battle of Westkapelle (Chapter 1, 4.), but Burgers suggests that the first (anonymous) version of the *Rijmkroniek*, ca. 1280-82, could have drawn inspiration from the *CBA*.⁶⁵⁶ As in the case with the *Spiegel historiael*, one is indeed struck by the number of common or similar sources between the two works: the *Rijmkroniek* exploits narrative matter from Orosius and Paul the Deacon (also present in the *CBA* through the use of Landulf Sagax' *Historia romana*), from Sigebert of Gembloux' chronicle, from version B of the *Flandria generosa* and the *Genealogia ducum Brabantie ampliata* (the same versions used in the *CBA*) and from the *Speculum historiale*.⁶⁵⁷ Here again further investigation might yield interesting results.

The *CBA* is not an isolated occurrence. It takes root in the tradition of history-writing and literary patronage in the medieval Low Countries. It is the product of a noble culture which shared common values and interests (beyond national idiosyncrasies).⁶⁵⁸ Baldwin of Avesnes' project must be viewed in a context of intellectual interaction and emulation between noble elites for whom vernacular historiography had particular value: works like the *CBA* both drew inspiration from existing enterprises and stimulated the creation of new ones.

⁶⁵⁴ Cordfunke, p. 31.

⁶⁵⁵ Van Oostrom, p. 367.

⁶⁵⁶ Burgers, *Rijmkroniek*, p. 275 seems more confident regarding the influence of the *Grandes chroniques* (or *Roman aux roys*) on the *Rijmkroniek*, but one should not forget that French (and Norman) history in the *CBA* is based on a similar corpus of sources as that used by the *Grandes chroniques*.

⁶⁵⁷ On the sources see Burgers, *Rijmkroniek*, pp. 164-91.

⁶⁵⁸ Vale, p. 2.

3. *The Compiler of the CBA: An Identikit*

The three identified versions of the *CBA* can be attributed to the same author: redactions A and B are linked by the compiler's promise (unfulfilled in redaction A) to delineate the Avesnes' genealogy (Chapter 3, 2.3). Redaction A* can also be ascribed to the same author: stylistic and formulaic traits of the divergent chapters on the history of England (unique to A*) are found elsewhere in the *CBA*. What is more, redactions A* and A share several sources in common, including very local ones, such as the *Chronicon Hanoniense* and the *Chronique rimée*.

The length of the *CBA* (three volumes for an approximate total of 700 to 800 folios depending on the layout and writing) suggests that its compiler had a lot of time on his hands,⁶⁵⁹ had a steady source of income and was not looking to obtain an ecclesiastical benefit or the like thanks to his compilation. He already was in a comfortable position.⁶⁶⁰

The historical culture of the compiler of the *CBA* is impressive: he uses a wide range of sources both in Old French and Latin.⁶⁶¹ This means that he had access to a good library. The use of texts in Old French spared him the task of translating and, maybe more importantly, of adapting his sources for the public. Nevertheless, this might simply have been a question of availability. Also, the role of the patron in the acquisition of sources, as discussed above, prevents one from reading too much into the use of one text or the other. Several sources of the *CBA* suggest, however, that the compiler had been educated as a cleric: he is familiar with, and resorts to, the common corpus of historiographical works known among clerics.⁶⁶² Evidence suggests that he was careful reader, as he occasionally corrected the information he found in his sources thanks to his other readings or his own judgment.⁶⁶³ One can even wonder if he received training in customary law: some of the terms he uses in his account of the succession to the county of Boulogne might suggest so ('CHanBA', p. 452) and his interest in the inquest on Count of Flanders Charles the Good's death is also an indication ('CHanBA', pp. 441-43).⁶⁶⁴ The evidence is too

⁶⁵⁹ Like Jacob, sexton of Maerlant (Van Oostrom, pp. 102-03).

⁶⁶⁰ Sleiderink, p. 160.

⁶⁶¹ Small, pp. 278-79 and Chapter 1, 2.2.

⁶⁶² Regarding this corpus see Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 301-06.

⁶⁶³ See p. 70, n. 196.

⁶⁶⁴ See also Walterus Tervanensis, pp. 201-09 and Murray.

scarce, however, to affirm that he was an employee of a comital chancery and, with the possible exception of the inquest on Charles the Good's death, he does not seem to have used original chancery documents.

The comparison between the text and its sources also highlights interesting elements. The treatment of the account of the Dominican and Franciscan missions sent to the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century (based on the *Speculum historiale*) indicates that the compiler probably disliked Dominicans.⁶⁶⁵ This aversion to the Dominicans was probably frequent at the time among the secular clergy and, more specifically, among clerics working in a courtly environment, where the Dominicans were highly favoured and often used as confessors.⁶⁶⁶ A work such as the *Couronnement de Renart*, written under Guy of Dampierre's rule, illustrates well the existing hostility towards mendicant orders.

Several elements also enable us to gauge the geographical knowledge of the compiler. He is unable to translate several toponyms, for which he leaves the statement 'que on claime en latin', including Dodewaard and Dalen (in Holland) and, more surprisingly, Anvaing (near Tournai).⁶⁶⁷ On the other hand, he seems to know Ostrevent.⁶⁶⁸ More intriguing are several original additions or modifications in connection with the region of Saint-Omer: he adds the church of Saint Peter in Aire-sur-la-Lys among Baldwin V of Flanders' religious foundations (*Istore*, II, 560);⁶⁶⁹ Aire-sur-la-Lys and Saint-Omer are repeatedly mentioned in some original additions linked to the disputes between the count of Flanders and King Philip August of France, as we will see in Chapter 5; the genealogy of the Saint-Omer branch of the

⁶⁶⁵ There seems to have been an attempt to diminish Dominican prestige notably by replacing dates involving saints important to the order of the friars preachers (Saint Dominic, Saint James) by dates involving others (Saint Peter, Saint Christopher), by removing all mentions of Simon of Saint-Quentin (author of the account on the Dominican mission) and by emphasising the diplomatic mistakes which resulted in the failure of the mission (the compiler even turns the more tactful friar Guichard of Cremona into a Franciscan). All these changes can safely be attributed to the compiler's personal mindset: Baldwin of Avesnes was buried in a Dominican institution.

⁶⁶⁶ The Dominican order was favoured by both Joan and Margaret of Constantinople, see Erin Lynn Jordan, "For the Safety of My Soul": The Religious Patronage of Jeanne and Marguerite of Constantinople, Sisters and Successive Countesses of Flanders and Hainaut, 1206-1280' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 2000), pp. 317, 330-31 and 431.

⁶⁶⁷ *Istore*, II, 572-73.

⁶⁶⁸ Where Gilbert of Mons says 'firmitatem [...] prope Duacum, [...] scilicet Roucort' (*Chronique Gislebert*, p. 72), the compiler specifies 'une tour en Ostrevent, que on claimme: Rouecourt' (*Istore*, II, 592). The attention the Benedictine abbey of Anchin (in Ostrevent) receives in the *CBA* is exceptional: it is the only one with a foundation account of such length and the foundation of one of its priories (Aymeries) is also recounted (Chapter 3, 2.4.1).

⁶⁶⁹ Our Lady in Harelbeke is also mentioned.

Avesnes family (redaction B) is as detailed as that of the oldest Avesnes branch.⁶⁷⁰ Moreover, impressively accurate original topographical details are added to the mention of lands given by Count Helgot of Boulogne to Hernekin:

Li quens Helgos li donna avec sa fille la conté de Bouloingne et toute la terre qui gist entre la prée de Frenc et la pierre de Kamier. *Celle terre siet à II lieues de Monstruel, si com on va de Kamier à Saint-Josse.* Encore li donna-il le ponc de Juvenel, *qui siet encoste Saint-Omer, vers l'abbéye de Watenes, tout ce que li Nues-Fossés de Flandres porte* (*Istore*, II, 668; my emphasis)⁶⁷¹

Furthermore, the written record of the inquest on Count Charles the Good of Flanders' murder, which is the sole archival document certainly used by the compiler, was probably preserved in an ecclesiastical institution in the region as it had been given to the provost of Saint-Omer. Interestingly, the abbot of Saint-Bertin is featured in the narrative of the events following the death of the count: he fetches the body of the count in order to bury it in his abbey with the agreement of the murderers but faces the disagreement of the people of Bruges 'car encore leur eust-on tolu vif, ne leur touroit-on pas mort' (*Istore*, II, 602). The mention of the abbot of Saint-Bertin is original: in other sources it is the abbot of Saint-Peter of Ghent who has this role.⁶⁷² This could simply be an echo of the earlier tale of Abbot John of Saint-Bertin who had come to the court of Flanders to have a dispute settled by Count Charles and was reprimanded by him for leaving his abbey (*Istore*, II, 600): this episode is also found in the *Flandria generosa*. But it is also possible that it was a deliberate modification in order to portray the abbot of Saint-Bertin in a negative light. The canons of Saint-Omer were known to have hostile relationships with the monks of Saint-Bertin.⁶⁷³ Given the general interest in the region of Saint-Omer and if the interpretation of the curious mention of the abbot of Saint-Bertin is correct, it is conceivable that the author of the *CBA* could have been a canon from the church of Saint-Omer. It is a possibility among others.

⁶⁷⁰ No documents show contacts between Baldwin of Avesnes and his relatives of Saint-Omer after 1257.

⁶⁷¹ The passage is based on the *Genealogia comitum Bononiensium*.

⁶⁷² See De Smet, II, 69 and *Chroniques des contes de Flandres*, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁷³ Ugé, pp. 90-94

The scarcity of reliable elements makes it difficult to make any sort of firm assumption regarding the social status of the compiler.⁶⁷⁴ The only sure thing is that he had received a clerical education. The role of chaplains in medieval literature (and in history-writing) has often been underlined: they were in close contact with the prince or lord they served, and they would probably be the first person to be asked when writing was needed.⁶⁷⁵ Bumke observes that 'quite often the chaplains and court clerics, [...] came from the family monasteries'.⁶⁷⁶ The Avesnes family's monastery was the abbey of Liessies, but was it also Baldwin of Avesnes'? Could he have had a chaplain who came from one of the institutions he protected: the abbey of Saint-Ghislain, which owned a copy of the *CBA*,⁶⁷⁷ or the abbey of Anchin, which has a special status in the *CBA* and had a priory in Hesdin, in the county of Boulogne, a region with which the compiler seems to have special ties?⁶⁷⁸ After all, universal history was one of the preferred historiographical genres of the regular clergy, especially the Benedictines.⁶⁷⁹ The compiler seems to have a good knowledge of the Benedictine abbeys of the region and of their historiography: he uses many texts linked to Anchin, and he specifies that Erchinoald, mayor of the palace of Neustria, related by blood to the Merovingian king Dagobert, is the brother of Adalbold, husband of Saint Rictrude, patroness saint of the abbey of Marchiennes, which is a tradition stemming from local monastic texts.⁶⁸⁰

The chapel could help the lord in his administrative tasks, but some higher nobles used a chancery to administrate their domains. It was the case, early on, of the count of Flanders (and, subsequently, of the count of Hainault). But some smaller lords also had a chancery: according to Luc-François Genicot, the lords of Avesnes had their own;⁶⁸¹ in the thirteenth century, the chancery of Adelaide of Holland,

⁶⁷⁴ Sayers, pp. 121-24 notes the diversity of chroniclers' social backgrounds from the thirteenth century onwards.

⁶⁷⁵ See for instance Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture. Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. by Thomas Dunlap (Woodstock, New York and London: Overlook, 2000), pp. 441-42 or, on the cultural role of the chapel, Vale, pp. 222-23.

⁶⁷⁶ Bumke, p. 442.

⁶⁷⁷ KBR, MS II 988.

⁶⁷⁸ Gerzaguet, pp. 246-52. The Anchin priory of Aymeries was on lands ruled by Baldwin of Avesnes. Is it possible that the author of the *CBA* was a chaplain stemming from this priory? Felicity of Coucy had entrusted the chapel the castle of Aymeries to the abbey of Anchin, although this took place after her husband's death.

⁶⁷⁹ Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 69 and 319.

⁶⁸⁰ Ugé, pp. 136-39 and 158-59.

⁶⁸¹ 'La Maison d'Avesnes', pp. 191-92.

widow of John I of Avesnes, was even bigger than the count of Holland's.⁶⁸² From the start of John II of Avesnes' comital rule, the chancery of Hainault integrated scribes from Artois and Vermandois.⁶⁸³ Could Baldwin of Avesnes have entrusted the composition of his chronicle to one of them?⁶⁸⁴ The chancery of Hainault had, after all, had produced a great historiographer before in the person of Gilbert of Mons.⁶⁸⁵

Conclusion

Whereas the life of the compiler of the *CBA* prompts more questions than answers, surviving sources do enable us to outline the biography of the patron of this chronicle. Baldwin of Avesnes' life was varied and the paths that he followed often stemmed from external circumstances. First, he went through a struggle: caught up in a succession feud with the children of his mother's second marriage, he fought alongside his brother. When John of Avesnes died, Baldwin simply did what was in his best interest: he became reconciled with those who could provide him wealth and protection i.e., his mother and the Dampierre family. Nevertheless it seems that he had a gift for and an interest in diplomacy, which was put to good use by his peers. Between 1257 and his death, he thus spent part of his time helping Guy of Dampierre and Margaret of Constantinople in their governing duties. Meanwhile, he still had in sight the needs of his young nephew John, future count of Hainault. In times of conflict, however, he chose systematically his half-brother Guy's side.

It is in this context of peaceful relationships with his former foes but also of rising tensions between Flanders and Hainault that the *CBA* was born. Baldwin of Avesnes was no longer at war and had time for other activities. He was now part of an elite network where literary patronage was common practice. His relationships, with the houses of Flanders and Brabant and, subsequently, France, certainly played

⁶⁸² Jan W.J. Burgers, Eef C. Dijkhof and Jaap G. Kruisheer, 'De doordringing van het schrift in de samenleving in Holland en Zeeland tijdens graaf Floris V', in *Wi Florens...*, pp. 191-211 (p. 202).

⁶⁸³ Michel de Waha and Jean Dugnoille, 'Le Hainaut au Moyen Age', in *Hainaut. Mille ans pour l'avenir*, ed. by Claire Billen, Xavier Canonne and Jean-Marie Duvosquel (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1998), pp. 23-51 (p. 46).

⁶⁸⁴ On history-writing in chanceries see Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 65-69.

⁶⁸⁵ Fernand Vercauteren, 'Note sur Gislebert de Mons, rédacteur de chartes', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 62 (1954), 238-53.

a role in his decision to sponsor a universal chronicle in Old French. The example of the history of Pierre de la Broce shows that the historical background of the conception of the *CBA* is of particular interest. How are the histories of Hainault and Flanders, histories in which the lord of Beaumont was, on a certain level, personally entangled, treated in the *CBA*? This will be looked at in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Textual Treatment of the History of Flanders and Hainault

The historical context of the Avesnes and Dampierre feud and Baldwin of Avesnes' peculiar position within this conflict, which were described in Chapter 4, do not find direct echoes in the *CBA*, as its author apparently chose not to report any information on this obviously sensitive matter. Nevertheless, the sections of the *CBA* dealing with Flanders and Hainault are still worth examining. At the very least the comparison of these sections with their sources will permit a better understanding of the compiler's methods, but it can also offer evidence that contemporary issues affecting the two counties influenced the compiler's account of the past. This chapter will briefly outline the sources used by the author of the *CBA* to write the history of Flanders and Hainault. Then the treatment of these sources will be analysed in order to reveal the compiler's techniques and interests. The potential ideological implications of this treatment will be considered in the last section.

1. *The Corpus of Sources*

To recount the history of his patron's region, the compiler of the *CBA* followed his customary method of relying on a main source which he translated almost entirely: the B version of the *Flandria generosa* for Flanders and Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense* for Hainault. For the history of Flanders, the compiler used the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux (with a continuation) to complete his account. One also finds several incidental mentions of the counts of Flanders and/or Hainault stemming from a variety of sources. Once the compiler's main sources came to an end, he had to depend on more diverse texts in order still to be able to report on the events in Flanders and Hainault. Let us consider this situation in more detail.

In the last third of the twelfth century, the A version of the *Flandria generosa* (a text recounting the history of the counts of Flanders from the mythical first count, Lideric of Harelbeke, to Count Thierry of Alsace) was remodelled and expanded with excerpts from Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus*, the *Liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Tornacensi* by Herman of Tournai, the anonymous *Historia monasterii Hasnoniensis*, the Anchin version of Sigebert of Gembloux's chronicle and the *Vita Karoli comitis Flandrie* by Walter of Théroutanne. The resulting text has been called *Flandria generosa B* or *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*.⁶⁸⁶ Although Heller had noticed that the *CBA* was borrowing from the *Flandria generosa B*,⁶⁸⁷ he failed to define the corpus of sources of the *CBA* adequately. Indeed, contrary to what he claims, the author of the *CBA* did not have direct access to Herman of Tournai's *Liber de restauratione* but he simply reproduced some of its material through his borrowings from the *Flandria generosa B*; as to the presumed recourse to Walter of Théroutanne's *Vita* of Charles the Good, it is possible but unlikely.

The *Flandria generosa B* actually survives in several versions: two different Latin versions (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB), MS Clm 23583 and KBR, MS 6410-16) and, according to Moeglin, one French translation (preserved in KBR, MS 9568-69 and BnF, MS fr. 12203) deriving from a lost Latin version.⁶⁸⁸ It has been suggested that the author of the *CBA* accessed the *Flandria generosa B* through a French translation.⁶⁸⁹ Of the two surviving manuscripts the *CBA* seems to have the most in common with KBR, MS 9568-69.⁶⁹⁰ However, the *CBA* might have used a Latin version rather than a French translation: the dates of death of Counts

⁶⁸⁶ For all this see Moeglin, 'Une première histoire nationale', pp. 455-76. See also Bethmann, *Lettre à M. l'abbé Carton sur les généalogies des comtes de Flandres, considérées comme sources de notre histoire* (Bruges: Vandecasteele-Werbrouck, 1849), pp. 22-23.

⁶⁸⁷ Probably following Bethmann, *Lettre*, p. 22.

⁶⁸⁸ Moeglin, 'Une première histoire nationale', pp. 459-62. The question would need further exploration but it could be argued that there are actually two (rather than one) French translations, as the manuscripts contain a significant number of variant readings. Both texts have been edited: *Chroniques des Comtes de Flandres* following the Paris manuscript, and De Smet, II, 31-92 following the Brussels manuscript.

⁶⁸⁹ Bethmann, *Lettre*, p. 22 and, more recently, Walterus Tervanensis, p. 202.

⁶⁹⁰ Several readings common to the *CBA* and KBR, MS 9568-69 are lacking in BnF, MS fr. 12203: the date of death of Baldwin VII of Flanders; the mention of the count of Mons among the supporters of Clemence, widow of Count Robert II; the mention of Bray among the cities which Clemence returns to Charles the Good; the mention of the burning of the house of the daughter of one of Charles the Good's murderers (Alard), etc. There is only one case of a significant reading where the *CBA* concurs only with fr. 12203: the date of death of Countess Richilde (placed in 1086 whereas all other versions state 1092).

Baldwin V and Baldwin VI (mentioned in the *CBA*) are only found in the Latin text of KBR, MS 6410-16.⁶⁹¹

Other chronological data, concerning the murder of Count Charles the Good and its aftermath, appears in the *CBA* but cannot be found in any of the identified copies of the *Flandria generosa B*.⁶⁹² In turn, part of this information can be found in Walter of Théroutane's *Vita Karoli comitis Flandrie* and, to a lesser extent, in Galbert of Bruges' *De multro, traditione et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum*. One explanation for this could therefore be that there existed a version of the *Flandria generosa B* which comprised these elements. Another possibility would be that the compiler of the *CBA* actually used Walter of Théroutane's work. This seems improbable, as the text would have been used strictly to include dates in an account otherwise entirely based on the *Flandria generosa B*. Nevertheless, the compiler of the *CBA* frequently exploits other texts than his main source to add information (especially dates) to his account.⁶⁹³ The recourse to the *Vita* therefore cannot be excluded.

Although direct borrowings from Walter of Théroutane seem dubious, the compiler of the *CBA* did occasionally have recourse to another source (and possibly more than one) to complete his account of Flemish history based on the *Flandria generosa B*: the main additional text he borrows from was the chronicle written by Sigebert of Gembloux. He used it to give some additional information on the struggles between Baldwin V of Flanders and the German emperor and to complete briefly the scarce information on the reign of Count Robert II.⁶⁹⁴ Sigebert's chronicle is actually used as a complementary source throughout the whole *CBA*. The compiler of the *CBA* also completed his account of Flemish history with another kind of text: the inquest on the murder of Charles the Good, a unique transcript of a judicial document, which only survives in the *CBA*.⁶⁹⁵ The integral inclusion of such a

⁶⁹¹ A more thorough comparison between the *CBA* and the various versions of the *Flandria generosa B* will have to wait for a critical edition taking the Munich manuscript into account. For the purpose of this chapter I have used the two editions of the copies of the French translation and Bethmann, 'Flandria Generosa'. I have also made a limited amount of verifications in the two manuscripts of the Latin version. The Bethmann edition will serve as the standard for references because it is of easier access and divides the text into textual units.

⁶⁹² This additional information comprises namely: the indiction for the date of Count Charles' murder, the date of Isaac's hanging, the date of Guy of Steenvoorde's hanging and that of Charles the Good's burial in Saint-Donatus.

⁶⁹³ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 30.

⁶⁹⁴ See respectively *Istorie*, II, 558-59 and Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 164^aA-B.

⁶⁹⁵ See above note 664.

document in the *CBA* stands out against the compiler's tendency to shorten his sources and to remain concise; this suggests the author probably had the full document at his disposal and decided to reproduce it in its entirety.⁶⁹⁶ The author might also have had only second-hand knowledge of this document but it seems unlikely. In either case, this insertion is symptomatic of his interest for this episode of Flemish history.

Alongside the sections based on the *Flandria generosa B*, which convey the explicit intent to tell the history of Flanders, one finds a few incidental references to the counts of Flanders in sections devoted to other subject-matter.⁶⁹⁷ Such is the case with the allusions to Count Arnulph II of Flanders deriving from a source with strong pro-Norman bias.⁶⁹⁸ Arnulph II is depicted in a rather negative light until he allies with the dukes of Normandy. Such occasional allusions have an effect on the global representation of the Flemish comital dynasty in the *CBA* and render it less homogeneous.

The *Flandria generosa B* ends with the relation of William of Ypres' death in 1164/65.⁶⁹⁹ The compiler of the *CBA* no longer had a reliable and continuous account focused on the dynasty of Flanders. He could still rely on the continuations of Sigebert of Gembloux' chronicle composed at the abbey of Anchin (the *Auctarium Aquicinense* and the *Continuatio Aquicinctina*)⁷⁰⁰ but they provided limited information. He did use them to fill some gaps, for instance when he inserted a few lines on the activities of Philip of Alsace, son of Count Thierry of Flanders, by linking them to the mention of the latter's third pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁷⁰¹ The compiler therefore had to exploit material on Flanders present in texts which were not necessarily 'Flanders-oriented'. The ideological discrepancy stated above is palpable again here: for instance, the negative portrayal of Philip of Alsace results from the borrowings from the *Eracles* and its continuations. The *Chronicon Hanoniense* also supplied information for Thierry and Philip of Alsace (including a

⁶⁹⁶ The author's possible connections with Saint-Omer (Chapter 4, 3), where the document might have been preserved, would reinforce that possibility.

⁶⁹⁷ That is much less the case for Hainault.

⁶⁹⁸ Certainly Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée*, itself stemming from a Norman chronicle based on the *Gesta Normanorum ducum* by William of Jumièges (see Chapter 2).

⁶⁹⁹ See Beinecke Libr., MS 339, 216'A.

⁷⁰⁰ L.C. Bethmann, 'Sigeberti Gemblacensis chronica cum continuationibus', in *MGH SS*, VI (Hanover: Hahn, 1844), 268-474 (pp. 392-982 and 405-38).

⁷⁰¹ See *Istorie*, II, 613. The passage is based on William of Tyre, Book XVIII, chapter 22 with an insertion from *Auctarium Aquicinense* (p. 397).

genealogical section on the descent of Count Thierry),⁷⁰² but not from a Flemish point of view. After the death of Count Philip, Flanders and Hainault are ruled by the same dynasty and, consequently, the compiler surveys their history in a single account. Let us turn to the text he used to recount the history of Hainault before the latter was told together with Flemish history.

For the history of Hainault the compiler's main source is Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense* (hereafter *CH*). This chronicle of the comital dynasty written by the chancellor of Count Baldwin V of Hainault covers the history of the county from Count Herman of Mons and Countess Richilde until Baldwin VI's accession to the county of Hainault in 1195. It is mainly centred on the rule of Baldwin V. For preceding rulers the author of the *CBA* combined the historical account with the genealogies he found in *CH*, some of which he completed to link the comital dynasty with Baldwin of Avesnes and Felicity of Coucy's families and entourage. The absence of almost any other allusions to the counts of Hainault for that period does mean that the compiler provides an incomplete account;⁷⁰³ on the other hand, it also results in great ideological coherence, contrary to what happened for the history of Flanders. The representation of the comital dynasty is, albeit sober, quite positive.

Once *CH* comes to an end, the history of Hainault and Flanders forms one single account, since Baldwin VI of Hainault had inherited Flanders. The favourable image of the counts of Hainault persists, in part because of the sources used by the compiler of the *CBA*: Geoffrey of Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* narrates Baldwin VI [IX] of Hainault and Flanders' accession to the Latin empire of Constantinople whereas Henry of Valenciennes' *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* recounts part of the subsequent reign of Baldwin's younger brother, Henry. But, as we will see in the third section of this chapter, the compiler also has played a part in conveying such a positive portrayal of the rulers of Flanders and Hainault, notably when he exploited texts linked to the French royalty, i.e. Rigord's *Gesta Philippi Augusti* and its abbreviation and continuation by William of Brittany and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, all of which he used to recount the

⁷⁰² See Table 7.

⁷⁰³ There are only two mentions of an earlier count, Reginar Longneck, mentioned in connection with the Norman invasion led by Rollo and in his struggles with Arnulph II of Flanders (via the use of the *Chronique rimée*: see Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fols 90^B and 96^B). The compiler himself, following the description of the origins of the county of Hainault, admits he could not find any chronicles on the counts until Herman of Mons (see quotation note 252).

conflicts between the counts and King Philip Augustus (notably the battle of Bouvines).

The historical sections of the *CBA* regarding Flanders and Hainault, in spite of their predominantly bookish basis, also include material which is not derived from written sources, especially when no such source is available. That is the case with the numerous genealogical sections, mostly involving Hainault: some of them continue the trees sketched by Gilbert of Mons; others are entirely original, for instance the genealogy of Henry of Sebourg or that of Sybill of Hainault (see Table 4). But one also finds some original segments in purely narrative passages. Most of them are found from the end of the twelfth century onwards. Such is the case with the dialogues between Eustache of Le Rœulx and Baldwin V or between Isabel of Hainault and her husband King Philip Augustus of France. These might stem from oral lore or from the compiler's own creativity.⁷⁰⁴ The number of original passages for Flemish history clearly increases from the beginning of the thirteenth century: the narration of Philip of Namur's regency seems original ('CHanBA', p. 449); so do the annalistic notes following the episode of the False Baldwin (pp. 455-56);⁷⁰⁵ the account of the battle of Westkapelle is original and the mention of William of Dampierre among the prisoners at the battle of Al Mansurah is too (pp. 461 and 456). However, with the exception of the report on the battle of Westkapelle, these passages are very short. As for the equally substantial episode telling the story of a hermit who usurped the identity of the long-disappeared Count Baldwin VI [IX] of Hainault and Flanders, it bears a strong similarity (at least for the beginning) to the account of the *Continuatio Aquicinctina*, p. 437, which suggests it was based for the most part on a written source ('CHanBA', pp. 454-55). Original elements thus remain scarce, which is why the dialogue between the *CBA* and its sources must be examined more closely.

⁷⁰⁴ This question is discussed below.

⁷⁰⁵ Although Heller rightly signals analogies with Alberic of Troisfontaines' chronicle.

2. *The Methods of Composition and their Guiding Principles*

The composition of a compilation implies different stages, e.g. the gathering of information to form a corpus of sources, the selection of the material relevant to one's purposes, and the modelling, structuring and revising of the text. There are several ways to categorise these operations. Georges Martin, for instance, distinguishes five of them ('reproduire, réunir, bâtir, agencer, réviser'), but, above all, he observes that 'dans l'ensemble de ces opérations, l'activité des compilateurs est orientée par des déterminations sémantiques et [...], sous le rapport de ses fondements sémiologiques, elle ne diffère que très marginalement d'une production originale'.⁷⁰⁶ If one accepts this reasoning, the examination of the methods of compilation used to write the *CBA* should reveal part of the compiler's intentions or interests. This section will outline succinctly some of the processes used in the writing of the *CBA* and then survey several topics which have served as guiding principles for the author.

A first step in writing a compilation consists in selecting within a predetermined corpus of sources the material which is considered fit to be included in the narrative.⁷⁰⁷ This implies some sort of assessment of the information. For instance, the treatment of crusades texts suggests that the compiler had only a mild interest in the description of battles, even those which include the feats of the Flemish counts.⁷⁰⁸ In exploiting Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense* the author chose to omit anything not dealing with Hainault; he also skipped chapters which would detract from his ideological intentions. This selection process is highly valuable in tracing authorial bias in the *CBA*: one should not forget the compiler's decision to pass over the troubled history of Flanders and Hainault after Joan of Constantinople's death.

⁷⁰⁶ Georges Martin, 'Cinq opérations fondamentales de la compilation: l'exemple de l'*Histoire d'Espagne* (étude segmentaire)', in *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. by Genet, pp. 99-109 (p. 109). The present section has found some inspiration in the latter case-study and in Guyot-Bachy (mainly Part II). The reliable analysis of the reception of sources in Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 25-31 has also been very useful and my own analysis of the text has often led to conclusions similar to hers.

⁷⁰⁷ The processes which will be described in this section are not examined in a particular order. They can be simultaneous or take place separately.

⁷⁰⁸ The only notable exception is the take over of Jerusalem in 1099, but even then he is shortening his source considerably. See also Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 49.

The author of the *CBA* then transforms the selected material in accordance with the goals he has set himself. As he states in his prologue, he values brevity: although he remains faithful to the content of his sources, he shortens them considerably. For instance, the *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* (usually around fourteen to thirty folios-long in its original form) is exploited from beginning to end, but condensed into an account of four folios and a half.⁷⁰⁹ Moreover, he eliminates all the explicit bias and judgments he finds in his sources: he aspires to provide a neutral account, at least in appearance.⁷¹⁰ It is therefore all the more noteworthy when he decides to include biased comments. He also restructures the matter of his sources. As Guyot-Bachy has pointed out for Jean of Saint-Victor's *Memoriale historiarum* and as will be seen below, this reconfiguration can serve different purposes, such as the establishment of a (chrono)logical order, highlighting causes and effects or conveying a particular interpretation of events.⁷¹¹ At times, the author slightly modifies the content of his sources, but his motives for doing so are not always obvious.⁷¹² Occasionally he even inserts elements deriving from other sources or from his own imagination. Such additions often take place when he revises his text, at which stage he also tries to reinforce the cohesion between the different sections of the chronicle.

An examination of the sections on the history of Flanders and Hainault in the *CBA* brings forth a variety of principles and motives which have guided the compiler in his task. Different types of concerns underpinned his work: the pursuit of global cohesion and the inclusion of chronological landmarks show that he followed the rules of the genre of the universal chronicle; the addition of explanations and the sequencing of events in a logical manner demonstrate his awareness of his intended audience; finally, the display of familial bias and interest for local saints or institutions indicate his desire to meet his patrons' expectations.

Chapters with a clear local or regional tone are fittingly integrated into the narrative so that they are blended in. Both for Flanders and Hainault the compiler narrates the origins of the counties, thereby following a pattern encountered

⁷⁰⁹ Fols 319^vB-25^vB in Beinecke Libr., MS 339.

⁷¹⁰ For these remarks on brevity and neutrality see Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 49.

⁷¹¹ Guyot-Bachy, pp. 276-78. Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 30-31 also draws attention to the structure of the *CBA* in order to understand its message.

⁷¹² The account of the succession to the bishopric of Liège following Rudolf of Zähringen's death is quite obscure: the compiler substitutes Lothaire of Hochstaden to Albert of Rethel but the reason for this is not clear (Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 281^vB, to compare with *Chronicon Hanoniense*, 176).

elsewhere in his chronicle.⁷¹³ Admittedly, the genealogical chapters stand out, but to some extent they are subordinated to the purely historical narrative.⁷¹⁴ Additionally, the Flemish matter is efficiently incorporated into universal history: the first borrowing from the *Flandria generosa B*, which deals with Judith, daughter of the French king Charles the Bald, who fled to Senlis after the death of her husband Aethelwulf, king of Wessex, actually occurs in a chapter on England.⁷¹⁵ Furthermore, the first sections on Flanders are included in chapters apparently labelled as French history, as in the following example:

[Or lairons a parler d'Engleterre *si dirons dou roi Charlon le Chauf.*] Entrues que li roi Charles li Chauz régnoit en France, maintenoit Bauduins Coste-Ferrée la conté de Flandres. Il fu mout vaillans [...] Pour ce que je vous ai parlé dou conte Bauduin de Flandres et parlerai encores de ses successeurs, vous dirai ce dont il vinrent. (*Istore*, II, 555; my emphasis)⁷¹⁶

This configuration of the narrative tends to imply that Flemish history is subordinated to French history. This actually reflects the political situation at the time: the counts of Flanders were the vassals of the king of France.⁷¹⁷

The history of Hainault is also integrated smoothly into the narrative, via the connection with the history of Flanders: the link is the marriage between Baldwin VI of Flanders and Countess Richilde of Hainault. Moreover, universal and local history are intertwined cohesively: in the last section on Hainault derived from the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, the compiler inserted original references to Emperor Henry VI's travels to Sicily (recounted in more detail elsewhere; *Istore*, II, 650 and 652). This also shows that the compiler was trying to master universal chronology: even though Gilbert tells how the emperor settled several conflicts throughout 1194, the compiler knew (probably thanks to the *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le*

⁷¹³ He was possibly inspired by Sigebert of Gembloux, who recounts the origins of various lesser-known peoples such as the Vandals, the Lombards, the Goths, the Huns, etc. in his chronicle (Bethmann, *Sigeberti*, pp. 300-02).

⁷¹⁴ The *CBA* also includes biblical genealogies. On the structuring role of genealogies see also Chapter 3 and Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 48.

⁷¹⁵ Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 87^B (source: Bethmann, 'Flandria Generosa', 2). Note that the final borrowing to the *Flandria generosa* offers the same sort of context: the end of William of Ypres' life is included in a section on England (fol. 216^{B-V}A).

⁷¹⁶ The part in brackets, lacking in *Istore*, is transcribed from Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 88^A.

⁷¹⁷ This characteristic is even more emphasised in the *Chronique de Flandre du XIV^e siècle* (see Jean-Marie Moeglin, 'Les Ducs de Bourgogne et l'historiographie flamande', in *Les Historiographes en Europe de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Révolution*, ed. by Chantal Grell (Paris: PUPS, 2006), pp. 21-36 (pp. 26-27)).

trésorier) that Henry VI had also travelled to Sicily that same year. He thus combined both accounts accordingly.⁷¹⁸

One of the crucial aspects of a universal chronicle is chronology.⁷¹⁹ In that respect the *CBA* is quite innovative among vernacular chronicles, which usually care little about chronological ordering and rarely include many dates.⁷²⁰ The compiler of the *CBA* has a continued (but moderate) interest in chronology. In his account of the history of Flanders and Hainault he often includes the dates of death of the counts, which he did not always find in the *Flandria generosa B* but borrowed from other narrative sources or, possibly, annals.⁷²¹ When he can do so he mentions the age of the counts and, in many cases, the length of their reign, which in all likelihood he calculated himself.⁷²² To some extent, those dates are subordinated to the history of the princely dynasties (the death of a count or a king leads to a mention of this or that date), whereas in other cases the death of a person is mentioned as one of several events occurring during a specific year.⁷²³

The chronological concerns of the compiler are also visible in the manner in which he structures events within the narrative. For example, Mary of Champagne's travel to Acre and subsequent death are told in two separate passages: in the first one Mary gives birth to a daughter and leaves for Acre; in the second one, her husband Baldwin VI [IX] of Hainault and Flanders hears that she has arrived in Acre and she dies shortly thereafter (*Istore*, II, 658 and 659). In the source this account formed one single block; the compiler thus tried to adapt it within the global chronology of the *CBA*.⁷²⁴ Moreover, within each section, the author aims to write a narrative in which all elements are ordered chronologically. This implies some minor displacements, as in the following example:

⁷¹⁸ If this illustrates the level of sophistication sometimes reached in the *CBA*, this trend is far from systematic. Many other passages demonstrate that the compiler has failed to assimilate properly all the information given by his sources.

⁷¹⁹ Krüger, p. 16.

⁷²⁰ Sayers, p. 213.

⁷²¹ He probably borrowed Thierry of Alsace's date of death from the *Continuatio Aquicinctina* (Bethmann, 'Sigeberti', p. 412). I have not identified the source for Arnulph II's date of death, which the compiler might have found in local annals.

⁷²² See examples in *Istore*, II, 598, 599, 654.

⁷²³ For instance the death of Isabel of Vermandois (*Istore*, II, 627) or that of Isabel of Hainault, wife of French King Philip Augustus (*Istore*, II, 642 and 643).

⁷²⁴ The source is Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. by Edmond Faral, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961), II, Chapters 317-318 (with a few original additions).

[...] comes Namurcensis apud Andennam egrotavit. Quod audiens comes Hanoniensis illuc venit, ut avunculum suum visitaret [...]. Comes etenim Namurcensis, [...] nuncios ad comitem Campanensem miserat ut illic cito milites mitteret ad conservanda castra sua (*CH*, 142)

En cel an mesmes print une grief maladie au conte Henri à Andenne. Pour ce manda au conte Henri de Champagne que il li envoiast de ses gens pour garder ses chastiaus. Entretant oï nouvelles li quens Bauduins de la maladie son oncle de Namur. Si l'ala veoir. (*Istore*, II, 634)

Topical unity is another matter of importance to the compiler when he has to structure his narrative. This concern competes with that of chronology and the combination of both principles can be problematic. The genealogies, for instance, transcend the general chronological order of the chronicle by establishing an organisation of their own. But one also finds within a section (i.e. on a smaller scale) occurrences in which topical unity is preferred to chronology within a section. The case of the agreement between Count Baldwin V of Hainault and Count Henry I of Champagne regarding two marriages between their respective children is an interesting example. Instead of mentioning this agreement and its confirmation according to the chronology found in the *Chronicon Hanoniense* (which places them respectively in 1171 and 1179) the compiler inserts them in the account of the negotiations for the marriage of Isabel of Hainault with French King Philip Augustus:

En l'an après qui fut del Incarnation Nostre-Seigneur M.C. LXXIX, fut traité le mariaige dou roi Phelippe de France le fil Loeys et Ysabel fille le conte Bauduin de Haynau. Li quens Bauduins estoit encontre pour ce que il avoit devant convenance au conte Henri de Champagne de mariaige [=CH, 94] de son fil Bauduin qui devoit avoir la fille le conte Henri de Champagne; et li ainsnés fils le conte de Champagne devoit avoir à femme cesti Ysabel. [=CH, 64 and 89] (*Istore*, II, 620; sources indicated between brackets)

The decision to treat this information thematically rather than chronologically is also revealing on an ideological level: this episode has important consequences for the relationships between Baldwin V of Hainault and the counts of Namur and Flanders, both of whom have granted him their respective succession (see 3.2.). The desire to explain events is thus one of the main reasons why the compiler privileges topical unity on some occasions.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁵ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 31 has already highlighted the compiler's interest in explaining causes.

Topical and chronological concerns both reflect the compiler's wish to present events in a logical succession. He seeks to emphasise the sequences of cause and effect and to explain events to his readers in order to clarify the developments of his narrative.⁷²⁶ This often triggers the displacement of some elements but also explanatory comments by the compiler:

En l'an après, qui fut del Incarnation Nostre-Seigneur M. C. III^{xx} et XII, fit li dus Henris de Louvaing grant semonce contre le conte de Hostade. Li dus Henris de Lembourc ses oncles li aidoit. [=CH, 195] *La raison pour quoi celle chose mut, fut telle. Nous vous avons dit dessus que Lotaires frères le conte de Hostade fut esleus à Liège contre Aubert frère le duc de Louvaing et que l'emperères conferma le élection Lotaire.* [=CH, 182] Pour ce ne vot plus Aubers demourer à Liége, ains s'en ala manoir à Rains. [...] [=CH, 193] (*Istore*, II, 646)
Bauduin commensa moult tempre à amer sa femme Marie; *ce ne fut pas merveilles, car elle devint moult bonne dame et moult religieuse.* [=CH, 123] (*Istore*, II, 631; my emphasis)

The simple reconfiguration of elements is indeed a way for the compiler to explain events.⁷²⁷ He can also make additions to justify certain developments, for instance by reminding the reader of elements which were recounted earlier:

Quant li rois Henris d'Engleterre entendi que Guillaumes de Normendie ses niés voloit entreprendre le conté de Flandres et que la roine de France l'en aidoit, il douta son povoir *pour ce que il avoit son père déshérité et fait morir en sa prison, sicom nous avons dit dessus.* Pour ce clama-il meismes la conté de Flandres et dist que il en estoit li plus prochiens hoirs; *car sa mère avoit esté fille le conte Bauduin de Lisle, [...]* (*Istore*, II, 605; my emphasis)

But the compiler's additions can also be original: he uses emotions to account for certain actions, e.g. the count of Nevers' attack on Baldwin V of Hainault which is attributed to anger.⁷²⁸ He even explains the delay in the coronation of Henry VI as emperor with the vague assertion that a 'soingne' (worry, problem) had prevented him from going to Rome the preceding year.⁷²⁹

The emphasis on topical unity, on the explanation and smooth succession of events can conceivably be linked to the compiler's intention to provide a

⁷²⁶ However, this is not systematic: in the account of a dispute between Count Baldwin V of Hainault and the duke of Brabant (based on CH, 100), the author fails to report the cause of the conflict although it is explained in the source.

⁷²⁷ Meyer-Zimmermann, p. 31. See also p. 29 the example of the causes leading King Philip Augustus to go to England.

⁷²⁸ *Istore*, II, 618 (based on CH, 69).

⁷²⁹ Beinecke Libr., MS 339, 281^aA (based on CH, 172).

straightforward account to his audience. Other narrative concerns were seemingly troubling the author of the *CBA*, but their actual function is not clear. Such is the case with two dialogues involving the history of Hainault. One takes place shortly after the 1186 invasion of Hainault led by the archbishop of Cologne, the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant and James of Avesnes: Count Baldwin V reveals his intentions to his close advisor Eustache of Le Rœulx ('CHanBA', p. 447). The exact function of this speech is not obvious: is the compiler trying to enliven his narrative with original speech? Is he aiming to display favouritism towards the Avesnes family by having Count Baldwin V say that he will only seek a light vengeance against James of Avesnes? If that is the case, it does not appear clearly, for the count also says that James of Avesnes is a 'povres hom'.

The other speech involves Isabel of Hainault, daughter of Baldwin V and Queen of France: King Philip Augustus, to whom she is unable to give an heir, is about to leave her but she offers him touching words which prompt him to take her back.⁷³⁰ According to Aline G. Hornaday, 'the story has good authority, for as Isabelle's great-nephew, Baldwin of Avesnes had access to family lore that, even if apocryphal, probably echoed Philip and Isabelle's real attitudes' (p. 84). This appears debatable: Baldwin of Avesnes' input for the *CBA* was limited (see Chapter 3, 2.4.2). Furthermore, the lord of Beaumont's substantial contribution to the *CBA* took place at the stage of redaction B, whereas both dialogues were already included in redaction A. Nevertheless, it is plausible that the compiler drew inspiration from some sort of oral lore possibly circulating at the court of Hainault. The speech of Renaud of Dammartin before the battle of Bouvines offers an interesting comparison: it bears common features with other accounts, but it is clear that it is partly original in phrasing, content and structure.⁷³¹ There might have been a similar process in action for the aforementioned dialogues. Be that as it may, one can wonder whether

⁷³⁰ Regarding this anecdote see Aline G. Hornaday, 'A Capetian Queen as Street Demonstrator: Isabelle of Hainaut', in *Capetian Women*, ed. by Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 77-97 (pp. 83-84). Hornaday talks about 'one manuscript' containing the anecdote, but in fact all manuscripts of the original versions of the *CBA* covering the corresponding timespan include this story.

⁷³¹ 'CHanBA', p. 450. Contrary to what Heller's layout seems to suggest the speech does not stem from nowhere. One finds similarities with William the Breton (*Gesta Philippi Augusti*, chapter 195 in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton: historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by H. François Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1882-85), I), the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (see Book III, chapter XVI of the section on Philip Augustus: *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. by Jules Viard, 10 vols (Paris: Champion, 1920-53) VI (1930), 350) and especially *Chronique rimée*, vv. 21621-46.

these speeches pronounced by notable individuals have an exemplary function similar to the ethical discourses which abound in the earlier parts of the *CBA* (see Chapter 1). If not, they might simply be a way to improve the narrative and to convey a positive image of the individuals in question.

The interest in regional and local history must have appealed to the audience of the compiler, chiefly to his patrons and, to a certain extent, to himself. The author of the *CBA* makes occasional topographical and geographical additions: in his account of the 1186 invasion of Hainault, he specifies that the archbishop of Cologne and the duke of Brabant (and his son) entered Hainault 'par-devers le Piéton' (a stream near Chapelle-lez-Herlaimont, arr. Charleroi) and adds Bray to the villages they burned down near Binche (*Istore*, II, 627).⁷³² The compiler's local knowledge mainly appears in the original references to religious institutions: he states that Count Baldwin V of Flanders was the founder of the churches of Saint Peter in Aire-sur-la-Lys and of Our Lady in Harelbeke (560);⁷³³ he devotes considerable attention to the abbey of Anchin with a foundation story (see below section 3) and a digression on the founders of the Anchin priory of Aymeries (Chapter 3, 2.4.1); he knows that Queen Ingeborg, King Philip Augustus' second wife, stayed at the abbey of Cysoing (*Istore*, II, 655).⁷³⁴ The cult of saints offers additional hints regarding the compiler's local interests. He clearly made a selection among the different saints mentioned in his sources (mainly the *Speculum historiale*) and retained only those who had a strong local relevance: Saint Eleutherius of Tournai, Saint Bertin, Saint Amand (Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 53^rA-B), Saint Saulve (buried in Valenciennes at the time of Charlemagne, fol. 83^rB), Saint Rictrude of Marchiennes and Saint Gertrude 'qui fonda l'abeie de Nivele' (fol. 68^vA), Saint Servais, bishop of Tongres (fol. 43^vA).⁷³⁵ The reference to Saint Felicity (fol. 19^rB) is probably not innocuous, even though it was borrowed from Vincent of Beauvais: the compiler knew it would hold some appeal for his patrons.⁷³⁶

The compiler certainly felt the need to please his patrons when he dealt with the history of their lineage. The author of the *CBA* frequently omits disturbing facts

⁷³² See also the very detailed precisions regarding some lands in the county of Boulogne: Chapter 4, 3.

⁷³³ The foundation of the church of Saint Peter of Lille is already mentioned in the *Flandria generosa*, § 9.

⁷³⁴ George Conklin, 'Ingeborg of Denmark, Queen of France, 1193-1223', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne Duggan (Woodbridge, UK and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 39-52 (p. 41 and note 9).

⁷³⁵ There was a parish of Saint Servais in Beaumont (Bernier, p. 142).

⁷³⁶ *Speculum historiale*, XI, 103.

and uses subtle modifications or emphasis when it comes to his patrons' families (the Coucys, the Avesnes and the comital families of Flanders and Hainault). However, he never fabricates new facts: either he reproduces or adapts the information he finds in his sources or he leaves it aside. This explains why one also finds unfavourable information about some of Baldwin of Avesnes and Felicity of Coucy's ancestors: Thomas of Coucy is mentioned (along with the count of Mons) among the adversaries of Flemish Count Charles the Good (*Istore*, II, 600); James I of Avesnes' struggles with the count of Hainault are also recounted (e.g. *Istore*, II, 618-19).

James I of Avesnes is a prime example of the compiler's thoughtfulness regarding the history of his patron's family.⁷³⁷ James is depicted very positively in the genealogy of the Avesnes family, which was added at the stage of redaction B:

Messires Jakes d'Avesnes [...] fut mout vaillans chevaliers et mout prisies d'armes, et si ot mout a faire vers pluseurs gens. En la fin ala il outre mer et fut au grant siege d'Acre et a le prise la ou li rois Phelippes de France et li rois Richars d'Engleterre furent. Apres demora en Surie tant qu'il ot une bataille entre crestiens et Turs devant le chastel d'Arzur. La fu il ocis; mais ensois se vendi il bien, car il fist tant d'armes que encore en parole on en mains lieus. ('CHanBA', p. 428)

Conversely, the compiler has tried to adapt the less flattering passages he found in his sources. The episode of the burning of Lembeek as told in the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, 112 depicts James of Avesnes in a rather negative light: although he manages to obtain truces from the duke of Brabant, many view him as partially responsible for the burning. In contrast the *CBA* portrays James of Avesnes as deeply affected by the conflict between the count of Hainault and the duke of Brabant (which is why he decides to negotiate a truce) and omits all suggestions of guilt (*Istore*, II, 622). Similarly, James of Avesnes' alliance with the count of Flanders is severely condemned by Gilbert of Mons, whereas the compiler of the *CBA* trivialises it.⁷³⁸ The compiler also skips the mention of James I's failures to respond to a judicial duel which he had himself proposed (in *CH*, 116).

Omission was also used for delicate matters relating to the Coucy family. *CH*, 96 and 99 were skipped: they recount the expedition led by Count Philip of Flanders, helped by Count Baldwin V of Hainault, against Raoul of Coucy, Felicity's

⁷³⁷ On the Avesnes in the *CBA* see also Meyer-Zimmermann, pp. 21-22.

⁷³⁸ 'O mira Jacobi prodicio!' (*CH*, 113). To compare with *Istore*, II, 623.

prestigious ancestor, who holds a prominent position in the genealogies of the *CBA* (see Chapter 3, 1.2). Furthermore, the admittedly condensed but almost complete translation of the lost chronicle of Primat in the *CBA* displays notable omissions which were undoubtedly deliberate: three chapters involving Charles of Anjou's invasion of Hainault in 1254 were left out,⁷³⁹ and so was one chapter dealing with the trial of Enguerrand IV of Coucy (first cousin of Felicity) which had taken place at the end of the 1250s after Enguerrand had ordered that three young men who were poaching on his lands be hanged.⁷⁴⁰ At the time when the *CBA* was written, the Coucys, very much like Baldwin of Avesnes, were thus trying to put some of their (recent) past behind them.⁷⁴¹

The interest in the patrons' families and entourage is obvious in the genealogies of the *CBA*; family members are also sporadically mentioned in purely historical sections. For instance, James I of Avesnes' death is mentioned with a slight emphasis on the nobleman's bravery: 'li bons chevaliers' mentioned in the source becomes in the *CBA* 'uns très-vaillans chevaliers' (*Istore*, II, 654).⁷⁴² Likewise all allusions to James II of Avesnes' prowess in the Holy Land found in Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* have been reproduced in the *CBA*. At times the compiler also highlights the presence of the counts of Hainault in the crusades: at the start of the First Crusade he identifies Baldwin II as the son of Richilde; although he respects Geoffrey of Villehardouin's account, he seems to focus the attention on Count Baldwin VI [IX] of Hainault and Flanders by slightly restructuring the narrative.⁷⁴³

The compiler's treatment of the information linked to his patrons' lineages is a clear example of bias in the composition of the *CBA*. One can therefore ask if there are any other elements in the sections on the history of Flanders and Hainault which convey a specific ideology. The final section sets out to answer this question by examining a few examples.

⁷³⁹ Regarding this episode of the conflict between the Avesnes and the Dampierres see Chapter 4, 2.1.

⁷⁴⁰ See chapters 4-6 and 8 in 'Chronique de Primat'. On Enguerrand of Coucy's trial see Barthélemy, pp. 475-86.

⁷⁴¹ It is interesting to note that historiography seems to have played a cathartic role in that respect: Enguerrand IV of Coucy was himself the sponsor of the *Livre du lignage de Coucy*, which featured genealogies of his family based on the *CBA*.

⁷⁴² *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. by L. de Mas Latrie (Paris: Renouard, 1871), pp. 282-83.

⁷⁴³ Compare for instance Beinecke Libr., MS 339, fol. 304^rA with Villehardouin, I, Chapter 170.

3. *Reading between the Lines: Bias in the CBA*

It has been stated above that the author of the *CBA* removed all judgmental elements from his sources when writing his text. This results in an account with a deceptively neutral appearance; partiality in the *CBA* is never explicit and rarely straightforward.⁷⁴⁴ As the following examples will show, one has to read between the lines to detect bias in the *CBA*: the examination of the treatment of the sources carried out above and the knowledge of the historical context should shed light on some of the ideological concerns of the chronicle.

3.1. *The Foundation of the Abbey of Anchin: An Enigmatic Insertion*

The section on Countess Richilde of Hainault and Robert the Frisian ('CHanBA', Chapters 56 and 57) displays various noteworthy features. A first interesting element is the compiler's simultaneous use of the *Flandria generosa B* and of the *Chronicon Hanoniense*: he had to blend together two sources with radically opposed ideologies to write his account. Consequently, some ideological choices appear more clearly: the compiler favoured a positive representation of Countess Richilde in contrast with the depreciatory portrayal of the *Flandria generosa*; he even reinforced this with original additions and modifications, as we have seen in Chapter 2. In turn, he does not pass judgment on Robert the Frisian; however, his narrative describes how Robert broke the pledge he had made regarding the succession to Flanders, which implicitly is a form of judgment. The process of combining two fundamentally different texts was probably a demanding task as the compiler thoroughly revised the structure of this section at the stage of redaction A. He inserted new (genealogical) elements in A and B, which also points to the ideological importance of this particular chapter. The story of Richilde, that of a woman ruling over Flanders and Hainault who defended her children's succession rights against their uncle, partially mirrored that of Margaret of Constantinople. The compiler's account does not imply

⁷⁴⁴ 'It would be a mistake to believe that the façade of objectivity erected by vernacular chroniclers represented a genuine impartiality before the "facts" of history. If anything, the assumption of "neutrality" was a more powerful tool of partisanship, masking the play of interests that shaped the chronicler's perspective on present realities' (Spiegel, *Romancing*, p. 220).

such an interpretation, but he was probably conscious that in this case the account of the past offered parallels with a more recent situation.

Another interesting characteristic of the section on Richilde is the inclusion of an account of the foundation of the abbey of Anchin. Gerzaguet (p. 42) claims that it was borrowed from the *Chronique latine de Berne*, better known as the *Chronographia regum Francorum*. However, the examination of the relationship between the *CBA* and the *Chronographia* leads one to reject this assumption: for this specific passage the *Chronographia* is in all likelihood a translation of the abridged version of the *CBA*. The story displays original elements in comparison with other accounts of the foundation of Anchin, and I have not been able to identify an alternate source.⁷⁴⁵ One can thus make two different hypotheses: either the compiler of the *CBA* wrote a new foundation story of the abbey of Anchin based on existing accounts, or he simply translated an earlier text.

The account of the *CBA* displays many novelties with respect to earlier stories of the foundation of Anchin. It includes several legendary elements which aim to provide some background regarding the events leading to the foundation of the abbey. The text recounts how the two future founders, Sicher of Loo, lord of Courcelles and Walter of Montigny-en-Ostrevent were at war against each other. One day, Sicher finds himself lost in a forest and asks for shelter at a nearby castle, which actually belongs to his enemy. Walter is surprised upon recognising his rival but he consents to host Sicher peacefully for the night. The next morning, both knights realise that they have had the same dream about a white stag on an islet. Walter knows the islet in question, and they decide to go there. A white stag appears and Sicher tells Walter:

‘Sire, nous avons eu guerre longement ensemble, de quoi plusour de nos amis sont ocis. Il me samble que Nostre-Sires nous a monsté que nous en faciens la pénitence en cest islet, et, se vous i vouliés demourer, je vous i tenroie compaignie’. (*Istore*, II, 565)

What then follows can also be found for the most part in other accounts: the knights and their friends, with the agreement of Bishop Gerard II of Cambrai and Anselm of Ribémont found a monastery on the islet and Alard, from the abbey of Hasnon, is made abbot.

⁷⁴⁵ For a survey of the existing accounts, see Gerzaguet, pp. 27-47.

The aspect and content of this foundation story permit a few safe assumptions. Firstly, the focus of the story, i.e. the events explaining the actual foundation, the integration of legendary elements and the lively style of the narrative (with dialogues) suggest that this account was certainly part of a chronicle rather than a charter or annals. Additionally, one is struck by the secular nature of the account: the foundation takes place in the context of a war between two knights; no mention is made of Saint Gordaine, who used to live on the isle of Anchin and who is mentioned in most other accounts. Moreover, several elements suggest that the author of this story was undoubtedly familiar with the surroundings and the history of the abbey of Anchin. He mentions several place names not found in other accounts, e.g. Courcelles-lès-Lens (close to Douai) and Lewarde (near Anchin). He has some knowledge of the possessions of the two founders and of the territories they grant to the abbey: he mentions Pecquencourt (mentioned in the charters of foundation: see Gerzaguët, p. 48), Loos-en-Gohelle (also donated at foundation: p. 66) and also Courcelles-lès-Lens, seemingly not mentioned in the other accounts nor in the charters even though Anchin did have a *curtis* there (p. 234). Finally, the white stag, mentioned in the story of the *CBA*, was indeed the symbol of the abbey (p. 42).

Territorially speaking, the abbey of Anchin was an independent enclave within Hainault.⁷⁴⁶ In spite of its autonomy (Anchin did not have an advocate) the abbey increasingly came under the influence of the comital family of Hainault from the second half of the twelfth century onwards.⁷⁴⁷ Anchin was part of Ostrevent, a territory encompassing the land between Douai and Valenciennes and of great geopolitical importance.⁷⁴⁸ Ostrevent was entirely under Flemish rule until approximately the last quarter of the eleventh century.⁷⁴⁹ Most of the land then passed to Hainault until shortly thereafter Baldwin II of Hainault lost Douai and its castellany to the count of Flanders.⁷⁵⁰ The *CBA* gives a (fictitious) account of this loss following *CH*, 20 a few paragraphs before the reference to the abbey of Anchin.

⁷⁴⁶ As demonstrated by Ghislaine Ballieu, 'L'abbaye bénédictine d'Anchin de sa fondation en 1079, à 1111' (unpublished thesis: University of Louvain, 1963), pp. 232-82 (pp. 269-70).

⁷⁴⁷ For examples illustrating this trend see Ballieu, pp. 276-78 and Gerzaguët, pp. 264-66.

⁷⁴⁸ Etienne Delcambre, 'L'Ostrevent du IX^e au XIII^e siècle', *Le Moyen Age*, 37 (1927), 241-79 (p. 241).

⁷⁴⁹ Delcambre, pp. 253-57 places its acquisition by the count of Hainault in 1072; according to Ballieu, p. 237 it happened at the latest in 1076.

⁷⁵⁰ Scholars disagree regarding the date of Douai's transferral to Flanders: see Delcambre, pp. 263-64; Ballieu, p. 237; Léon Vanderkindere, *La Formation territoriale des principautés belges au Moyen Age*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Brussels: Lamartin, 1902), I, 132-33.

Karine Ugé has recently demonstrated how monastic communities in Flanders produced narratives about their past which were used in order to solve their present needs or problems: monks could rewrite and adapt their history depending on the circumstances. Foundation stories were of particular importance as 'they were [...] the very texts that asserted the antiquity of the monastery, its privileged relation with its founder [...] and the legitimacy of its property' (p. 166). Ugé notably shows how the belated composition of a foundation story for the collegiate church of Douai took place at the time when Robert the Frisian acquired Douai, i.e. in an unstable political context in which the religious community was certainly compelled to confirm its landholdings (p. 156). Given the independent status of Anchin and its location in a disputed territory, one could very well imagine that the foundation story described above was written for similar reasons. The story mentioned indeed specific lands donated by the founders. Could the secular tone of the story also suggest that it was intended for an audience external to the monastery? If that is the case, the narrative scheme of the story is significant: two long-time enemies make peace and found Anchin. This can be interpreted as a clear call for peace between local rulers, or as a form of asserting the independent status of Anchin which, as a sacred ground, should not be the victim of secular disputes.

If the story of foundation of Anchin which survives in the *CBA* was indeed the translation of an earlier account written at the abbey, why did the compiler choose to include it in his narrative? Perhaps part of the answer lies in the patrons' interests. The attention to Anchin can be linked to Baldwin of Avesnes and Felicity of Coucy's interactions with the priory of Aymeries and its neighbouring territory (see Chapter 3, 2.4.1). There is indeed a brief report on the foundation of this Anchin priory in redaction B of the *CBA*. One might therefore infer that devotional or religious motives explained the interest in this particular abbey. Nevertheless, the references to Anchin are in fact scarce in comparison with the sources of the *CBA*: the two foundation tales form the only allusions to the Benedictine abbey and the compiler chose to omit other events involving Anchin.⁷⁵¹ This suggests that the concern for the abbey of Anchin might have worldly or political reasons rather than strictly religious motives.

⁷⁵¹ The *Continuatio Aquicinctina* and the *Auctarium Aquicinense* contain several examples. Particularly telling is the omission of the passage of the *Flandria generosa B* which reports that Count Robert II of Flanders, on his return from the First Crusade, offered Saint George's arm to the abbey (Bethmann, 'Flandria Generosa', 24).

The story fits indeed nicely in the context of the disputes surrounding Ostrevent during the thirteenth century. Ostrevent, and Bouchain, which was part of the territory given in fief to the count of Hainault, formed a portion of the territories that Margaret of Constantinople received from her sister Countess Joan upon marrying her second husband William of Dampierre.⁷⁵² According to Léon Vanderkindere (I, 214), this explains why in 1256 Louis IX of France granted this territory (along with Arleux and Crèvecœur) to the Dampierres in spite of its ties with Hainault (*dit de Péronne*).⁷⁵³ Nevertheless, the following year the Dampierres bestowed Ostrevent and Bouchain on the Avesnes (see Chapter 4, 2.1).⁷⁵⁴ Baldwin of Avesnes himself received the village of Raismes and woods in Vicoigne (both located in eastern Ostrevent) from his mother the countess in 1271.⁷⁵⁵ In a charter dated 25 May 1287 the Count of Flanders reclaimed Ostrevent against Count John of Hainault with the full support of Baldwin of Avesnes.⁷⁵⁶ The latter document proves the existence of disputes regarding the possession of this territory; however, these quarrels probably appeared earlier, at the end of the 1270s, when Margaret of Constantinople was in her last years, which increased the tension between Guy of Dampierre and John of Avesnes. In other words, the hostility which existed at the time when the *CBA* was being written also involved Ostrevent. If the story of the foundation of Anchin is a creation of the author of the *CBA* it can thus possibly be interpreted as a call for the cessation of conflicts.

It is difficult to decide whether the account on the foundation of Anchin found in the *CBA* is a creation of the chronicler or the translation of an earlier text: the knowledge of Anchin seems to support the latter hypothesis, but the (original) elements on the priory of Aymeries found in the *CBA* also point to a good knowledge of the history of the abbey. Be that as it may, it appears that the *CBA* does not seem to take a clear stance on the issues surrounding Ostrevent: the account of foundation vows for the end of conflicts but does not choose a side. With this story involving

⁷⁵² Duvivier, I, 86.

⁷⁵³ In contrast, Duvivier, I, 269 interprets this as a sanction against the Avesnes (Duvivier, I, 269) but, in favour of Vanderkindere, the document states regarding the aforementioned fiefs: 'sicut eadem domina comitissa mater nostra tenebat ea antequam comitissa fuisset' (Duvivier, II, 481-82).

⁷⁵⁴ According to Gerzaguet, p. 170 'Les Avesnes qui tiennent le Hainaut font tout pour rappeler la traditionnelle mainmise sur cette région et les liens privilégiés qu'ils entretiennent avec Anchin'. Given that Ostrevent was considered imperial land, it would certainly have been a territory which the Avesnes could claim (just as Namur or Imperial Flanders); however, documentary evidence does not seem to support Gerzaguet's assumption (see Duvivier, II, 195, 256, 265, 271, 332-33 and 517-19).

⁷⁵⁵ See Chapter 4, p. 165 and note 551.

⁷⁵⁶ Appendix, no. 36.

territories still disputed during the thirteenth century, the *CBA* implicitly prompts the reader to consider the report on the past in relation to present times even though it does not seem to offer a partisan point of view.

3.2. The Succession to the Counties of Namur and Flanders

One of the great achievements of Count Baldwin V of Hainault was certainly the acquisition of the title of marquess of Namur at the end of the 1180s.⁷⁵⁷ His clerk and chronicler, Gilbert of Mons, highlighted this heritage proudly in some of his charters.⁷⁵⁸ Gilbert was an eyewitness for some of the events which led to the acquisition of the county of Namur; however, he gave in his *Chronicon Hanoniense* a biased account and passed over or modified events which were unfavourable to his sponsor.⁷⁵⁹ I would like to argue that the *CBA* takes this a step further: it depicts Baldwin IV and his son Baldwin V as men beyond reproach, not so much to enhance the prestige of the comital dynasty of Hainault as to strengthen the legitimacy of Baldwin V's accession to the titles of marquess of Namur on the one hand, and of count of Flanders (in 1191) on the other. The compiler of the *CBA* has used different stratagems in order to render indisputable the legitimacy of these successions, for they took place in a tumultuous context: Count Henry I the Blind of Namur, after granting the succession to the county of Namur to the count of Hainault, came back on this earlier grant and tried to bequeath his possessions to his daughter Ermesinde; Count Philip of Flanders, even though he had made his daughter Margaret (Baldwin V's wife) his successor, became increasingly hostile to the count of Hainault, especially after the latter allied with King Philip Augustus of France.

Genealogy is one of the narrative techniques used by the compiler in order to legitimate the acquisition of the county of Namur. The first lay genealogical chapter of the *CBA* ('CHanBA', chapter 47) lists the descent of Duke Charles of Lower Lotharingia following the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*. This section constitutes a kind of introduction to the rest of the genealogies of the *CBA* (Chapter

⁷⁵⁷ Baldwin V had transmitted the allods of Namur (which he had inherited from Count Henry the Blind of Namur and Luxembourg) to the emperor, who returned them as fiefs along with the imperial fiefs to form the march of Namur (see de Waha, 'marche', p. 124). Given the fluctuation of the terminology between march and county of Namur (de Waha, 'marche', pp. 150-54) and given that the *CBA* only refers to the 'conté' of Namur, the term county shall be the only one used here.

⁷⁵⁸ Vercauteren, pp. 241-42.

⁷⁵⁹ For instance de Waha, 'marche', pp. 111 or 129-30.

3, 1.2.). It highlights the Carolingian ancestry of the houses of Boulogne and Namur, but also of the houses of Hainault and Avesnes. Interestingly, it is the house of Namur which provides the link between the counts of Hainault and the Carolingian kings: Henry the Blind of Namur and Luxembourg, whose sister Alice is married to Baldwin IV of Hainault, is the great-great-grandson of Ermengarde, daughter of Charles, duke of Lower Lotharingia. Furthermore, instead of listing the descent of Henry the Blind (his daughter Ermesinde is not mentioned), the genealogy shifts the focus onto the offspring of Alice of Namur, i.e. onto the comital family of Hainault. This structure derives from the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*, but it is an efficient way for the compiler of the *CBA* to present the inheritance of the county of Namur by Baldwin V of Hainault, Alice's son, as a smooth, straightforward process.

The section on Charles of Lotharingia is not the only genealogy involving the succession to the county of Namur. A section borrowed from *CH* which records the descent of Baldwin III of Hainault ('*CHanBA*', Chapter 85) includes a digression on the marriages and offspring of Godfrey I of Namur, father of Count Henry the Blind. It also refers to an agreement by which Henry the Blind granted the succession to the county of Namur to Baldwin IV of Hainault.⁷⁶⁰ In his account of the latter agreement, the compiler of the *CBA* makes an original addition: he states that Henry the Blind decided to negotiate with Baldwin IV 'quant il ot grans tans este avoec sa feme et il vit que il n'en avoit nul hoir' ('*CHanBA*', p. 424). The lack of an heir is thus the motive which leads Henry the Blind to bestow the succession to the county of Namur on his brother-in-law. Such an addition does not come as a surprise as the transmission of the land to an heir is a recurring topic in the *CBA*.

Nonetheless, the text of the *CBA* suggests that once such an agreement has been made, it prevails over any other circumstance. This appears clearly when the compiler reports how in 1187, Henry the Blind offered his recently born daughter, Ermesinde, in marriage to Count Henry II of Champagne and covenanted to bequeath his lands to her. Gilbert of Mons (*CH*, 129) views this as treachery and condemns it, but the compiler of the *CBA* is reluctant to make blunt judgments and chooses a different path: he simply states that this agreement was 'contre les convenances que li uns et li autres avoient au conte Bauduin de Haynau; car li quens Henris de Namur

⁷⁶⁰ The full passage can be read in *Istore*, II, 573-74 (and partially in '*CHanBA*', pp. 424-25). It is based on *CH*, 33. The agreement in question is the convention of Heppignies in June 1163 (see de Waha, 'marche', pp. 103-08).

avoit convent par son sairement et le sairement de ses hommes que il aueroit toute la terre de Namur après le décest le conte Henri' (*Istore*, II, 632). He adds that this also transgressed the agreement of a marriage between Henry of Champagne and Yolanda of Hainault (see quotation p. 197) and that, in spite of all this, the counts of Champagne and Namur still confirmed their agreement. The bias of the *CBA* thus comes in the form of apparently neutral observations (agreements were broken) which actually favour the count of Hainault.⁷⁶¹ The count of Hainault's anger (another innovation of the compiler) therefore appears as a logical reaction to the counts of Champagne and Namur's actions. With these additions, the compiler justifies subsequent events, such as the count of Hainault's call for help to Emperor Frederick I and his military intervention in Namur.

As he aimed to provide an idealised representation of the count of Hainault's acquisition of the county of Namur, the compiler also carefully removed or modified the accounts of events which might call into question, even slightly, Baldwin V's legitimacy. He omits for instance *CH*, 58, which mentions the second marriage of Henry the Blind, in order to suppress all elements which could cast doubt on the integrity of the succession process before its official confirmation (narrated in *CH*, 102) or even, one could argue, before Henry the Blind tries to break the agreement he had made with Baldwin V (see above).⁷⁶² The compiler also goes to great lengths to portray a flawless count of Hainault. He narrates how Baldwin IV and Baldwin V gave unconditional support to Henry the Blind whenever he was in trouble (following *CH*). Moreover, he also makes a significant substitution when he recounts Henry the Blind's reconciliation with his wife Agnes of Guelders: whereas Gilbert of Mons explains that the count of Namur became reconciled with his spouse on the advice of the archbishop of Cologne, the count of Flanders and the duke of Brabant, who were hoping to disinherit Baldwin V (*CH*, 122), the author of the *CBA* claims that Henry the Blind acted upon the count of Hainault's advice! Baldwin V consequently appears as the good nephew who acts for his uncle's benefit. What is more, his status of legitimate heir is reinforced: the fact that he reconciled Henry the

⁷⁶¹ One could easily imagine the converse situation, i.e. with the text defending the cause of the count of Champagne: it could have been argued that Baldwin V of Hainault was the first to break the wedding agreements when he gave his daughter Isabel (who was promised in marriage to the count of Champagne's son) to French King Philip Augustus.

⁷⁶² This explains the omission of *CH*, 107 where Baldwin V tries to gain the favour of Emperor Frederick I regarding the county of Namur: according to the compiler of the *CBA*, such lobbying was not needed, for Baldwin V simply was the indisputable heir.

Blind and his wife suggests that the birth of a child would not alter the agreement made regarding the succession. In other words, Baldwin V is on his best behaviour and the disputes surrounding the succession to the county of Namur which occur after the birth of Ermesinde only stem from Henry the Blind's actions.

The compiler uses a similar pattern when dealing with the counts of Hainault's relationships with count of Flanders Philip of Alsace: he omits the passages of *CH* alluding to enmity between the counts before the official confirmation that Baldwin V would succeed Philip.⁷⁶³ Moreover, it seems that the compiler of the *CBA* refused to take any risks regarding the legitimacy of the house of Hainault's accession to the county of Flanders, as he even omitted a passage of the *Flandria generosa B* recounting how following the death of Count Charles the Good, Baldwin IV of Hainault claimed the county of Flanders on account of being next of kin (De Smet, II, 81-82). This request failed as it did not have the support of the French king Louis VI. The compiler thus preferred to pass over the count of Hainault's ambitions in order to depict the accession to the county of Flanders as a natural process, due to the lack of an heir.

As in the case of Namur, the compiler tries to depict Baldwin V as a victim. Here he can rely rather safely on Gilbert of Mons' partisan viewpoint, who describes the count of Flanders' rising hostility towards Baldwin V without ever incriminating the count of Hainault: when the latter's daughter, Queen Isabel of France, asks him to help her husband against the count of Flanders, he says 'que il li aideroit ce que il porroit, sauve la convenance que il avoit au conte de Flandres'. Some people then suggest ('firent entendre') to Count Philip of Flanders that Count Baldwin V intends to help the French king and 'de ce fut-il moult esmeus contre le conte de Haynau' (*Istore*, II, 621). The behaviour of the count of Hainault thus remains loyal, and the count of Flanders' anger only stems from miscommunication. Philip of Flanders' increasing resentment therefore partly justifies Baldwin V's decision to ally with Philip Augustus. But there is more: the compiler, in contrast with Gilbert of Mons, insists on the impact which Count Philip has on Count Baldwin V's feelings: in his account of the wars between the duke of Brabant and the count of Hainault, Gilbert

⁷⁶³ He adapts *CH*, 57, leaving out references to hostility and violence between Baldwin IV and Philip of Flanders, and *CH*, 74, omitting the fact that Baldwin V was planning to help Henry the Young King and Henry II of England in their war against King Louis VII of France, himself supported by his vassal Philip of Flanders. Philip of Alsace confirmed Baldwin V as his successor before leaving for the crusade: see *Istore*, II, 620 (based on *CH*, 82).

reports that the count of Flanders threatened to ally himself with the duke of Brabant if Baldwin V refused to grant truces; the author of the *CBA* adds that ‘ceste parole greva moult le conte de Haynau’ (*Istore*, II, 620), who then consented to the truces. The compiler also refers to Baldwin V’s emotions when he mentions the eventual alliance between the count of Hainault and King Philip Augustus: ‘li quens Bauduins s’en ala à Paris au roi Phelippon de France pour faire aloiance à lui contre le conte Phelippon de Flandres; car il n’avoit mais nulle espérance de trover amour ou conte Phelippe’.⁷⁶⁴ As in the case of the county of Namur, Baldwin V’s feelings (of anger, of disappointment) both trigger and justify his reactions.

The compiler resorts to a different narrative tactic when he has to recount the conflict between the count of Namur and Baldwin V of Hainault: the support of legitimating entities. Using Gilbert of Mons’ account, he reports how the emperor endorses Baldwin V’s cause and recognises him as the sole legitimate heir.⁷⁶⁵ But other people confer legitimacy in Baldwin V and help to justify his course of action in claiming the land he is due. That is the case of his men, as appears in another significant modification concerning the description of the decision to invade Namur:

Videns autem comes Hanoniensis hereditati sue periculum imminere, commoto exercitu festino, Namurcum venit, et illud cum paucis obsedit, [...] (*CH*, 143)

Dont s’en rala li quens Bauduins en Haynau et ot conseil à ses hommes que il feroit, car il laissoit Namur en grant peril. *Si homme qui bien virent comment li quens Henris se maintenoit et comment il li avoit pluseurs fois failli de convenances, li loèrent que il alast ou país à grant force et se meist en la saisine, se il peust. Dont assambia li quens Bauduins grant ost et s’en ala devant Namur. Si l’asséga, [...]* (*Istore*, II, 635; my emphasis)

Similarly, in the *CBA*, it is the people of Namur who deliver the city and the castle of Namur to Baldwin V (in contrast with *CH*, in which Baldwin’s own men play that role). In other words, the people of Namur themselves sanction Baldwin V’s accession to the county. The compiler also insists on the role of the emperor, i.e. the ruler who is owed homage for the county of Namur and who has the final say on anything involving this territory: after the dialogue between Isabel of Hainault and French king Philip Augustus (see above), he adds an original transition reminding the reader that the emperor was about to receive the count of Hainault as his vassal for

⁷⁶⁴ *Istore*, II, 623 (my emphasis; the text in italics has no equivalent in *CH*, 113).

⁷⁶⁵ See for instance *Istore*, II, 632 (based on *CH*, 129).

the land of Namur. Furthermore, whereas Gilbert (*CH*, 149) states that Baldwin V pays homage to the king of the Romans (i.e. Henry VI, the emperor's son), the *CBA* mentions instead his father Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in order to grant greater legitimacy to the succession process (*Istore*, II, 638-39).

The author of the *CBA*, as has been argued above, did his best to resolve the paradox of the status of Baldwin V of Hainault: on the one hand he was the heir of Henry the Blind for the county of Namur and of Philip of Alsace for the county of Flanders, but on the other he also became their enemy. The *CBA* manages to reconcile these conflicting aspects and to defend the legitimacy of Baldwin V's accession to both counties. However, this task was a little more difficult for Flanders: for his accession to the county of Namur Baldwin V had Emperor Frederick I's full support, even when Henry the Blind was still alive. In contrast, after Philip of Alsace's death, Matilda of Portugal, Count Philip's widow, and King Philip Augustus, who both had received land in Flanders from the late count, contested Baldwin V's (and from 1194, Baldwin VI's) possession of Flanders.⁷⁶⁶

Once again, the compiler omits certain facts in order to create the impression that the count of Hainault is the victim and that his actions are justified. He omits *CH*, 111 which lists the cities of Flanders included in the dowry given to Matilda of Portugal by Philip of Alsace. He does admittedly mention the confirmation of this dowry by King Philip Augustus (following *CH*, 125), but suppresses the fact that Baldwin V refused to approve it. These omissions are particularly noteworthy with regard to the narrative of the events following Philip of Alsace's death: Baldwin V takes possession of Flanders and faces resistance in Ghent 'car la roine Mahaus qui avoit esté femme le conte Phelippe, l'avoit saisie et bien garnie, et *disoit que elle estoit douée de toutes Flandres*'.⁷⁶⁷ Matilda's claim to the whole county is mentioned again later on (following *CH*, 178) and the compiler adds that Baldwin V 'ne l'en connoissoit pas la moitié'. The archbishop of Rouen arbitrates the dispute and the parties reach peace with an agreement regarding the partition of Flanders. The *CBA* lists the territories granted to Matilda but simply states that 'li quens Bauduins devoit avoir tout le remanant de la conté' (*Istore*, II, 645), whereas *CH*, 178 recorded the different cities which Baldwin V would have. Nonetheless, when Baldwin V wants

⁷⁶⁶ Vanderkindere, I, 183-92.

⁷⁶⁷ *Istore*, II, 644 (based on *CH*, 175, except the text in italics). On the compiler's use of reported speech in order to spell doubt on information, see below.

to pay homage to Philip Augustus for Flanders, the king refuses 'por ce que il voloit dire que la royne Mahaus le devoit avoir en douaire'.⁷⁶⁸ The vagueness of the *CBA* regarding the territories included in Matilda's dower, in addition to the clear designation of Baldwin V of Hainault and his wife Margaret as heirs to Flanders, invites the reader to view Baldwin V as the victim: his legitimacy is unjustly called into question by the French king. Furthermore, to a reader of the *CBA* the agreement regarding the division of Flanders might appear favourable to Matilda, whereas in fact it seems that she could actually have claimed more land (*CH*, 111 and 178).

The compiler of the *CBA* does not, however, systematically distort or omit all elements narrated in the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. He recounts (following *CH*, 94) how in 1179 Philip of Alsace negotiated Isabel of Hainault's marriage to Philip Augustus and granted the French king Aire-sur-la-Lys, Saint-Omer, Hesdin and Arras (to which he himself adds Bapaume). Baldwin V, who was against this marriage because of an earlier agreement with the count of Champagne, was grieved that the count of Flanders had offered these territories to the king (*Istore*, II, 620). Interestingly, in a section based on Rigord's *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, the compiler re-uses this event to explain Baldwin IX [VI] of Flanders and Hainault's alliance with King Richard I of England:⁷⁶⁹

L'an après, qui fut del Incarnation Nostre-Seigneur M. C. IIII^{xx} et XVII, s'aloia li quens Bauduins de Flandres et de Haynau au roi Richart contre le roi Phelippe de France pour ce que li rois Phelippes avoit saisi Arras, Aire, Saint-Omer, Hesdin et Bapaumes. Il disoit que li quens Phelippes li avoit donné en mariaige, et li quens Bauduins disoit que li quens Phelippes ne le pot faire.⁷⁷⁰ Por ce descort fut celle aloiance faite, [...] (*Istore*, II, 655; my emphasis for passages not based on Rigord)

The text thus justifies once again the count of Flanders and Hainault's actions. The compiler's explanation might actually have been inspired from later historical events. Indeed, he followed William the Briton's *Gesta Philippi Augusti* in recounting another occurrence of Flemish antagonism linked to the fate of Aire-sur-la-Lys and

⁷⁶⁸ *Istore*, II, 645 (based on *CH*, 184).

⁷⁶⁹ The passage is based on Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth Carpentier and others (Paris: CNRS, 2006) pp. 344-47.

⁷⁷⁰ See also a very similar mention in the *Chronique des rois de France* by the Anonymous of Béthune (quoted in Spiegel, *Romancing*, p. 255), in which, however, it is not used as the justification for Baldwin VI [IX]'s alliance with the king of England.

Saint-Omer.⁷⁷¹ The count and king had finally come to an agreement in 1200: Saint-Omer and Aire-sur-la-Lys were granted to Count Baldwin VI [IX] while the French king received the three other cities.⁷⁷² But in 1212, following the marriage between Countess Joan of Flanders and Hainault and Ferrand of Portugal, Louis, son of Philip Augustus, captured and detained the newlyweds and took over Saint-Omer and Aire-sur-la-Lys (*Istore*, II, 667-68). Ferrand was keen on getting revenge and when Philip Augustus summoned his barons to go to war with him against John I of England, Ferrand refused, unless the king returned Saint-Omer and Aire-sur-la-Lys 'que mesires Loeys li avoit tolue' (*Istore*, II, 671). This is the beginning of the hostilities between Ferrand and the French king which would eventually lead to Ferrand's alliance with John Lackland and to the battle of Bouvines. It thus seems that the compiler exploited the fluctuating fate of Saint-Omer and Aire-sur-la-Lys to explain the conflicts between the count of Flanders and Hainault and the French king.

Past events involving Baldwin V's accession to the counties of Namur and Flanders can be related to some aspects of the more recent past (or even present) of the patrons and the intended audience of the *CBA*. Firstly, they illustrate a recurring concern of the *CBA*: the transmission of land to an heir. The text shows interest in the history of the succession of various princely and noble houses. This is particularly visible for local dynasties, as shown not only in the examples of the succession to the counties of Flanders and Namur but also in the accounts of the succession feud over the county of Boulogne, the transmission of the castellany of Saint-Omer from one relative to the next, or even the case of Hellin III of Wavrin, who was forced to sell his office of seneschal of Flanders.⁷⁷³ But the fascination for this topic is also found elsewhere in the *CBA*, like in the succession feud which leads William the Conqueror to invade England. This obsession about succession and the problems that it can generate is a constant reminder of the historical background of the *CBA*, the never-mentioned succession feud between the Avesnes and the Dampierres.

The succession to the counties of Namur and Flanders also refers more directly to contemporary⁷⁷⁴ or near-contemporary realities. This explains to some extent

⁷⁷¹ See *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, I, chapter 165.

⁷⁷² This happens with the liberation of Count Philip of Namur (Baldwin VI [IX]'s brother): *Istore*, II, 656). This insertion (which takes place right before the borrowings from Villehardouin) might stem from the knowledge of diplomatic documents as the text mentions that 'furent faites bonnes chartres de la pais d'une part et d'autre' (for the charter in question see Warnkönig, I, 341-42).

⁷⁷³ See respectively 'CHanBA', pp. 452, 435-36 and 444. Note that these passages were all added at the stage of redaction B, i.e. the one for which Baldwin of Avesnes' influence is the clearest (see Chapter 3).

the ideological choices made by the compiler in his account. Indeed, one should not forget that Baldwin of Avesnes was directly affected by the consequences of the feud between his great-grandfather Baldwin V and Henry the Blind, count of Namur and Luxembourg: he was the one who had to settle the conflicts between the Courtenays (who had inherited the county of Namur after the death of Philip of Namur, brother of Baldwin VI of Hainault) and, later on, the Dampierres, on the one hand, and Henry V of Luxembourg, grandson of Henry the Blind, who had claims on the county, on the other. The *CBA* still had an interest in the fate of the county of Namur beyond Baldwin V of Hainault and it alludes to the situation right before the start of the Avesnes and Dampierre feud, stating that in 1237 Countess Joan of Flanders and Hainault helped Baldwin of Courtenay to recover the county of Namur, for Henry of Vianden, the future Henry V of Luxembourg, was claiming it.⁷⁷⁴ The situation had just been resolved a few years before the composition of the *CBA* and it was still fresh in the memories of the intended audience. The compiler did not take any risks and thus put the counts of Hainault's possession of Namur beyond suspicion. He could not act likewise for Flanders because adversity was greater: he still displayed favourable bias towards the counts of Hainault and (after Philip of Alsace's death) of Flanders but he also justified their actions in the context of hostile relationships with the French royalty, which deeply affected Flanders at the time of Philip Augustus. This could appeal to readers of the *CBA* (Flemings and Hainaulters alike), who were exposed to the French king's involvement in their politics.

3.3. Relating Contemporary Events: A Neutral Look?

The examples examined above show how the present affects the compiler's look at the past and leads him to adapt his sources. But how does he deal with events which have occurred during the life of his patron and audience and have directly affected them? In Chapter 4, the example of Mary of Brabant, whom the compiler portrayed as a queen beyond reproach in the case of Pierre de la Broce, has shown that he can be at times inclined to overt bias. However, in Chapter 3, the account of the battle of

⁷⁷⁴ 'CHanBA', p. 455. Other mentions involving the county of Namur include Baldwin V's bequeathing of the county to his son Philip as a fief held from Hainault (*Istore*, II, 653; based on *CH*, 226); and the transmission of the county to the Courtenay family (*Istore*, II, 674-75, probably linked to *Chronique d'Ernoult*, p. 391).

Westkapelle, a significant episode in the struggle between the Avesnes and Dampierres, has demonstrated that the author could also display a certain balance in recounting events linked to his patron. Let us expand this corpus and briefly examine two further cases: that of William II of Holland, king of the Romans, who, because of his ties with the Avesnes party, provides an ideal test of bias; and that of Simon of Montfort, who led the baronial revolt in England under the reign of Henry III.

William II of Holland, John of Avesnes' brother-in-law, is mentioned in two different passages: one recounts his coronation as king of the Romans in the context of the disputes between Pope Innocent IV and Emperor Frederick II; the other, which was added at the stage of redaction B focuses on the battle of Westkapelle and on the invasion of Frisia ('CHanBA', pp. 458-59 and 460-62). The compiler insists on the pope's strong support for William II: he twice repeats (pp. 458-59 and 460) that Innocent IV wanted the king of the Romans to come to Rome and be crowned emperor.⁷⁷⁵ He describes (p. 462) the count of Holland as 'mout hardi et de grant cuer' when recounting the pursuit of five Frisians, which would lead to his accidental death. Nevertheless, the compiler also underlines William II's guilt in the dispute surrounding Zeeland and the subsequent battle of Westkapelle (see Chapter 3, 2.4.2). William II is thus described with positive features as an individual, but he is not given preferential treatment in the conflict with the countess of Flanders and Hainault. The *CBA* thus provides some ideological balance, which reflects the delicate position of its patron at the time: Baldwin of Avesnes had been on close terms with the king of the Romans and was still in contact with Adelaide of Holland and her children, but he now formed part of the entourage of the count of Flanders.

The influence of the lord of Beaumont's Flemish ties also appears discreetly in the account of Simon of Montfort's uprising against King Henry III of England. Here again, the *CBA* refers to the event twice: firstly with a substantial account based on Chapter 10 of Primat's Latin chronicle; then with a mention in the B redaction account of Richard of Cornwall's reign as king of the Romans ('CHanBA', pp. 457-58 and 462). The comparison with John of Vignay's translation of Primat's (lost) chronicle is enlightening: whereas the fourteenth-century translator displays favourable bias towards Simon of Montfort, the *CBA* takes the opposite stance. John of Vignay depicts Simon as a righteous man (his conflict with the king starts because

⁷⁷⁵ Innocent IV was indeed a strong ally of William II's (Duvivier, I, 258).

he is the only one to respect an earlier pledge), a brave and valiant knight who was defeated by Henry III only because he lacked a large contingent of men, and who sacrificed himself for his son, and as a saintly man whose limbs were kept as relics in an abbey. In turn, the *CBA*, although it mentions that Simon 'savait assés de guerre' ('CHanBA', p. 462), portrays him as a liar who deceived the barons of England, a poor leader and a man betrayed by one of his own children. The respective emphasis on reported speech by both John of Vignay and the *CBA* is especially interesting. It is actually used to undermine the credibility of the information given in the speech: John of Vignay describes how the Lord Edward and the count of Gloucester intended to kill Simon because he was a bad ruler 'si comme il disoient'; the *CBA* recounts how in deceiving the barons of England Simon 'disoit que' King Henry III was not a good ruler and wasted money away. Richard of Cornwall's positive intervention in the conflict to help his brother Henry III can probably be viewed as another display of favourable bias towards a friend of the Avesnes. However, the negative representation of Simon of Montfort also reflects the position of the counts of Flanders: they loyally supported King Henry III.⁷⁷⁶ The *CBA* was written shortly after the settlement of the trade war between Flanders and England, a settlement in which Baldwin of Avesnes had played a key role (Chapter 4, 2.2). In this context of recent reconciliation, the account of the *CBA* of the rebellion led by Simon of Montfort possibly illustrates the renewed collaboration with the English royalty.

Conclusion

The examination of the sections of the *CBA* on the history of Flanders and Hainault reveals that the compilation of the sources and their organisation into a narrative is a process influenced by different elements: the interests of the compiler, the expectations of his audience and patrons and the rules of the universal chronicle genre. This not only explains the strong concern for chronology and topical unity but also the attention devoted to local saints and to specific noble lineages.

The author of the *CBA* did a commendable job in negotiating these different interests. Admittedly the *CBA* is no literary masterpiece; however, it seems

⁷⁷⁶ Berben, pp. 91-92.

appropriate to review the qualities of the compiler's work. A first aspect regards the author's loyalty to the principles of brevity and intelligibility he mentioned in his prologue. The compiler is a gifted abbreviator who makes the most of his sources; however, he is also capable of seeking other (written or oral) sources in order to complete or correct his account, notably for chronological or genealogical information of particular interest to his patron(s) and intended audience. He aims to provide a clear narrative to his readership and therefore occasionally emphasises, by means of additions or restructurations, the causes and effects of certain historical events.⁷⁷⁷ This emphasis is both a didactic and ideological tool: the author uses it to transmit knowledge and clarify his account but also, as we have seen for Baldwin V of Hainault, to justify certain actions or behaviours. Finally, the more original additions of the *CBA* show the compiler's appreciation for the utility of dialogues: they render the narrative more lively but they can also serve ethical purposes. The variant reading of the prologue which mentioned an interest in the 'parolles' (Chapter 1, 2.1) makes particular sense in this context.

The most remarkable achievement of the compiler of the *CBA* is certainly his ability to adapt subtly his sources according to his ideological agenda. Admittedly, the nature of the sources used by the compiler has an ideological impact on the narrative: the depiction of the Flemish counts is not always laudatory (e.g. Philip of Alsace) whereas one could argue that from Richilde of Hainault until Margaret of Constantinople, the house of Hainault is continuously considered in fairly positive terms. However, the compiler also plays an active role in conveying such representations through the selection and adaptation of his source material. It is undeniable that in most cases he aimed to provide a narrative in which the past connects with the present and which could appeal to a contemporary audience: thus he uses the past to take a stance on the outcome of certain conflicts, as in the case of the county of Namur, or to justify the actions of a certain lineage, for instance those of the counts of Hainault and Flanders against their French rival. Under the guise of a deceptively neutral account the compiler exploits the past to justify an opinion regarding current issues; when he recounts events which deal with his own times he

⁷⁷⁷ This desire to explain how certain events form a sequence within the narrative might be a first step in the slow process of the development of history as an autonomous discipline aiming to explain the causes of given events, rather than listing events which happen. The process is the move from sequence of events, to the explanation of cause and effect. (see Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 34-38).

also makes choices to that effect. In both cases, the decisions he makes reflect his patron's current situation: that of an Avesnes at the court of Flanders.

The compiler shows indeed a rare sensitivity to the situation of his patron, acting with great caution when dealing with episodes connected with the Avesnes and Dampierre feud. His account of the battle of Westkapelle slightly favours the Dampierres but he also highlights the qualities of William II of Holland, once ally of the Avesnes. The foundation story of Anchin recounts remote events, but it possibly echoes current disputes surrounding Ostrevent in which the lord of Beaumont was directly involved, which is why the compiler also chose a neutral stance. He is less hesitant in his account of the rebellion of Simon of Montfort, as this issue does not involve directly the quarrel between the Avesnes and Dampierres.

The compiler's capacity to convey specific bias in his narrative is not only notable because of the subtle additions or modifications he made to his sources. Indeed, even though this bias is first and foremost perceivable for passages involving local or familial history, it stems from a moral scheme present in the *CBA* evoked in Chapter 1 (2.3) which is valid for the whole narrative: the emphasis on reported speech undermines the statement of the speaker (as for Simon of Montfort); Baldwin V's accession to the counties of Namur and Flanders is legitimised thanks to flawless behaviour, the lack of an heir and an official agreement, while the actions he takes are justified by his men's advice (*conseil*) and by the transgression the aforesaid agreement. All the latter topics are recurring in the *CBA* and, as a matter of fact, in many other Old French chronicles: they define the moral axis of the narrative. The biased passages regarding Flanders and Hainault are thus logically modelled in accordance with this pattern. This elaborate narrative code suggests that the person who composed the *CBA* is not just a compiler: through selection, restructuration, subtle additions and modifications he converted a corpus of specific sources into a universal chronicle with its own recurring topics and bias. Admittedly, he probably did not have the literary originality of a true 'author', but he interacted with his text as a true writer.

CONCLUSION

Several fundamental questions underlie the study of a medieval literary text. By whom and for whom was it written? With what aims? How was it received? In the case of a work such as the *Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes*, i.e. a compilation of historiographical sources, how was it assembled? In trying to answer these questions, it is vital to examine the text and its historical context and to observe their interaction.

These issues and the elaboration of the *CBA* in the context of the Avesnes and Dampierre feud have been an important concern of the present study. The text as such is the primary focus of the first three chapters, whereas the fourth considers the context and the fifth the relationship of the two. The first chapter leads to the conclusion that the *CBA*, as the first complete universal history in Old French, responded to the demand of the lay public and that the variety of its content resulted in a very diversified reception, both in terms of its audience and of its use in other historiographical compilations. The investigation of the different stages of redaction of the *CBA* carried out in Chapters 2 and 3 results in a new paradigm for the textual tradition, with a division into three redactions, the first of which (A*) is preserved in a single copy, KBR, MS 9003. The study of the differences between these redactions shows that several additions to the text are connected with the patrons' demands; and that Felicity of Coucy was also involved in the sponsorship of the *CBA*. This study of the text is followed by a chapter focusing on the historical context: Chapter 4 outlines Baldwin of Avesnes' complex position within the Avesnes and Dampierres feud; it also emphasises how the lord of Beaumont's idea of sponsoring a universal chronicle stemmed from a specific cultural matrix. The final chapter then illustrates how the compiler rewrote his sources in accordance with the expectations of his audience and patrons when recounting the history of Flanders and Hainault. These sections display a moderate bias which reflects Baldwin of Avesnes' ambiguous situation.

This study of the *CBA* has also revealed that this chronicle is interesting not only in itself but also because, on the one hand, it permits a better understanding of

some its sources and, on the other hand, of some of the texts that it generated or influenced. These are aspects which could be particularly fruitful for further research. The *CBA* offers valuable material regarding the reception of several medieval historiographical texts, e.g. as a unique example of the reception of Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée* or as evidence that helps us reconsider the textual history of the *Cantatorium Sancti Huberti Andaginensi*. The study of the reception of specific historical subject matter, such as the sources used to write the history of France, could also lead to interesting results. In turn, the *CBA*, as a text itself, has been received in very different settings. The study of its reception at the ducal court of Burgundy during the fifteenth century could be a fascinating subject: numerous illustrated copies were produced at the time and the chronicle was adapted or re-used in new historical compilations. The influence of the *CBA* is interesting not only from a textual viewpoint. Baldwin of Avesnes' decision to sponsor a chronicle might also have had an impact on his entourage, e.g. on Enguerrand of Coucy, who commissioned a book with genealogies, or on John I of Hainault, for whom Melis Stoke wrote his continuation of the *Rijmkroniek*. This is another potential area for further research: could the *CBA* be the first occurrence in a series of historiographical texts sponsored among acquaintances of Baldwin of Avesnes? Be that as it may, it seemed indispensable to start by examining the text in its initial context and it now seems fit to synthesise and reassess some of the observations made in the present study with regards to the genesis, authorship, sponsorship and function(s) of the *CBA*.

The project of the *CBA* came to light during a period when Baldwin of Avesnes, removed from the succession feud in which he had fought alongside his brother John, had buried the hatchet with his mother Margaret and half-brother Guy of Dampierre and frequently spent time at the court of Flanders. In this new context, the lord of Beaumont formed part of a cultural milieu in which literary sponsorship was common practice. He notably became acquainted with the royal family of France, and his decision to sponsor a lengthy historiographical work was almost certainly influenced by the recent completion of the *Roman aux roys*, offered to King Philip III in 1274. This might have encouraged Baldwin to conceive a historiographical project of equally ambitious proportions. However, Baldwin of Avesnes was stimulated not only by the popularity of literary patronage among his peers. The *CBA* was also an undertaking which responded to existing demands: the

thirst for knowledge amongst lay readers at the end of the thirteenth century increased significantly and learned compilations in the vernacular in all sorts of domains were appearing. The *CBA*, as the first complete universal chronicle in Old French, was admittedly an innovative enterprise, but it clearly had a potential readership even before it was written. One should bear this in mind when considering the functional aspects of the work, as we will see below.

The author whom Baldwin of Avesnes (and probably his wife Felicity of Coucy) sponsored in order to write this chronicle had a clerical education; he was possibly connected to the region of Saint-Omer and seemingly had a good knowledge of local religious institutions. Working on his own or at the head of a small team, this writer compiled a series of texts both in Latin and Old French and composed a universal chronicle which, at some point, was laid down on parchment: this text is preserved in redaction A*. The resulting work was a bookish compilation of world history in which the genealogies of several lineages from the southern Low Countries were announced but had yet to be inserted. The work was indeed completed in two subsequent redactions. In redaction A the compiler translated and restructured most of the genealogies from Gilbert of Mons' *Chronicon Hanoniense* along with some historical chapters on the counts of Hainault. Above all, he compiled the descent of Raoul of Coucy following a genealogical investigation in which Felicity of Coucy was undoubtedly an important source of information. In redaction B he included an extensive genealogy of the Avesnes family based on the *Chronicon Laetiense* and, most notably, on a lengthy recollection of oral testimonies from Baldwin of Avesnes and his entourage. He also occasionally made corrections to the genealogies he had inserted in redaction A. The fact that the genealogical sections on the counts of Hainault, the Coucys and the Avesnes were not included in redaction A* demonstrates their importance: the patrons certainly had high expectations of these passages. Their belated insertion was also probably due to the fact that their composition involved a different type of work for the compiler: he had to collect part of his material from oral informers. In the case of the Avesnes genealogy it was also due to the problem of finding the right place to incorporate the section into the narrative.

Redactions A and B also feature other additions or modifications, which might not necessarily have been part of the initial project as defined by Baldwin of Avesnes. In redaction A a few chapters on England have been rewritten following

Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, whereas the compiler also added a section on the teachings of Cato, in all likelihood because of an interest in ethics which he could sense amongst his potential readers. In B, some original sections on contemporary history have been added. Some deal with events in which Baldwin was directly or indirectly involved. Even though it is not clear whether the compiler had recourse to his patron's direct testimony, he displayed a very subtle attitude in writing these sections by demonstrating great awareness of his patron's delicate situation: that of a former enemy of the Dampierres who was now their ally. It is difficult to determine whether these sections formed part of the initial project. One can say the same regarding the genealogical additions relating to the house of Boulogne and, above all, several families of Flanders and Hainault, even though they might have been belated insertions because they implied a specific investigation. Some of these lineages were part of the lord of Beaumont's close entourage: could these families have requested these additions themselves? As for the digression on Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestors and the genealogy of the dukes of Brabant, they are based on new textual sources, which might be a surer sign of unforeseen insertions. Be that as it may, it appears that the compiler of the *CBA* demonstrated an ability to integrate new material in the narrative following his patron's requests even when he dealt with supplements that had not been planned in the initial project.

The study of the redactions of the *CBA* has allowed us to confirm categorically that Baldwin of Avesnes was its patron. However, it also revealed that the lord of Beaumont's wife, Felicity of Coucy, equally actively participated in the sponsorship of the chronicle: the genealogies, the ideology and the *non-dits* of the *CBA* concern mainly the Avesnes and the comital dynasty of Flanders and Hainault, but also the Coucy family. Moreover, the ducal family of Brabant had, for different reasons, a tangible impact on the *CBA*. The Brabantine family possibly helped the compiler of the *CBA* obtain access to texts on French history available at Saint-Denis. Their role as information brokers apparently had a direct influence on the text: the inclusion of a genealogy of the dukes can be seen as a way of thanking the family of Brabant. This is important for it means that the content of the *CBA* also depended on very pragmatic, material reasons: writing a universal chronicle is an ambitious task and sometimes the patron has to seek help elsewhere. The actual influence of John I of Brabant and his family is difficult to measure but the text of the *CBA* undoubtedly covers topics in which they had great interest, such as Charlemagne, the

crusades, the history of the counts of Boulogne, and the final chapter on the death of Pierre de la Broce which dispells any suspicions surrounding the role of Mary of Brabant, queen of France. The relation of the family of Brabant with the *CBA* is telling because it reminds us that although Baldwin of Avesnes was its initiator and main sponsor, the *CBA* could not have been completed without the participation of the lord of Beaumont's entourage.

Baldwin's degree of intervention in the composition of the *CBA* can to an extent be gauged. He undoubtedly provided material for certain sections, especially sections dealing with local history or with the genealogies of his family, in all of which he had a particular interest. This could have taken the form either of written texts or of orally transmitted information. In this task he could rely on his entourage, who, just like the family of Brabant, provided texts or testimonies. However, Baldwin's intervention in the actual composition probably did not go beyond supplying information as he seems to have left substantial freedom to his compiler. Once the *CBA* was completed, the lord of Beaumont played a role in its dissemination among his entourage and there are traces of early copies of the chronicle among members of the houses of Avesnes, Coucy and Luxembourg. This early circulation of the work among Baldwin's entourage was also probably the result of their active participation in the composition of specific passages.

The potential appeal of the *CBA* to a lay audience eager to learn has been mentioned above. However, the transmission of knowledge was not its only attractive feature: the chronicle was also certainly appreciated because it was a way for a specific group to assert its identity. The sober tone of the *CBA* and its avoidance of explicit dynastic bias and partisanship suggests that it was aimed at a wide readership: Baldwin of Avesnes was at peace with his former foes and still on good terms with his old allies when he supervised the writing of the chronicle. The *CBA* was thus a sort of federative work for the Lotharingian nobility; but it was also intended more specifically for Baldwin of Avesnes' entourage (in the broadest meaning of the word). The ethical values and code of conduct inherited from ancient philosophers, the links with prestigious common ancestors, such as the Carolingians, the counts of Hainault or the kings of France and the past achievements in the Holy Land were all self-defining traits for these nobles, who shared a common courtly culture. When reading their name as descendants of a famous ruler, the readers certainly must have felt a great deal of pride and the sense of belonging to an elite

group with a common past. The narrative of the past also gave the noble audience a sense of purpose: the deeds of past rulers and ancestors were an incentive to perform similar deeds in the present. This is particularly relevant for the crusades, following the recent vows to take the cross by nobles in the entourage of the French king, especially after the Council of Lyon in 1274.⁷⁷⁸

The *CBA* is a by-product of courtly culture, i.e. a culture transcending national or dynastic differences and with 'a community of shared values, norms and conventions'.⁷⁷⁹ To an extent, the *CBA* is thus an attempt at keeping up with a trend in a privileged social group: sponsoring historiography in the vernacular at the end of the thirteenth century was very fashionable in courtly settings, as is clearly illustrated by the sudden burst of dynastic and universal chronicles in the vernacular in Spain, France and the Low Countries. Like most of these works, the *CBA* did include local and regional elements; however, in contrast with other contemporary chronicles, it did not have a clear nationalistic or dynastic agenda, mainly because this would have been at odds with its professed universality.⁷⁸⁰ This explains why the reception of the *CBA* went beyond its region of origin: it conveyed information and values which were interesting and relevant to noble readers in general.

The functions and aims of the *CBA* are not limited to education or to the assertion of the values and identity of the nobility. Spiegel has demonstrated that history-writing could be used to 'redeem lost causes' or to 'revive lost dreams of glory' (*Romancing*, p. 1). This also seems relevant to the *CBA*. Historiography is usually linked to specific circumstances: a given community or individual fosters narratives on its own past because of present problems.⁷⁸¹ The situation is more complex for the *CBA*, given that it is not exclusively focused on one people or one dynasty: it recounts the history of the world. However, the historical context in Flanders and Hainault and, more specifically, Baldwin of Avesnes' situation, have had an impact on the passages relating to them in the narrative. This is visible not only in the omission of certain episodes of contemporary history that would have been disturbing for the lord of Beaumont's and his wife's respective families but also

⁷⁷⁸ The use of historiography to build a sense of a common past and a common purpose in monastic communities is discussed in Ugé, p. 9.

⁷⁷⁹ Vale, p. 297.

⁷⁸⁰ Moeglin views the Old French *Flandria generosa B* as 'Une première histoire nationale flamande'.

⁷⁸¹ Ugé describes this phenomenon for Flemish monastic communities. Spiegel, *Romancing*, p. 272 examines the 'contest over the past' between Flemish aristocracy and Capetian royalty, a literary struggle linked to an actual identity crisis of this aristocracy.

in the overwhelming genealogical presence of these very families alongside the comital dynasty of Hainault and the descent of Countess Richilde in general. Furthermore, the narrative also offers a favourable portrayal of the counts of Hainault. All this can be interpreted as an attempt to redeem the recent past of the Avesnes and the Coucys by highlighting their prestigious ancestry.

The patrons' high expectations regarding the genealogies of their families, which were part of the initial project, and the fact that the compiler showed extreme caution and subtlety when recounting episodes linked to them or their entourage suggest that one of the reasons why the project of the *CBA* was conceived and carried out was to give the Avesnes and Coucys an unblemished reputation. What is remarkable is the subtlety with which this intention is realised in the narrative. In a delicate historical context, the chronicler opted for a neutral and sober tone rather than a polemical approach. This is in part due to his acute awareness of the complex position of his main patron, Baldwin of Avesnes: just as did the lord of Beaumont himself, the narrative sides with the Dampierres in respect of contemporary matters but still shows sympathy towards the Avesnes in the wider historical framework. Furthermore, when the narrative praises certain individuals such as James of Avesnes or Baldwin V of Hainault, it does so very moderately and in accordance with the global ethical norms and characteristics underpinning the chronicle in general. This is the key aspect of this ideological function of the *CBA*: the redemption of the Avesnes' and Coucy's past is discreetly incorporated within the history of the world. This is a very intelligent strategy, which shows that the lord of Beaumont and his writer understood important cultural trends and were able to sense the thirst for knowledge among lay readers and to use it to their advantage. A universal chronicle was the kind of work which appealed to many and could achieve a wider dissemination than a dynastic chronicle or a simple set of genealogies. Furthermore, the apparent neutrality of the narrative suggested its trustworthiness and the slightly rewritten history of the Avesnes and Coucys benefited from that aura of credibility. Hidden within a narrative with a larger scope, the ideological manipulation was less perceivable: Baldwin of Avesnes managed to 'dominate the collective memory of feudal history' (Spiegel, *Romancing*, p. 215) regarding his specific situation by commissioning a text which encompassed history in its entirety. Furthermore, the sponsorship of such an ambitious and useful project would confer a certain prestige

to its patrons, regardless of the bias involving local sections: references to Baldwin of Avesnes in texts deriving from the *CBA* describe him as a *sage hom*.

Spiegel claims that 'few works of history were directed at audiences not already gained to the causes they upheld' (p. 221). This statement does not apply very well to the *CBA* given that, as a universal chronicle, it could reach wider audiences; and it did. Nevertheless, reception indicates that Baldwin of Avesnes' direct entourage was one of the primary audiences of the *CBA*. More specifically, the dissemination of redaction B seems connected to Baldwin's nephews, John I of Avesnes' sons; the ideological bias of the *CBA* should also be interpreted in accordance with this. Around 1280, the lord of Beaumont was certainly in contact with his nephews and apparently on good terms with several of them. However, John II of Avesnes, heir to the county of Hainault, probably disliked his uncle's ambiguous position. As a matter of fact, the tension between John II and his uncle was reaching its highest point during the redaction of the *CBA*. Indeed, with the death of Margaret of Constantinople in 1280, John II of Avesnes, now count of Hainault, had tried to reclaim several territories which had been granted to the Dampierres and, in turn, the Dampierres retaliated. In that struggle, Baldwin sided systematically with the count of Flanders, which probably annoyed his nephew John. The *CBA* reflects that situation indirectly as it avoids any bias unfavourable towards the Dampierres. Given this particular context and the focus on the comital family of Hainault and, in redaction B, on the Avesnes family as a large and influential collective entity, the *CBA* can also be viewed as the reassertion of the Avesnes' common past, an attempt on Baldwin of Avesnes' part to find grounds for more peaceful dealings with his nephew without jeopardising his good relations with his half-brother Guy of Dampierre. Once again, faced with a delicate situation, Baldwin, *sage hom*, did what was in his best interest.

APPENDIX

Selection of Acts linked to the Non-Princely Entourage of Baldwin of Avesnes

1. 20 August 1246

John and Baldwin of Avesnes, brothers, sons of Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, notify that, because of the love they have for Henry [II], duke of Lotharingia and Brabant, at the occasion of the wedding between John [of Avesnes] and [Adelaide], sister of the count of Holland, and niece of the duke, they agreed with the latter to respect the terms regarding that union upon which will have agreed Giles of Estrée, knight, for their party, Henry of Ottoncourt for the duke's, and the Count Arnould IV [III] of Looz and Chiny for both parties.

Latin

Edited in *Oorkondenboek*, II (1986), 323-24.

2. March 1249

Baldwin of Avesnes, son of the countess of Flanders, brother of John of Avesnes, confirms the donation by John of Avesnes of the land he held in Herines to Sohier of Enghien.

No copy available; mentioned in several inventories: inventory of Mary of Luxembourg concerning Enghien (1519), Enghien, Arenberg Archives, Seigneurie Enghien Beauvoix, 91 A, fol. 6^r.⁷⁸²

3. May 1250

Baldwin of Avesnes, knight, son of Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, lord of Beaumont, with the countess' approval, confirms and approves the sale by James, seneschal of Hainault, lord of Werchin, of all things he held in Biermeries

⁷⁸² I would not have been aware of the existence of this document without the help of Godfried Croenen, who has kindly provided a description and all the information given here.

(vassals, lands, woods, stretches of water, meadows, rents, with the exception of the homage of William Daunoit) to the abbey of Cambron.

Old French

Edited in Reiffenberg, *Monuments*, II (1869), 653-54.

4. December 1251

Giles, lord of Berlaimont, and Baldwin, castellan of Beaumont, Henry, lord of Montigny, John of Berlaimont, knight, brother of Giles of Berlaimont, notify that they were present as vassals of Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, to confirm that the abbot and the convent of Aulne were invested with one hundred and forty *bonniers* of woods, which Philip of Ostregnies, brother of the castellan of Beaumont, had sold to the convent.

Old French

Mons, Archives de l'Etat (AE), Cartulaires, 1, fols 121^vB-22^rA.

5. 1252 or 1253

Baldwin [of Avesnes], lord of Beaumont, son of Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, confirms the donation made by his brother John of Avesnes, through the mediation of Walter of Enghien, knight, of a tithe he held from John of Châtillon, count of Blois and lord of Avesnes, to the abbot and abbey of Liessies.

Latin

Cartulary of the abbey of Liessies, Lille, Archives du Nord (ADN), 9 H 9*, fol. 3^r.

6. June 1252

John of Avesnes, eldest son of the countess of Flanders and Hainault, notifies that he has given some land and an annual income of wheat to Wilbert of Beaumont and specifies the terms for this donation.

Old French

Eighteenth-century copy of a *vidimus* by Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Siger, lord of Enghien,** and Walter of Enghien, dated June 1252, AE, Trésorerie des Comtes de Hainaut, Chartes, 41.

7. March 1257

John of Avesnes, son of Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, and heir to the county of Hainault, gives 26 *bonniers* of land in the 'tries de Berghesies' to the abbey of Bonne-Espérance.

Old French

Witnesses: Nicholas [III], bishop of Cambrai; Baldwin of Avesnes, John of Avesnes' brother; Eustache [IV], lord of Le Rœulx; Siger, lord of Enghien and his son Walter; Nicholas, lord of Quiévrain; James, lord of Belœil; Henry Berthout, castellan of Mons; Roger of Mortagne; Ansiaus of Estrepegnies, bailiff of Hainault; Baldwin of Bailleul, marshall of Flanders; Walter Desnapes, knight and vassal of Flanders.

Also sealed by Adelaide [of Holland], John of Avesnes' wife.

Devillers, *Description analytique*, III (1867), 247-48.

8. December 1257

Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont notifies that Baldwin, castellan of Beaumont, gave his brother Philip of Ostregnies fourty *bonniers* of woods which he held from Baldwin of Avesnes. Philip, after a long time, sold it to the abbot and convent of Aulne with the agreement of Baldwin of Avesnes. The convent shall have all rights of justice on this land, with the exception of the right to try for homicide, retained by Baldwin of Avesnes. This was done with the judgment of Baldwin's vassals, namely Baldwin, castellan of Beaumont, Henry, lord of Montegni, Giles of Cerfontaines, Baldwin of Cousolre, John of Dourlers, Jehans Score Vilain, Thieris Villons and Drues of Chaudeville. The latter acknowledged in front of other men of Baldwin's that the convent received this legally. These other vassals were Giles, lord of Berlaimont, John his brother, Gerard, lord of Eclaibes, Peter of Harvaing, Alars Baras, Aumans of Erpion, Roger of Saint-Symphorien, Wakiars of Regegnies.

Old French

AE, Cartulaires, 1, fol. 128^fB-^vB.

9. 10 January 1259, Cambrai

Baldwin [of Avesnes], son of Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, lord of Beaumont, notifies that he promised in good faith that he would give Adelaide [of Holland], widow of John of Avesnes, his very beloved brother, letters for the agreement he made with the latter regarding the division of the land of Hainault.

Latin

Baldwin's warrantors: Margaret, countess of Flanders [and Hainault]; Nicholas [III of Fontaines], bishop of Cambrai; S[iger] of Enghien; Eustache of Le Rœulx;

Baldwin of Bailleul.

Original, AE, Tr. Comtes, Chartes, 61; edited in Reiffenberg, III (1874), 505-06 and Duvivier, II, 532.

10. 24 June 1260, [Cambrai?]

Theobald [II], count of Bar, notifies that his beloved lady and mother[-in-law] Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, has paid him for part of the 10,000 pounds parisis she owed him for the expense and damages which he incurred during his captivity in Zeeland, while in her service and in the service of Guy [of Dampierre], her son, count of Flanders. Once the second part of the payment is completed, Theobald will give back all the warrant letters he received, namely from his beloved friend Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Arnold, lord of Mortagne, castellan of Tournai and his brother Roger, Nicholas, lord of Quiévrain, and William of Grimbergen, knights, and most especially from John, once lord of Dampierre.

Old French

Original, ADN, B 791/1239; edited in *Oorkondenboek*, III (1992), 245; Duvivier, II, 544-45.

11. 29 June 1260

Terms of the peace made after the dispute between the chapter of Cambrai and the aldermen and citizens of Cambrai (detailed in the charter). Nicholas [III] of Fontaines, bishop of Cambrai, has agreed with and granted all these terms. King [of the Romans] Richard [of Cornwall], has confirmed these terms following the request made by the different parties. The problem of the sentence of excommunication will be settled by the pope. This was done in Cambrai, in the house (*ostel*) of the bishop of Cambrai, in the presence of King [of the Romans, Richard of Cornwall], the

countess of Flanders and Hainault, the count of Bar and Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont and Giles Le Brun [of Trazegnies], constable of France, and many other knights, laymen and clerics on 24 June 1260.

Sealed by the two peace brokers (*moïeneur*): Giles Le Brun and Baldwin of Avesnes.

Old French

Original, ADN, 4 G 27/319.

12. July 1260

Robert, lord of Bazoches-sur-Vesle, Saint-Saulve and Beuvrages, and Bremonde, his wife, notify that, for the sake of their souls, with the consent of the noble man Baldwin [of Avesnes], lord of Beaumont, they donated several pieces of land (with all the jurisdiction) as perpetual alms to the church of Saint Mary of Vicoigne. The terms of this donation are specified.

Latin

Witnesses, vassals of Baldwin of Avesnes: Giles Le Brun [of Trazegnies], constable of France; Nicholas of Vendougies; John of Valenciennes and John, his son; Walter of Beaussart; Giles of Louvignies-Quesnoy; Baldwin le Vilain and John le Vilain (knights).

Two copies: seventeenth-century copy Lille, ADN, 59 H 30/138; Cartulary of the abbey of Vicoigne, ADN, 59 H 97*, fols 111^r-14^v.

13. 1 November 1261

Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, has settled an existing conflict between the abbot and convent of Aulne, on the one hand, and Anselm of Longheroe, squire, on the other, regarding lands in Havré which had been donated to the abbey of Aulne by Sybill of Havré, once canoness of Saint-Waudru in Mons. Baldwin, lord of Beaumont, Eustache, lord of Le Rœulx, Giles, constable of France and other knights [see the list of advisors below] seal the act.

Latin

The person to collect the two hundred pounds fine for the countess if either of the two parties were to break her judgment is the lord of Enghien [Sohier or Walter].⁷⁸³

⁷⁸³ Sohier is still alive in 1257 (Duvivier, II, 464-65) and his son Walter of Enghien is first mentioned as lord of Enghien in a charter of 29 May 1264 (E. Poncelet, 'Une paix de lignage au duché de

The men of the countess appointed to carry out an inquest are Baldwin of Binche and Hugh of Frameries, knights.

The advisors of the countesses: her 'very beloved' son Baldwin of Avesnes, Eustache, lord of Le Rœulx, Giles Le Brun, constable of France, Thierry of Thiant, Peter of Harveng, Walter of Beaussart, knights, Simon of Quaregnon, Giles Emlin, James *de Porta*, James of Bertaimont and Walter *de Foro*, aldermen of Mons.

AE, Cartulaires, 1, fols 156^vB-57^vA; edited in Devillers, *Description analytique*, I, 284-85.

14. 2 May 1262, [the court of Arras?]

Nicholas [III], bishop of Cambrai, Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, and Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, her son, settle the dispute between the abbess and convent of Denain on the one hand, and Lady Agnes, Lady Gillain, Arnold of Enghien and his wife Isabel, daughter of Agnes on the other, regarding dues on baking bread (*fornage*), fishing rights in the Scheldt and feudal rights on a court-yard situated in front of the abbey gate. This agreement was reached on 20 June 1261.

Old French

Other people mentioned: Giles and Walter, sons of Lady Gillain; the bishop of Arras (who arbitrated earlier debates).

Vidimus of William [of Isy], bishop of Arras, dated 4 January 1283, ADN, 24 H 12/135.

15. 19 Februrary 1269⁷⁸⁴

Renaud, lord of Han-sur-Lesse, notifies that he has delivered to Henry [V], count of Luxembourg, lord of Poilvache, the fief of Spontin and all its dependencies. His vassals Simon, lord of Beauraing, and Nicholas of Dave, knight, and all the others will take back their fiefs from count Henry.

Old French

Brabant, en 1264', *BCRH*, 105 (1940), 277-81). Godfried Croenen kindly provided the latter references.

⁷⁸⁴ Regarding the date, see the remarks of Alphonse Verkooren, *Inventaire des chartes et cartulaires du Luxembourg (comté puis duché)*, 5 vols (Brussels: Guyot, 1914-22), I, 136-37, note 2.

Witnesses: Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Gerard of Luxembourg, lord of Durbuy, Henry of Houffalize, Sohier of Burtscheid, Arnold of Rodemack, lord of Huncherange, Pierars of Javey and John of Recogne.

Also mentioned is Henry, lord of Houffalize.

Brussels, Archives générales du royaume (AGR), Chambres des comptes, Registre 34, fol. 42^v.

16. 22 May 1265, Binche

Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, notifies that Henry [V], count of Luxembourg has entrusted her the castle, the city and the income of La Roche in order to transmit them to Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, her son, and his heirs as long as his daughter, Beatrice of Avesnes, will be alive. Margaret confirms that she executed Count Henry's request and the latter confirms the gift.

Old French

Also sealed by the witnesses, vassals of the countess: her son Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur; her grandson John of Hainault; Eustache [V], lord of Le Rœulx; Walter of Beausart, knight; Gillot of Fantegnies; and Bruillet dou Bruille.

Original, ADN, B 1162/1409.

17. 24 September 1265

Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, notifies that Henry [V], count of Luxembourg and Walram, lord of Montjoie and Marville, have found an agreement regarding the lands which Henry held in Flanders and Hainault from Margaret: Walram cedes any rights he has on these lands to Henry. Margaret, following Walram's request and the judgment of her vassals, returns to Henry the lands that she had seized from him and accepts him as her vassal.

Old French

The men of the countess, who judged the matter: her sons Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur and Baldwin [of Avesnes], lord of Beaumont; Renaud of Bar; John of Hainault, her grandson; Eustache [V], lord of Le Rœulx and his son Eustache Kanivés; Walter of Beaussart; Giles Le Brun [of Trazegnies], constable of France; Robert [of Wavrin], seneschal of Flanders; Rasso [(VII)] [of Gavere], lord of Liedekerke.

Original, ADN, B 1430/1428

18. 24 May 1267, Cambrai

Nicholas [III of Fontaines], bishop of Cambrai, Henry, abbot of Affligem, Bernard, abbot of Villers, Alard, abbot of Park, Isabel, abbess of Nivelles, Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Walter, lord of Enghien, Walter [V] Berthout, lord of Mechlin, Arnold, lord of Wezemaal, Arnold, lord of Walhain, Rigaud, lord of Fallais, notify that, in their presence, Henry, oldest son of Henry [III], once duke of Brabant, has resigned all his rights on the duchy of Brabant in favour of his brother John.

Latin

Fourteenth-century cartulary of the dukes of Brabant, AGR, Chambres des comptes, Registre 1, fols 48^v-49^r.

19. 16 August 1268, Cambrai

Richard [of Cornwall], king of the Romans, notifies that he gave the investiture of the abbacy of Saint-Ghislain to William after that the later had sworn him fidelity.

Witnesses: Nicholas [III of Fontaines], bishop of Cambrai, chancellor [of Richard, king of the Romans]; Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, knight; Giles, lord of Berlaimont, knight.

Latin

Seventeenth-century copy in Dom Baudry, *Annales de l'abbaye de Saint-Ghislain*; edited in Reiffenberg, *Monuments*, VIII (1848), 449-50; see also the confirmation of the privileges and possessions of the abbey, with the same witnesses, 450-51.

20. November 1269

Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault confirms a donation, made at the time of her beloved lady and sister Johanna, the late countess of Flanders and Hainault, of four *bonniers* of pastures nearby Mons by Romons dou Kaysnoit and Mary, his wife, to the abbey of Epinlieu and to the house of Saint-Lazare, and specifies its terms following the advice of her son Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, of the lord of Le Rœulx and of her other worthy men (*preudes homes*).

Old French

Also mentioned is the abbess of Epinlieu.

Edited in Devillers, *Description analytique*, VIII, 136-37.

21. 2 April 1270

Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, and G[obert II]⁷⁸⁵, lord of Aspremont, following disagreements on several issues between Th[ibaud], count of Bar, and Henry [V], count of Luxembourg, for which the two men had called upon Louis [IX] of France for arbitration, have been assigned the inquest and the settlement of the dispute by the king. They notify the terms of the settlement upon which they have agreed. If disagreements remain, Baldwin of Avesnes and G[obert II] of Aspremont declare that Thierry of Amel and Wéry of Koerich will be in charge of the inquest and the settlement. Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, G[obert II], lord of Aspremont, Henry, count of Luxembourg and La Roche, marquis of Arlons, his wife Margaret and Thibaud, count of Bar, seal the letter.

Old French

People involved in the dispute: the lord of Hayange; the abbess of Sainte-Glossinde in Metz; the lord of Norroy-le-Sec; the count of Chiny; Hugh of Corbion; John of Anlier; Thibaud of Mellier.

Copies in cartularies: AGR, *Chambres des comptes*, Registre 34, fol. 194^v; Registre 35, fol. 203; Registre 37, fol. 62.

22. 5 February 1271

Theobald, count of Bar, notifies that he has allied with his beloved nephew Henry, eldest son of noble man Henry [V], count of Luxembourg, and that he has promised to help him against Frederick [III], duke of Lorraine, or any of his successors, and against all men future and present, except against the king of [the Romans], the king of France, the bishop of Verdun, the bishop of Liège, Lorenz [of Leistenberg], bishop elect of Metz, the duchess of Brabant and her son, Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, the countess and the count of Flanders and John of Hainault, the count of Burgundy and *Othenin* [= the future Count Otto IV], the duke of Burgundy and the archbishop of Reims, the count of Blois, the citizens of Metz and Verdun. Thibaud further specifies the terms of this alliance. Philip, castellan of Bar, Henry, lord of Mirwart, upon request of the count of Bar, sealed the letter.

Old French

⁷⁸⁵ The sixth Cartulary of Luxembourg gives 'Gerard' whereas the seventh cartulary reads 'G.'. One can assume the original document had 'G.' for Gobert, as no Gerard of Aspremont is known at the time.

Other people mentioned: the king of Navarra; Waleran, son of Henry [V] of Luxembourg.

Copy in a sixteenth-century cartulary, AGR, Chambres des Comptes, Registre 37, fols 35^v-37^r.

23. June 1271

John 'said lord of Audenarde' and lord of Rozoy, with the agreement of his wife Matilda and of their children, following the advice of several peers, grants a dower to his wife and specifies its terms.

Old French

Also sealed by Matilda, *vidamesse* of Amiens and lady of Picquigny, Arnould V of Audenarde, John of Rozoy, and by the advisors of John, i.e. his sister Mary, lady of Gaasbeek and of Bancigny, Henry of Louvain, lord of Herstal, and Arnold of Louvain, lord of Breda (his nephews), Baldwin of Avesnes, John of Hainault, Nicholas of Quiévrain, Eustache, lord of Le Rœulx and his son Eustache Kanivés, lord of Trazegnies, James of Enghien, Arnold of Enghien, Englebert of Enghien (his cousins).

Vidimus dated May 1276 by Guy of Dampierre, count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, ADN, B 401/1735.

24. May 1272

Henry [V], count of Luxembourg and La Roche, marquis of Arlon, notifies that he has received five pairs of letters (respectively: one pair sealed by Margaret, countess [of Flanders and Hainault] and her son Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders; one pair sealed by Baldwin of Avesnes, [lord of Beaumont]; one pair sealed by Robert [of Nevers] and William [of Flanders]; one pair sealed by Robert [of Wavrin], seneschal [of Flanders] and [Eustache], lord of Le Rœulx; and one pair sealed by Thierry [V], lord of Beveren, Nicholas of Condé, lord of Bailleul, John of Audenarde, lord of Rozoy, Gerard [III], lord of Jauche, Rasso [(VII)] [of Gavere], lord of Liedekerke, and Eustache of Le Rœulx, lord of Trazegnies) as warrants for the payment that Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders, Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Robert [of Nevers] and William [of Flanders] owe him. He promises to return all these letters as soon as he is paid.

Old French

Original, ADN, B 401/1764; edited by Luykx, *De grafelijke financiële bestuursinstellingen*, pp. 395-97.

25. July 1272

Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, and Eustache Kanivés, lord of Trazegnies, notify that they have settled a dispute between Giles of Bérelles and his son Giles on the one hand, and the abbey of Aulne on the other, regarding the rights of justice of the lands of Bérelles and the woods of *Boutegni*.

Old French

Witnesses who can support the validity of the convent of Aulne's position: Giles, castellan of Beaumont, and Baldwin, his son; Gossuyn de Chaudeville; the abbot and the church of Hautmont.

AE, Cartulaires, 1, fols 128^vB-29^vB.

26. August 1274

Henry [V], count of Luxembourg, confirms that he has been fully reimbursed by Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, Guy, count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, her son, Robert, count of Nevers, and William of Flanders, Guy's sons, for the 16,000 pounds that they owed him. In addition, he promises to return the letters that he had been given by Robert, count of Nevers, and William of Flanders.

Old French

The guarantors of the debtors: Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont; Thierry [V], lord of Beveren; Nicholas of Condé, lord of Belœil; John of Audenarde, lord of Rozoy;⁷⁸⁶ Rasso [(VII) of Gavere], lord of Liedekerke;⁷⁸⁷ Gerard [III], lord of Jauche; Eustache of Le Rœulx 'le fil', lord of Trazegnies.

Also mentioned is Waleran, son of Henry V of Luxembourg.

Original, ADN, B 401/1838; Edited by Luykx, *De grafelijke financiële bestuursinstellingen...*, pp. 410-12.

⁷⁸⁶ Second son of John 'said lord of Audenarde'.

⁷⁸⁷ See Warlop, III, 814-15.

27. July 1276 [*sic*]

Gerard [III] of Jauche, lord of Baudour, in the presence of Otto of Trazegnies, lord of Hacquegnies, John, lord of Berlaar, John of Henin, lord of Boussu, Thomas of Mortagne, lord of Roumeries, Baldwin of Mortagne, his brother, Gerard, lord of Esclerbes, Goswin of Jauche, Hugh *Daunoit* (or of Aulnoy) and John of le Tourelle, knights, notifies that he has resigned by the hand of Gerard of Sassegnyes, his cousin, the allod of Aymeries and its dependences, which he had received from his brother William upon order of John Vrediel, bailiff of Hainault, in order to inherit Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, who had bought this land off him following the record made in Valenciennes in November 1276 [*sic*].

Old French

Mentioned in Saint-Genois, *Monumens*, I, 396.

28. 4 October 1278, Lille

Eustache, lord of Lens, following the request of Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, in presence of Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, his brother, of friar Hellin, prior of Lille, Master Walter, provost of Veurne, and John Vrediel, bailiff of Hainault, promises not to arraign the abbey of Epinlieu without the countess' consent.

Old French

Regestum in Devillers, *Description analytique*, III (1867), 60.

29. 3 May 1280, Wijnendale

Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, notifies that given that Hellin, lord of Cysoing intended to sell part of the land of Wervik, which he held from the count, to Henry of Torhout, knight, and given that Alice, wife of the lord of Cysoing, had been assigned the task of determining the payment for this sale and that she, with the consent of the lord of Cysoing and his son Arnold, valued it to fifty-seven *bonniers* of land on the pastures of Petegem, the lord of Cysoing and his son delivered these fifty-seven *bonniers* to Guy, who delivered them to the aforesaid lady, who, in turn, through the protector she had been given, i.e. the brother of the count, Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, resigned all the claims she had on the land of Wervik to the count of Flanders.

Old French

Witnesses: the seneschal of Flanders [Hellin III of Wavrin]; the constable of Flanders; the lord of Rodes; the lord of Hondschoote; Robert of Wavrin; the lord of Auchy-les-Mines; William of Loker; the lord of *Aiszone*; Hugh of Halluin; Henry of Moorslede; John of Aulenghien; Philip of Ypres, knight.

Copy, Fourth Cartulary of Flanders, ADN, B 1564*, fol. V^r-v.

30. 1 September 1282, Male

Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, condemns John 'said of Audenarde', lord of Rozoy to stay in his comital prison in Lille for the misdeeds he committed against Henry Enrebare, bailiff of Geraardsbergen and his vassals.

Old French

The guarantors of John 'said lord of Audenarde': Henry [VI], count of Luxembourg; [Baldwin of Avesnes], lord of Beaumont, Guy's brother; Henry of Louvain; Nicholas of Belœil.

Original, ADN, B 1250/2397.

31. Date unknown (1282?)

Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, lets it be known that Walter of Antoing, lord of [Belonne],⁷⁸⁸ has sold to the cathedral of Tournai the lands he held in Camphin-en-Pévèle from Hellin [I], lord of Cysoing, vassal of the count of Flanders, and the lands of Gruson, which he held from the count of Flanders.

Old French

Representative of the count of Flanders: Thomas Bonnies, bailiff of Lille.

Witnesses of the delivery of the lands of Gruson to the bailiff of Lille: Fellippres dou Vivier, Jakemes Mikiens, Henris dou Buskiel, vassals of the count of Flanders.

Witnesses of the delivery of the lands of Camphin-en-Pévèle by Walter of Antoing to Hellin of Cysoing: Giles of Antoing, Hellin of Aubos, Nicholas of Hichin, Platiaus of Warchains, knight, and Gessians de Cal. one, Jakemes of Lalain, Hainaus of Caufaing, the father of Englebert of Cysoing, Alars de le Pasture, Jehans de le Pasture and Laudiers of Hichin, men of Hellin of Cysoing.

⁷⁸⁸ Ms: Boulogne

Witnesses of the delivery of the lands of Camphin-en-Pévèle by Hellin of Cysoing to the count of Flanders: Arnold [V] of Audenarde and William of Mortagne, peers of Flanders; Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont; Henry of Louvain, lord of Gaasbeek; Gerard, lord of Rodes; Michael of Auchy.

Partial copy in the first cartulary of Flanders, ADN, B 1561*, fol. 142^v.

32. 26 June 1283

Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, notifies that given that John [of Flanders], bishop of Liège, owed 4,000 pounds Flemish to Nicholas of Condé-sur-l'Escaut, lord of Morialmé, given that his [Baldwin's] brother Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, had made himself pledge for his son the bishop, the latter had given count Guy the castle of Bouillon and all its dependencies, which he could hold until the payment had been made. Guy, count of Flanders and marquis of Namur then entrusted Baldwin with the castle of Bouillon in order to hold it on his behalf as long as he wishes. Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, promises to return the castle to his beloved lord and brother Guy whenever the latter requests this.

Old French

Original, Ghent, Rijksarchief (RA), Saint-Genois, 338; edited by Alain Marchandise, 'Un prince en faillite. Jean de Flandre, évêque de Metz (1279/80-1282), puis de Liège (1282-1291)', *BCRH*, 163 (1997), 1-75 (pp. 45-46).

33. 1285 (or 1286)

Florent of Hainault, knight, lord of Braine-le-Comte makes his last will and testament. He chooses as his executors for the part related to the county of Holland and the bishopric of Utrecht the abbot of Middelburg, the guardian of the Franciscans of Zieriekzee, the provost of Koningsveld, and William Plante, priest of Baarland; for the other parts, he chooses as executors the abbot of Vicoigne, the abbot of Cambron and the prior of Saint Paul in Valenciennes. They should act according to the advice of his brothers William [of Avesnes], bishop of Cambrai, and Guy [of Avesnes], sacristan of Liège. He asks his very beloved cousin and lord, Florent of Holland, his very beloved lord and brother John of Avesnes, count of Hainaut, the bishop of Metz, William, bishop of Cambrai, and Guy, sacristan of Liège, his brothers, to confirm these. He also asks his beloved uncle Baldwin of Avesnes, lord

of Beaumont, Nicholas of Condé-sur-Escaut, lord of Morialmé, Giles Rigaut, lord of Le Rœulx, and Osto, lord of Trazegnies, his peers, to act as guarantors for the good execution of his testament and to seal the document.

Old French

Original, AE, Tr. Comtes, Chartes, 147; edited in *Oorkondenboek*, IV (1997), 535-39.

34. 25 November 1286, Wijnendale

Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Robert, count of Nevers, William of Mortagne, Sohier of Bailleul, Walter of Koekelare, Gerard of Eclaibes (*d'Esclerbes*), Lambert of Roozebeke, knight, and John of Menin, vassals of the count of Flanders declare that Guy of Dampierre, count of Flanders, has transmitted the land of Petegem to his son Guy of Namur as a complement to his fief of Erquinghem.

Old French

Original lost, see Charles Piot, *Inventaire des chartes des comtes de Namur anciennement déposées au château de cette ville* (Brussels: Hayez, 1890), p. 436.

35. 11 April 1287, Wijnendale

Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Raoul Flamens, lord of Canny, William of Mortagne, lord of Rumes, Rasso, lord of Gavere, John, lord of Gistel, Roger of Gistel, Hugh, castellan of Ghent, Walter, castellan of Douai, Gilbert, castellan of Bergues, John, castellan of Raches (*Raisse*), James of Werchin, seneschal of Hainault, Robert, lord of Montigny, Hugh of Halluin, Gerard Limors, Goswin, lord of Erpe, William of Watervliet and Sohier of Bailleul, marshall of Flanders, declare that John, lord of Dampierre and Saint-Dizier has sold Bailleul to Count Guy [of Dampierre] and his wife Isabella [of Luxembourg] and their son Guy of Namur.

Old French

Sealed by Guy of Dampierre, count of Flanders, and his aforesaid men (see Piot, p. 436)

Copy on parchment, ADN, B 1332/2806; Copy in the cartulary of Namur, AGR, Chambres des comptes, Registre 56, fol. 32^v, edited in Reiffenberg, *Monuments*, I, 97-98.

36. 25 May 1287, Wijnendale

Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, declares that his ancestors, counts of Flanders, have always peacefully held the lands of Alost, Geraardbergen, the Four Offices, of Waas and their dependencies and the lands of Walcheren, Zuid-Beveland and Noord-Beveland, Borsele, all the islands of Zeeland the lands of Ostrevent, Crèveœur and Arleux. He has heard that John, bishop of Tusculum has laid an interdict on these lands in order to assign them to John of Avesnes, count of Hainault, and that he and his subjects have been excommunicated. He appeals to the authority of the pope.

Latin

Witnesses: his brother Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont; Robert, count of Nevers, and William of Flanders; John 'said lord of Audenarde'; Rasso, lord of Gavere; Hugh, castellan of Ghent; the brothers John and Roger of Gistel; John, lord of Ecoraix; William of Mortagne; Hugh of Halluin; William, lord of Heule; Peter of Hondchoote John, lord of Praet; John, lord of Harnes; Siger of Bailleul and Walter of Koekelare, knights; Peter, provost of Béthune.

Other people mentioned: Rudolph, king of the Romans; lord Daniel of Huise, law professor; John of Menin and Henry of Condé, clerics.

Original, ADN, B 1397/2820.

37. 19 November 1287

Record of the statements made by several witnesses in the inquest carried out to settle the debate between the city of Douai and Hellin, lord of Waziers. The inquest was finished after the death of the latter by Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, in the presence of Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, his brother, the count of Nevers, oldest son of the count of Flanders, John of Dampierre, Sohier of Bailleul, marshall of Flanders, the provost of Béthune, the lord of Berlaimont and le Borgne of Aigremont. The inquest was finished on 19 November 1287. [Note: one of the rolls records earlier statements given at Waziers, on 18 September 1282 and 2 May 1283 and recorded by Michel, lord of Auchy, and Peter, provost of the church of Béthune for the count of Flanders]

Old French

Three rolls of parchment sewn together, RA, Saint-Genois 457.

38. November 1287

Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont, Nicholas of Condé-sur-l'Escaut, lord of Morialmé and Belœil, Gerard, lord of Jauche, Giles Rigaus, lord of Le Rœulx, John, lord of Barbençon, Walter, lord of Ligne, James, seneschal of Hainault, lord of Werchin, Giles, lord of Berlaimont, Baudry, lord of Roisin, knight, Walter, lord of Enghien, and Alard, lord of Ville-Pommeroeul, notify that they have answered for their beloved lord, John of Avesnes, count of Hainault, to Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders, that the aforesaid count of Hainault will respect the sentence pronounced by John [of Flanders], bishop of Liège, and Bouchard [of Avesnes], bishop of Metz, regarding the debates which had arisen between the two counts regarding the lands of Waes, the Four Offices, Alost, Grammont, the lands on the Scheldt and other things. They commit themselves to respect the terms of this sentence and not to help the count of Hainault if he were to violate any of them.

Old French

Two minutes, AE, Tr. Comtes, Chartes, 170.

39. January 1288

Guy [of Dampierre], count of Flanders and marquis of Namur, notifies that he has given Hugh of Châtillon, son of Guy, count of Saint-Pol, for the marriage with Beatrice, daughter of Guy [of Dampierre] and Isabelle of Luxembourg, an annual income of 1800 pounds assigned on land. The terms of this gift are specified. Additionally, he gives Beatrice and Hugh an annual income of 1000 pounds sterling which he had acquired from his daughter Margaret, wife of Renaud, count of Guelders. This income came from Scotland, as Margaret had received it as a dower after the death of Alexander, the late son of the king of Scotland. Guy therefore transmits the different letters for this income accordingly and specifies the terms for this gift.

Old French

Warrantors for these gifts who also put their seal: the count's brother Baldwin of Avesnes, lord of Beaumont; the count's sons Robert, count of Nevers, William of Flanders, lord of Richebourg, and John of Dampierre.

Vidimus of Guy of Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, butler of France, dated September 1305; original, RA, Saint-Genois, 458; copy: first cartulary of Flanders, ADN, B 1561*, fol. 151^{r-v}.

40. Date unknown (before May 1250?)⁷⁸⁹

The provost, dean and canons of the church of Sainte-Waudru specify the terms of the peace reached between them and John of Cibly, guardian (*avoés*) of Nimy.

Old French

Witnesses: Siger of Enghien; Eustache of Le Rœulx; Gérard of Prouvy; Thierry of Thiant; the mayor of *Geslin*.

Among a series of other people is mentioned Baldwin of Avesnes (his role is unclear).

Edited in *Chartes du chapitre de Sainte-Waudru de Mons*, ed. by Léopold Devillers, 3 vols (Brussels: Kiessling, 1899-1908), I (1899), 698-700.

⁷⁸⁹ Devillers, *Chartes Sainte-Waudru*, p. 698 dates it in 1273 but this is unlikely because Siger of Enghien died between 1257 and 1264. The document does not mention Baldwin of Avesnes as lord of Beaumont, which suggests a date before 1250.

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Série G: 4 G 27/319, 11 G 17/123 and 61/471
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