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‘Many Tongues He Must Acquire’: Anthonis de Roovere and Public Voice in the *Four Rondelen*

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The Bruges rederijker Anthonis de Roovere has long been acknowledged as one of the most important poets of the late fifteenth century. He is not only a key figure in the development of Dutch-language poetry and drama, as his work did much to formalise the characteristic poetics of the rederijkerskamers, but he attained an impressive level of recognition within his own lifetime. This article focuses on an aspect of his achievements that is often overlooked, examining the ways in which his position as stadsdichter impacted on his work, especially on the intensely public voice he often cultivated. It finds that his work not only memorialised key events within the community of Bruges but aimed to publicise and reinforce its shared values, in either case drawing traditional ecclesiastic functions into secular hands. In particular, it judges the ways in which these concerns are brought into focus by De Roovere’s four rondelen, offering a close reading of these colourful texts in terms of the priorities they articulate and the posture they assume.

KEYWORDS: Fifteenth century, rhetoric, rederijkers, urban culture, burgher morality.

Introduction

The Bruges poet and playwright Anthonis de Roovere (c. 1430–1482) is one of the most significant figures in fifteenth-century Dutch literature. His central place in shaping the conventions and practices of the *rederijkerskamers* has been recognized and cemented by

a succession of scholars, from G. C. van 't Hoog and Jef Cuvelier in the early twentieth century, to J. J. Mak's authoritative edition of his collected works, to a series of important recent articles by Johan Osterman, up to the forthcoming bilingual edition of his canon.¹ While De Roovere was not an innovator in the strictest sense, since he was usually operating within well-established traditions, genres and forms, his activities at the very least fixed the contours that governed *rederijker* verse for the next few centuries. His stated poetics, his emphasis on formal intricacy, and above all his fusion of the political and aesthetic, remain important features of Dutch language poetry well into the early modern period. Perhaps more than any single figure in the Netherlands of the fifteenth century, De Roovere embodies the central achievements of the *rederijerskamers*. His work presents an early and explicit demonstration of the viability of vernacular poetry as an extension of public discourse.

De Roovere's centrality in Dutch language literature is not only clear in retrospect, but was noted and celebrated by his contemporaries and successors. A measure of his work's importance is its appearance in print. It is true that only one of his many poems found its way to the press during his lifetime: in 1478 his *Lof van den heijlighen sacramente* (*Praise of the Holy Sacrament*) was included as an appendix to *Die Tafel des kersteliken levens* (*The Code for Christian Living*), printed by Gerard Leeu at Gouda.² Nevertheless, a more significant volume was produced eight decades after he died, as in 1562 the vast collection *Rethoricale wercken van Anthonis de Roovere* (*Rhetorical works of Anthonis de Roovere*) was printed at Antwerp by Jan van Ghelen.³ This was edited by Eduard de Dene, lawyer and *factor* of the chamber of the *Drie Santinnen* at Bruges, specifically to honour a figure he saw as his own precursor and model, the Flemish poet most worthy of commemoration. As De Dene states, De Roovere was not merely 'a notable citizen of the foresaid city of Bruges' but the equal of such 'excellent and famous ... great poets' as Villon, Marot and Jan Molinet, entitled to enter this company of 'witty and celebrated rhetoricians'.⁴ Moreover, De Dene not only sought to preserve De Roovere's work but to honour the man himself. His introduction gives a brief outline of De Roovere's life, and remains the chief source of biographical information about the earlier poet. What is clear from these details is that De Dene was not merely reviving interest in an obscure figure, but commemorating one whose fame was firmly established. He reports that De Roovere's importance and even singularity as a poet was also apparent to his contemporaries, listing several commendations De Roovere received in his lifetime, which signals not only his high reputation but his precocity. Thus one of his earliest accolades occurs in the late 1440s, when De Roovere was granted the title 'Prince van rethorycke' for the poem *Of moederlyk herte liegen mag* (*Whether a motherly heart may lie*). This title is not only notable for placing him at Bruges, the city with which he was associated throughout his lifetime, up to his death on 16 May 1482, but also for De Roovere's age at the time he received it. According to De Dene, he was only 17 years of age when elected 'Prince'.⁵

This honour was only the first in a string of increasingly prestigious awards he and his work attracted. After composing the *Lof van den heijlighen sacramente* a few decades later, he was granted the official styling 'Vlaemsch doctor ende poetisch rethorizien' (Flemish doctor and poetic rhetorician).⁶ In 1466 more material recognition came in

the form of an annuity from the city of Bruges, specifically for his work as a poet and playwright, enthrone him as the ‘stadsdichter van Brugge’, or official poet of the city; this award in fact originated from no less a figure than Charles the Bold, who instructed the *raad* or ruling council of Bruges to elevate De Roovere to this status.⁷ Alongside this sum, there are records of him receiving incidental payments from the city *raad* on six further occasions, usually in connection with drama. These sums of money, as Johan Oosterman observes, probably represent reimbursements to De Roovere for funding entries or tableaux vivants out of his own pocket: they are in essence repayment for the materials, costumes and other general expenses he had incurred.⁸ De Roovere was therefore not only the writer of these productions, but something like their producer and director as well, taking full financial responsibility for their staging.

Despite such commitment to his productions, and the material and symbolic recompense they brought, De Roovere was still an amateur writer in the modern sense. Like the *rederijkers* as a whole, emanating as they did from the commercial and artisanal climate of the cities of the Low Countries, De Roovere was enmeshed in the professional life of Bruges. The precise capacity in which he worked remains something of an open question, however. When describing his lack of formal instruction, De Dene describes De Roovere as a bricklayer or stoneworker, summarizing his profession as *metselaer*, *ambachte* or *ambachtsman*.⁹ While this clearly shows some connection with construction, De Dene’s exact meaning is difficult to pin down. Some commentators have taken him at his word and seen De Roovere as a mason or builder, with J. F. Willems, J. G. Frederiks and Prudens van Duyse all specifically describing De Roovere in such terms.¹⁰ But questions are raised by De Dene’s insistence on portraying his subject as a *poorter* (‘burgher’ or ‘citizen’), a label which hardly seems appropriate for a low-level manual worker. It therefore seems likely that he is trying to exaggerate De Roovere’s lowliness in this passage, in order to make him appear as an unschooled prodigy: he in fact goes on to call his forebear ‘a foolish and simple layman, unlettered’ who was able to attain his skill by divine, even miraculous dispensation, being ‘illuminated in the soul by the motions of godly grace’.¹¹ Accordingly, more recent commentary has tended to see De Roovere as more of a skilled craftsman than a humble labourer. Herman Pleij, for instance, places him in an administrative or supervisory role, as an architect or master builder.¹² However, whatever his exact vocation, what is important is that De Roovere occupied an active role within the middle-class, urban community he inhabited.

More important still is the fact that his work as a poet, rather than being a parallel life outside these commitments, was in many respects bound up with his working life. Throughout his career, De Roovere presents himself as an intensely ‘public’ *factor*, not only articulating the culture of Bruges, but consolidating its narrative and even identity through his work. His work straddles the religious and civic in its contents, occasion and even at times its medium, displaying a clear sense of duty to his wider content. This can be seen, for instance, in his contributions to the *Excellente cronike van Vlaenderen*, a chronicle of Flemish history and legend from the early seventh century onward, with De Roovere compiling the entries between 1437 and 1482.¹³ Along the same lines is another topical production, a *carnacioen* or chronogram written as part of the celebrations at

Bruges in 1468, when Charles the Bold convened the first chapter of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece in the city.¹⁴ The *carnacioen* is intrinsically bound up with its occasion: it not only contains its date of composition in code, but was embedded into a larger prose narrative describing Margaret of York's formal entry into Bruges.¹⁵ De Roovere's poetry addressed Charles once again after his death at Nancy in 1477, producing a long dream vision mourning the duke. This is especially notable for its firmly middle-class standpoint, as the vision culminates with the three estates paying tribute to Charles, emphasizing in the process his debt to the 'gemeynen staet' (literally, 'common estate') as financiers of his campaigns.¹⁶ De Roovere's role as *stadsdichter van Brugge* therefore involved explicit commemoration of the political life of the city and its region, memorializing its affairs in his verse.

Nevertheless, his work does not merely express and celebrate the salient events of his community, but feeds back to instruct that community as well. Much of his output has an explicitly educative function, instructing his audience in their shared values. Thus amongst the achievements noted by De Dene is the fact that *Lof van den heijlighen sacramente* attained official sanction from the church itself. He describes how De Roovere's 'miraculous' composition, owing to its 'spiritual reason and moral exposition', was judged by 10 examiners to be 'good, correct and upright in its devotion', and was as a result commanded to be displayed openly in the churches of Bruges 'so that a devotion equal to that in his writings might be kindled'.¹⁷ His activities as a playwright demonstrate the same focus. Only one of his dramatic efforts is now extant, having been preserved by his fellow Bruges poet Cornelis Everaert, who committed it to manuscript in 1527.¹⁸ This is *Quicumque vult salvus esse* (*Whoever wishes to be saved*), a *mirakelspel* governed by a clear didactic sensibility. The play not only sets out the necessities of salvation in a programmatic and easily memorable form, but seeks to school its audience in the basics of the Apostle's Creed as one of its central aims.¹⁹ The same concerns emerge in De Roovere's non-dramatic texts, although here an emphasis on social as well as strictly religious duty often predominates. Thus his poems include *Vander mollenfeeste* (*On the feast of moles*), an estates satire reminiscent of the *dans macabre*, portraying different ranks and professions being summoned by moles to a banquet in the ground.²⁰ A similar concern pervades *Vanden hinnen tastere* (*On the chicken fumbler*), in which a husband and wife temporarily reverse their domestic roles, with the inevitable disastrous consequences.²¹ With their defence of accepted social roles, and use of conventional frameworks, these texts again show De Roovere in the role of emphatically 'public' poet.²² Throughout his career he presents himself as the mouthpiece of his community, spelling out the accepted political and moral order of his city rather than expressing a personal or individual stance.

The sense that poetic composition is a service to the community as a whole also undergirds one of the key features of De Roovere's work, its interest in rhetoric. The widespread idea that rhetoric is a heightened form of language, a vehicle not only for instruction but even for the Holy Spirit itself, finds its earliest expression in De Roovere's work. Such claims are central to the 'Refereyn van rethorica', composed in the final year of De Roovere's life.²³ As the refrain makes clear, rhetoric in De Roovere's understanding means formal complexity, as it does for the *rederijkers* after him as a group. Thus he

depicts rhetoric as a *soete luydt* (sweet sound, melody), as language that is *tversieren* (elegant) and *schicht* (organized), and opposes it to the *ruydt* (roughness, boorishness) of untutored speech: in other words, he is describing language rendered as deliberately and visibly artificial as possible. But at the same time, he refuses to see this complexity as a specialist skill, emphasizing its accessibility to all: as he states, ‘this work is for many men, that is to say, for him who follows and unlocks knowledge’.²⁴ As Mak writes in his edition, one of the major currents of the refrain is to salvage rhetoric from ‘the contamination of schoolbook *ars rhetorica*’, in the name of the emerging *rederijker* movement.²⁵ Thus he shifts the discipline away from its established place within formal schooling, a place it had occupied since the educational reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, pouring scorn on ‘clerks’ who are ‘mistaken in understanding’ and know nothing of ‘the skilful, accurate’ use of language.²⁶ Wisdom and inspiration are therefore his watchwords in poetic composition, rather than the rote-learning acquired at school. His attitude towards rhetoric once again makes manifest the generalized, open voice of a *stadsdichter*, prising his medium away from the closed elitism of formal education.²⁷

The ‘Refereyn van rethorica’ is more than an isolated statement of this policy, as the same sensibility manifests itself throughout De Roovere’s work. A further, less theoretical instance of intricacy disclosing religious truths is the refrain ‘Almueghende vader zonder beghin’ (Almighty father without beginning). Here the names ‘Adonay’, ‘Tetragramathon’ and ‘Eloim’ are concealed as acrostics, literally making the form of the text disclose the presence of the deity.²⁸ The same is also true of De Roovere’s sequence of four *rondelen*, texts which are translated below. These poems, despite their comparative brevity, draw together the various strands of De Roovere’s enterprise; like the best of his work, they combine the formal experiments of the early Renaissance with the brisk concision of medieval proverbial verse. The particular form De Roovere is using here is the *rondeel*, one of the intricate repetitive forms that he helped to popularize, and one which fits his general conception of poetry as a wilfully elaborate form of language. The *rondeel* is a verse-form derived from the French *rondeau* which, like its archetype, functions by repeating entire phrases as well as sounds: within its eight-line structure, the first, fourth and seventh lines contain the same sequence of words, as do the second and final lines.²⁹ De Roovere’s development of such a form does not only stem from his interest in formal complexity, but his conviction that intricacy itself conveys important shades of meaning. The point is that the repeated lines differ in sense each time they recur. Thus in the texts below, the echoed phrases move from harsh judgement to defeated resignation, or from ironic praise to a sense of hollowness, as his salutes to hypocrisy become empty jingles as the verse progresses. This effect is central to these pieces: as a result, our translations have striven to preserve the technique, rendering De Roovere’s original texts in rhyming rather than blank verse.

De Roovere’s position as *stadsdichter* is also visible in the meanings the *rondelen* convey, as the fluid song-like structure provides a counterpoint for some bracing social satire. In fact, one of the most striking features of these poems is the sheer force of their invective, as they target human duplicity, the true fruits of virtue, and the futility of ambition with a vigour and conviction which passes beyond trite moralizing. The actual

virtues De Roovere is espousing are clearly rooted in the urban context in which he is operating. They might be comfortably classified along the lines Herman Pleij describes, as *nieuwe burgermoraal* (new bourgeois morality), as they are marked by the commercialist, even proto-capitalist slant distinctive of the cities of the Low Countries.³⁰ De Roovere thus concerns himself with the degradation of language into vain flattery, the deceitful presentation of oneself, and above all the hazards of aspiring beyond one's allocated place: in other words, he targets direct threats to the urban order in which he is operating, with its reliance on trade, verbal contracts and personal reputation. But what is also telling in these texts is the absence of a coherent satiric persona delivering these rebukes. Although bitter, the sentiments he voices are effectively depersonalized, issued from no particular speaking individual, and arising from no specific set of experiences: they become as a result more of a collective voice, not only judging the excesses of men in general but doing so in a generalized manner, occupying a position into which any reader or hearer may insert himself. In fact, at points De Roovere deliberately suppresses the individuality of this voice, as the final *rondeel* states: 'sietmen de lieden men kentse niet' (literally, 'seeing a man tells you nothing'). Here he effectively overrules the incipient humanist position, denying that the truth of a human being resides in him alone; in the process, he reasserts more traditional notions of corporate identity.³¹ This also spills over into the imagery De Roovere chooses to include, which is throughout marked by its mundanity. Each of the *rondelen* has at its centre a homely allusion to animals, crops or clothing, whether it be the *jacke* (coat, cloak) of the first, or the dogs and pigs of the second and fourth. On the one hand these symbols recall the domestic scenes of Bosch or Brueghel, with their similar search for moral meaning in images of the humdrum or everyday; on the other hand, however, they again signal the 'public' voice of the texts, as they draw on commonplace and widespread experience. All in all, the *rondelen* show how skilfully De Roovere could manipulate his position as public poet. Although cultivating a depersonalized voice, and placing emphasis on form above all, his work is in no way dry or unfocused. On the contrary, the *rondelen* show how readily these elements could be played off one another, as their overall effect is one of dynamic contrast, offsetting gentle lyricism with impressive pungency.

Anthonis de Roovere, Four Rondels (c 1465)³²

1	1
He that would have worldly gain	Die moet duersteict zijn als een jacke
Must learn to live like a cape,	Die nu ter wereltd sal bedien
Hanging from the shoulders of the vain,	Alomme moet hy hoocheydt dien
He that would have worldly gain.	Die nu ter wereltd sal bedien
Like Judas, sense he must disdain,	Onnoosel als die Godt verrien ^a
Or sack-cloth from his neck will drape.	Oft anders gaet hy metten sacke ^b
He that would have worldly gain	Die nu ter wereltd sal bedien
Must learn to live like a cape.	Die moet duersteict zijn als een jacke.
2	2
He that through this world would rise	Die door de wereltd sal gheraken
Must run with dogs and learn their cries	Die moet connen huylen metten honden
Many tongues he must acquire	Ende moet oock connen diverssche spraken

He that through this world would rise. Here speaking truth, there sowing lies In front a friend, behind a liar: ^c He that through this world would rise Must run with dogs and learn their cries	Die door de wereltd sal gheraken Hier waerheyt segghen / en ghinder missaecken Vooren salven / en de achter wonden Die door de wereltd sal gheraken Die moet cunnen huylen metten honden.
3 He that cannot learn to flatter Will gain nothing but despair; If he is thin he'll grow no fatter, He that cannot learn to flatter. Every chance is sure to scatter: Wherever he goes, few will care. He that cannot learn to flatter Will gain nothing but despair.	3 Die gheen pluymen en can strijcken Die en dooch ter werelt niet Is hy aerm / hy en sal niet rijcken Die gheen pluymen en can strijcken Alomme soe heeft hy tachterkijcken Hy wordt verschoven / waer men hem siet Die gheen pluymen en can strijcken Die en dooch ter wereltd niet.
4 Sleeping sows are keen to eat: Look at a man and little is learned. Chaff will always outweigh wheat, Sleeping sows are keen to eat Many are praised for no great feat, All fame today is barely earned. Sleeping sows are keen to eat: Look at a man and little is learned.	4 Sluymende zueghen eten wel haer draf Al sietmen de lieden men kentse niet Ten is gheen coorne sonder caf Sluymende zueghen / eten wel haer draf Het heet sulc milde die noydt en gaf By desen veel tsgheelijcx gheschiet Sluymende zueghen / eten wel haer draf Al sietmen de lieden men kentse niet.

^aLiterally, 'those who betrayed God'.

^bThat is: wear a traditional beggar's costume.

^cMore literally, 'before soothe, and behind wound'.

Notes

¹ J. Prinsen J. Lzn, 'Het drama en de Rederijkers', *Handboek tot de Nederlandsche letterkundige geschiedenis* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), pp. 147–78 (pp. 169–74); G. C. van 't Hoog, *Anthonis de Roovere* (Amsterdam: J. Emmering, 1918); J. Cuvelier, 'Een viertal onbekende werken van de Brusselsche 15^e eeuwse Rederijkers Colijn en Smeken en van den Bruggeling Anthonis de Roover', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde 1937* (1937), 89–99; J. J. Mak, *De gedichten van Anthonis de Roovere* (Zwolle: Uitgeversmaatschappij Tjeenk Willink, 1955); J. B. Oosterman, 'Anthonis de Roovere. Het werk: overlevering, toeschrijving en plaatsbepaling', *Jaarboek De Fonteyne*, 45–46 (1995–1996), 29–140; Anthonis de Roovere, *Gedichten/Collected Poems*, trans. and ed. Johan Oosterman and Elsa Strietman (forthcoming).

² Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch, *Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries: A Census*, Bibliotheca bibliographica Neerlandica 39 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1999), p. 383; See Anton van Duinkerken and A. P. Huysmans, *Het Spel vanden heiligen sacramente vander Nyeuwervaer* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1955), p. 46.

³ J. B. Oosterman, 'Anthonis de Roovere. Het werk: overlevering, toeschrijving en plaatsbepaling. Bijlage

2 en 3', *Jaarboek De Fonteyne*, 41 (1999), 9–88 (pp. 10–23).

⁴ 'Eenen notabelen poorter der voors. stede van Brugge ... excellente ende fameuse ... als namelijk die groote poeten Franschoys Villon, Parisiaen, Clement Marot, M. Jan Molinet ende diversche ander gheestighe ghelaudeerde rethorizienen': Eduard de Dene, *Rethoricale werken van Anthonis de Roovere* (Antwerp: Jan van Ghelen, 1562), f. A3v.

⁵ K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid* (The Hague: G. B. van Goor Zonen, 1952), p. 450.

⁶ See Dirk Coigneau, 'Anthonis de Roovere als wereldlijk dichter', *Vlaanderen*, 188 (1982), 158–67.

⁷ Dirk Coigneau, 'De Roovere, Anthoonis de', in *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse auteurs*, eds. by G. J. van Bork and P. J. Verkruisje (De Haan: Weesp, 1985), p. 498.

⁸ Johan Oosterman, 'Spelen, goede moraliteiten en eerbare esbattenen: Anthonis de Roovere en het toneel in Brugge', in *Spel en spektakel*, ed. by Hans van Dijk and Bart Ramakers (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2001), pp. 154–77 (pp. 155–56).

⁹ *De gedichten*, p. 11.

¹⁰ J. F. Willems, *Belgisch museum voor de Nederduitsche taal- en letterkunde en de geschiedenis des vaderlands*, 10 vols. (Ghent: Maatschappij tot Bevordering der

- Nederduitse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1845), 19.188; J. G. Frederiks and F. Jos. van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (Amsterdam: L. J. Veen, 1888–1891), p. 670; Prudens van Duyse, *De rederijkamers in Nederland Deel 2* (eds. Florimond van Duyse en Frans de Potter). A. Siffer, Gent 1902), p. 12.
- ¹¹ ‘Een Idiotz/ende simpel leeck/ongheleert’; ‘by godlycker inghestorter gratie so inden gheest verlicht’: *Rethoricale Wercken*, ff. A2–A3.
- ¹² Herman Pleij, ‘The Late Middle Ages and the Age of the Rhetoricians, 1400–1560’, in *A Literary History of the Low Countries*, ed. by Theo Hermans (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), p. 100.
- ¹³ Johan Oosterman, ‘De Excellente cronike van Vlaenderen en Anthonis de Roovere’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 118 (2002), 22–33.
- ¹⁴ See Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 222–79.
- ¹⁵ R. Lievens, ‘De Blijde Inkomst van Margaretha van York’, *Vlaenderen*, 188 (1982), 171–73.
- ¹⁶ Bas Jongenelen and Ben Parsons, ‘Anthonis de Roovere’s dream about the death of the late Charles of Burgundy’, *Dutch Crossing*, 30 (2007), 307–18.
- ¹⁷ ‘Groeyende ende bloeyende tot scientificque wetentheden van veelderhande gheestelijcke reDe Denen ende morale expositien, daernaer makende een wonderlijck Lof van den heylighen Sacramente, daer vele gheleerde inne verwondert waren, tselve eyndelijck bij den exanimateurs van dien verclaert goet, correct ende oprecht int ghelove zijnde, in teecken van dyen geaprobeert, gheconsenteert ende toegelaten openbaer in de H. Kercke tot een yeghelijcx devotie in gescrijften gestelt te moghen zijne, heeft dies de fameuse fame vercreghen dat hi genaempt wert’: *Rethoricale Wercken*, ff. A2–A3.
- ¹⁸ W. M. H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het rederijkersdrama 1500–ca. 1620* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968), p. 16.
- ¹⁹ L. Scharpé, ‘De Rovere’s spel van *Quiconque vult salvus esse*’, *Leuvense Bijdragen*, 4 (1902), 155–93; Gary K. Waite, *Reformers on Stage: Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 45.
- ²⁰ *De gedichten*, pp. 294–98.
- ²¹ Corry de Haan and Johan Oosterman, *Is Brugge groot?* (Amsterdam: Em. Querido’s Uitgeverij, 1996), pp. 156–161.
- ²² Compare David Lawton’s remarks on fifteenth-century vernacular poetry in England in ‘Dullness and the Fifteenth Century’, *ELH*, 54 (1987), 761–99.
- ²³ Marijke Spies, ‘Developments in sixteenth-century Dutch poetics. From “rhetoric” to “renaissance”’, in *Renaissance-Rhetorik*, ed. by Heinrich F. Plett (Berlin: Heinrich F. Plett, 1993), pp. 72–91 (pp. 73–5); See also Nelleke Moser, *De strijd voor rhetorica: poëtica en positie van rederijkers in Vlaenderen, Brabant, Zeeland en Holland tussen 1450 en 1620* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), pp. 22–43.
- ²⁴ ‘Is dit werck voor menighen man/Nochtan/soe wie der scientien conduyt/Ontslyt’: *De gedichten*, p. 132.
- ²⁵ ‘Als gevolg van de contaminatie van de schoole ars rhetorica met de rederijkerij’: *De gedichten*, p. 132.
- ²⁶ ‘Tmessenicht/int begrijpen menich abel clerck/Die abelijck/notabelijck//de reDe Dene schicht’: *De gedichten*, p. 132. See W. L. Braekman, ‘Een nieuwe interpretatie van Anthonis de Rooveres “Refereyn van Rethorica”’, *Jaarboek De Fonteyne*, 18 (1969), 109–25. See James Jerome Murphy, *Medieval Rhetoric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. xiii.
- ²⁷ See Moser, *De strijd voor rhetorica*, pp. 69–97.
- ²⁸ Mak, *De gedichten van Anthonis de Roovere*, pp. 112–14.
- ²⁹ See J. J. Mak, *De rederijkers* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1944), pp. 22–23.
- ³⁰ Herman Pleij, *Het gilde van de Blauwe Schuit: literatuur, volksfeest en burgermoraal in de late middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), p. 209.
- ³¹ On humanism in the chambers, see Herman Pleij, *Nederlandse literatuur in de late Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht: HES, 1990), pp. 158–91; Anne-Laure van Bruane, ‘Sociabiliteit en competitie. De sociaal-institutionele ontwikkeling van de rederijkerskamers in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400–1650)’, and Arjan van Dixhoorn, ‘Burgers, brancies en bollebozen. De sociaal-institutionele ontwikkeling van de rederijkerskamers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1400–1650)’, in *Conformisten en rebellen — Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden (1400–1650)*, ed. by Bart Ramakers (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), pp. 45–64, 65–85.

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