

**Paradigms and Perspectives of a Mediaeval Comparative Literature**

Abstract

**Langue et littérature ou ›scripta et littérature‹:  
un paradigme nouveau pour l’histoire littéraire**

Fabio Zinelli

Studying the linguistic surface (scripta) of medieval vernacular texts usually provides us with valuable information on the manuscript tradition of literary works (and sometimes on the circumstances of their composition). In this paper we intend to point out how linguistic features common to larger groups of texts may bring us to define research patterns fitting to answer questions usually raised by literary history. In the medieval continuum of romance languages, we will focus on two main linguistic and cultural borders: the moving frontier of the Mediterranean (from the Crusader States to Italy) and the geopolitical border between Catalonia and the Languedoc. Such areas correspond to important crossroads in the textual transmission of several works: we know up to two hundred French manuscripts of Mediterranean origin; one third of the extant Occitan literary manuscripts have been copied in Catalonia or Italy. Moreover, these areas count as centers of linguistic invention hosting several original literary experiences. In the region around Venice, an entire corpus of chansons de geste was written in a mixed formula of French and Northern Italian dialects. About fifty out of the 460 known Occitan troubadours are of Italian or Catalan origin. Besides, Occitan (an Occitan with Catalan features) was the ‘official’ language of Catalan Poetry down to the first half of 15th century.

A comparative study of such a wide range of textual ensembles is possible only if we identify some common methodological patterns. Representation of linguistic features in space superimposes itself on the mapping of textual and literary traditions. Philology and Geography go hand in hand, then, helping us to locate textual data in space. Gathering large amounts of data concerning the scripta may also undergo scrutiny in terms of a distant reading restructuring of the corpus of literary texts. Furthermore, copying manuscripts or writing a foreign language anew count as different acts of appropriation and reproduction of a scripta which may reflect political issues. They also show how a model language might fail to be a perfect replica-language, turning out to be something different. On the whole, the dynamics of reproduction of a scripta in specific contact zones challenge the familiar pairing of linguistics and literature to elaborate a new paradigm apt to enlarge the field of comparative literature studies.

(English Translation, see below)

## Paläographische Zugänge zu den altfranzösischen Vorlagen von Wolframs *Parzival*

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Mit seinem ›Parzival‹ aus der Zeit um 1200 legt Wolfram von Eschenbach eine deutsche Bearbeitung des unvollendeten ›Conte du Graal‹ des Chrétien de Troyes (vor 1190) vor sowie von Teilen der ›Première Continuation‹ (um 1200). Versuche, das textgeschichtliche Umfeld zu ermitteln, in dem Wolframs konkrete altfranzösische Vorlagenhandschrift für den ›Parzival‹ (überliefert in 16 Handschriften, 1 Wiegendruck und 72 Fragmenten) zu verorten ist,<sup>1</sup> können sich auf eine breite Überlieferung auch auf französischer Seite stützen: 15 Handschriften, 1 Druck und 10 Fragmente. Bei der Vorlagensuche liegt der Fokus üblicherweise auf inhaltlichen Äquivalenzen zwischen Prä- und Posttext. Textliche Varianten einer bestimmten Überlieferungsgruppe oder sogar einer einzelnen altfranzösischen ›Conte du Graal‹-Handschrift, die im ›Parzival‹ sichtlich ‚Spuren‘ hinterlassen haben, sollten doch darauf hindeuten, dass dem Bearbeiter eine Vorlage aus demselben textgeschichtlichen Umfeld vorgelegen hat (Beispiel siehe im Folgenden):

Perceval / Parzival sieht im Wald zum ersten Mal in seinem Leben Ritter, und zwar fünf bzw. drei an der Zahl:

Et cil qui bien lancier savoit / Des gavelos que il avoit, / Aloit environ lui lanchant / Une eure arriere et autre avant, / Une eure en bas et autre en haut / Tant qu’il oï parmi le gaut / Venir .v. (.iii. R) chevaliers armez, / De totes armes acesmez (›Conte du Graal‹, V. 95–102; R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 1450 [2. Viertel 13. Jh., Nordostfrankreich]).<sup>2</sup>

nu seht, dort kom geschüftet (geriten T) her / drî (om. D, zwene G) ritter nâch wunsche var, / von fuoze ûf gewâpent gar (›Parzival‹, V. 120,24–26).<sup>3</sup>

Es ist zu vermuten, dass Wolfram eine ›Conte du Graal‹-Handschrift zur Verfügung stand, die textgeschichtlich mit ms. R verwandt ist.

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<sup>1</sup> Für entsprechende Untersuchungen zum ›Parzival‹ siehe etwa JEAN FOURQUET, Wolfram d’Eschenbach et le ‚Conte del Graal‘. Les divergences de la tradition du ‚Conte del Graal‘ de Chrétien et leur importance pour l’explication du ‚Parzival‘, Straßburg 1938 und, in Überarbeitung, Paris 1966 (Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne / Série Études et Méthodes 17); STEFAN ABEL, *Von Provenz in tiuschiu lant* (›Parzival‹, 827,9) – Kontaktphänomene und Rezeptionsspuren der Chrétien-Überlieferung in den mittelhochdeutschen Bearbeitungen um 1200, Habilitationsschrift masch., Bern 2020.

<sup>2</sup> Text nach: Chrétien de Troyes. Le roman de Perceval ou le conte du graal. Édition critique d’après tous les manuscrits, hg. von KEITH BUSBY, Tübingen 1993; nhd. Übersetzung: „Und er, der sich gut darauf verstand, die Wurfspieße zu schleudern, die er besaß, schleuderte sie um sich herum, bald nach hinten und nach vorn, bald nach unten und nach oben, so lange bis er durch den Wald fünf [drei R] bewaffnete Ritter kommen hörte, die mit allen Waffen ausgerüstet waren“ (Chrétien de Troyes, Der Percevalroman [Le Conte du Graal], übers. und eingel. von Monica SCHÖLER-BEINHAEUER, München 1991 [KTRMA 23], S. 73 und 75).

<sup>3</sup> Text nach: Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival. Studienausgabe. Mittelhochdeutscher Text nach der sechsten Ausgabe von KARL LACHMANN. Übers. von Peter Knecht. Mit Einführungen zum Text der Lachmannschen Ausgabe und in Probleme der Parzival-Interpretation von Bernd Schiroke, Berlin <sup>2</sup>2003 (de Gruyter Texte), S. 123; nhd. Übersetzung: „Nun seht, dort kamen drei [– D, zwei G] prächtige Ritter herbeigaloppiert [herbeigeritten T], von Kopf bis Fuss vollständig gerüstet“ (S. A.). Zu den Handschriftensiglen siehe die Internetseiten des Berner ›Parzival‹-Projekts: <http://www.parzival.unibe.ch>.

Paläographische Aspekte in der Überlieferung von Vorlage und Bearbeitung sind bei der Vorlagensuche bislang kaum herangezogen worden. So können etwa auch die Setzung von Versalien am abgesetzten Versbeginn, gewisse Abbrüchungen und die Gliederung von inhaltlichen Abschnitten mittels Lombarden u.ä. in der altfranzösischen Überlieferung Einfluss auf die deutsche Bearbeitung gehabt haben (Beispiel siehe im Folgenden):

Es zeigt sich, dass gerade die ›Parzival‹-Hss. D und T, zwei der ältesten Textzeugen, den handschriftlichen Text an Textstellen, die mit der Vorlage auch inhaltlich äquivalent sind, mittels Majuskeln und Versalien gliedern, wo auch gewisse Textzeugen der altfranzösischen Überlieferung Gliederungselemente setzen.

**M**<sub>ABCHMQSUV</sub>aintenant vers terre se lance / Et dist trestoute sa creance / Et oroisons que il savoit, / Que sa mere apris li avoit (›Conte du Graal‹, V. 155–158; Lombarden in mss. A, B, C, H, M, Q, S, U und V).<sup>4</sup>

**Do** stvnt ðch (*om. T*) er niht langer hie. / in daz phat viel er v̄f siniv (die *T*) chn̄e. / (Vil *T*) lvte rief der knappe san (*om. T*). / hilf got dv maht wol helfe han. (›Parzival‹, V. 120,29–121,2 nach der Transkription von Hs. D und mit den abweichenden Lesarten von Hs. T; am Beginn von V. 120,29 setzt Hs. D eine Majuskel, Hs. T einen Versal, jeweils entgegen der sonstigen Überlieferung).<sup>5</sup>

Die Auswertung sämtlicher Abschnittsmarkierungen in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Vorlage und Bearbeitung zeigt, dass sich in den ›Parzival‹-Hss. D und T ein altes Gliederungssystem bewahrt hat, das auf französischer Seite von der Überlieferungsgruppe \*ALRSU bezeugt ist, darin ms. A, die sog. ‚Guiot-Handschrift‘ aus der Werkstatt des Guiot in Provins.

Mit aller methodischer Umsicht lässt sich auch die Paläographie der altfranzösischen Überlieferung für die textgeschichtliche Eingrenzung von Wolframs tatsächlicher ›Conte du Graal‹-Handschrift einbeziehen, um einerseits inhaltliche Äquivalenzen zwischen Vorlage und Bearbeitung zu untermauern. Andererseits lassen sich so auch neue Indizien zusammentragen, die auf die Verwendung einer Vorlagenhandschrift in einem ganz bestimmten textgeschichtlichen Umfeld durch Wolfram von Eschenbach hindeuten. Auch bietet die Paläographie Ansätze zur Erklärung oder Relativierung vermeintlicher Abweichungen in Wolframs ›Parzival‹ von Chrétiens ›Conte du Graal‹, so etwa das vorlagenfremde Toponym *Korchâ* (›Parzival‹, V. 610,17) oder die Erzählung über die Entführung von König Artus' Mutter Arnive (i.e. Ygerne bei Chrétien) durch den Zauberer Clinschor.

## English translation

With his *Parzival* (around 1200), Wolfram von Eschenbach presents a German adaptation of the unfinished *Conte du Graal* by Chrétien de Troyes (before 1190) as well as of parts of the *Première Continuation* (around 1200). Attempts to determine the textual-historical context in which Wolfram's precise French source for *Parzival* (transmitted in 16 manuscripts, 1 incunabulum, and 72 fragments) is to be located,<sup>6</sup> can rely on a broad French tradition as well: 15 manuscripts, 1 print, and 10 fragments. When searching for source-manuscripts, the

4 Nhd. Übersetzung: „Sogleich wirft er sich auf den Boden und sagt sein gesamtes Glaubensbekenntnis auf und die Gebete, die er kannte, welche ihn seine Mutter gelehrt hatte“ (SCHÖLER-BEINHÄUER [Anm. 2], S. 77).

5 Nhd. Übersetzung: „Da blieb er [i.e. Parzival] auch [– *T*] nicht länger stehen, mitten auf dem Weg fiel er auf seine [die *T*] Knie“. Sodann [– *T*] rief der Knabe laut: „Hilf, Gott, du hast die Macht zu helfen!“ (S. A.).

<sup>6</sup> For studies on *Parzival* on this behalf see for instance JEAN FOURQUET, *Wolfram d'Eschenbach et le ‚Conte del Graal‘. Les divergences de la tradition du ‚Conte del Graal‘ de Chrétien et leur importance pour l'explication du ‚Parzival‘*, Straßburg 1938 und, in Überarbeitung, Paris 1966 (Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne / Série Études et Méthodes 17); STEFAN ABEL, *Von Provenz in tiuschiu lant* (›Parzival‹, 827,9) – Kontakthänomene und Rezeptionsspuren der Chrétien-Überlieferung in den mittelhochdeutschen Bearbeitungen um 1200, Habilitationsschrift masch., Bern 2020.

focus is usually put on equivalences in content between pre- and post-text. However, textual variants in a certain tradition or even in a single Old French *Conte du Graal* manuscript, and which have left visible ‘traces’ in *Parzival*, likely suggest that the adapter had a copy at hand coming from that same textual-historical context (for an example, see below):

Perceval / Parzival sees knights in the forest for the first time in his life, five or three in number:

Et cil qui bien lancier savoit / Des gavelos que il avoit, / Aloit environ lui lanchant / Une eure arriere et autre avant, / Une eure en bas et autre en haut / Tant qu’il oï parmi le gaut / Venir .v. (.iii. R) chevaliers armez, / De totes armes acesmez (*Conte du Graal*, V. 95–102; R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 1450 [2nd quarter 13th century, north-eastern France]).<sup>7</sup>  
nu seht, dort kom geschüftet (geriten T) her / drî (om. D, zwene G) ritter nâch wunsche var, / von fuoze ûf gewâpent gar (*Parzival*, V. 120,24–26).<sup>8</sup>

It can be assumed that Wolfram had a *Conte du Graal* manuscript at his disposal, which is related to ms. R.

When searching for the Old French source for *Parzival*, scholars have often failed to take into account paleographic features present in manuscript copies and adaptations of the original text (by ‘original text’, I mean here the *Conte du Graal* text rather than a specific manuscript). For example, the use of capitals at the beginning of verses, of certain abbreviations, and the structuring of textual sections by means of lombards etc. in the Old French tradition may have had an influence on the German adaptation (for an example, see below):

It is apparent that the *Parzival* manuscripts D and T, two of the oldest textual witnesses, structure their text in sections—which are equivalent in content to the original text—through the use of majuscules and capitals. Certain textual witnesses of the Old French tradition also insert such structuring elements.

MABCHMQSUVaintenant vers terre se lance / Et dist trestoute sa creance / Et oroisons que il savoit, / Que sa mere apris li avoit (*Conte du Graal*, V. 155–158;<sup>9</sup> Lombardes in mss. A, B, C, H, M, Q, S, U and V).

Do stvnt ðch (om. T) er niht langer hie. / in daz phat viel er v̄f siniv (die T) chn̄ie. / (Vil T) lvte rief der knappe san (om. T). / hilf got dv maht wol helfe han. (̄)Parzival̄, V. 120,29–121,2;<sup>10</sup> according to the transcription of ms. D and with the variants of ms. T; at the beginning of v. 120,29 ms. D uses a majuscule, ms. T a versal, in each case contrary to the other tradition).

The analysis, within the manuscript tradition containing the original text and its adaptations, of all the signs partitioning the text shows that an old system of textual division is preserved in *Parzival* manuscripts D and T. This is attested on the French side by the group of manuscripts \*ALRSU, which includes ms. A, the so-called ‘Guiot manuscript’ from the workshop of Guiot in Provins.

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<sup>7</sup> Text: Chrétien de Troyes. *Le roman de Perceval ou le conte du graal*. Édition critique d’après tous les manuscrits, hg. von KEITH BUSBY, Tübingen 1993; English translation of CdGr, 95–102: „He was very skilled with his javelins, and went throwing them all around, backwards and forwards, high and low, for hours – till he heard, coming through the wood, five armed knights: all fully armed from head to foot” (Nigel Bryant, *The Complete Story of the Grail*. Chrétien de Troyes ‘Perceval’ and its Continuations [Arthurian Studies 82], Woodbridge / Suffolk 2015, S. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Text: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*. Studienausgabe. Mittelhochdeutscher Text nach der sechsten Ausgabe von KARL LACHMANN. Übers. von Peter Knecht. Mit Einführungen zum Text der Lachmannschen Ausgabe und in Probleme der Parzival-Interpretation von Bernd Schirok, Berlin 2003 (de Gruyter Texte), S. 123; English translation of Pz., 120,24–26: “But look! Here come three knights at the gallop as fine as you could wish and armed from heel to crown!” (aus: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, übers. von Arthur T. Hatto [Penguin Classics], Harmondsworth 1980, S. 72)

<sup>9</sup> English translation of CdGr, 155–158: “And he threw himself to the ground and spouted all the creed and prayers that he knew – taught him by his mother” (Bryant, S. 2).

<sup>10</sup> English translation of Pz., 120,29–121,1: “Nor did he remain standing any longer, but fell to his knees on the path. ‘Help God!’ he cried at the top of his voice. ‘Thou hast the power to help’” (Hatto, S. 72).

The palaeography of these Old French manuscripts can then be used, with great methodological caution, to define textually and historically Wolfram's true *Conte du Graal* 'manuscript'. This allows, on the one hand, the confirmation of equivalences in content between the original text and the German adaptation. On the other hand, it permits new evidence to be gathered, which points towards the use by Wolfram von Eschenbach of a source-manuscript in a very specific textual-historical environment. Paleography also offers approaches to explaining or relativising supposed deviations from Chrétien's *Conte du Graal* in Wolfram's *Parzival*, such as the toponym Korchâ (*Parzival*, v. 610,17), which cannot be found in the original, or the story about the abduction of King Arthur's mother Arnive (i.e. Ygerne in Chrétien) by the sorcerer Clinschor.

« Medieval » « Theater » in « France » : what manuscripts are saying

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I

Reading the perspectives proposed for the section « Culture manuscrite » of the Fribourg Colloquium 2021, it seemed to me that issues I had encountered in the span of my work were too far from them to give direct or even related answers, if only to the initial statement, about « *the material dimension of writing which played an important role at different levels in its pre-modern cultural or literary 'circulation/transmission' : the reconstitution of the roads of its 'circulation/transmission' can offer informations on cultural, political and ideological networks of the time* », quoted and translated from the call for papers *Paradigmes et perspectives de la littérature médiévale comparée*, p. 2).

It all began this way : as a student in history, for my master degree, I was asked to work on « politics in French mystery plays ». Until then, these texts (totally unknown to me) were exclusively objects of « literary studies ». Through my first reading of four of those *mystery plays* (between 10 and 30 000 lines each), and discovering the bibliography of the particular field they were belonging to, *i.e.* « Medieval Theater » in the « History of French literature », I was faced with the following issues :

1. Reading those texts was at time painfully difficult, because of their apparent internal discontinuity within considerable lengthiness.
2. These texts were systematically despised by their analysts and even their own editors has having « no structure », being « badly written » (with the exception of a few passages), and being « no theater ».
3. These texts were never considered as a whole, but as stone careers from which it was possible to dig out pebbles to consolidate the border of a demonstration, in a large variety of topics already identified in the history of literature and, timidly, in some historical research as I was myself a witness of this evolution in the middle of the seventies.
4. Having had free access — we were in 1974-1975 — to the original manuscripts (two of them were still unedited at that time), I was struck by their differences. One was beautifully written down by one or two hands with hundreds of illustrations, another seemed painfully scribbled down by at least ten different hands, no decoration, cancellations, and strange marginal signs. They were all given for « theater manuscripts », but I could not understand what exactly they were written for, *i.e.* at what moment of the theatrical process they had been prepared (the word « performance » was not yet in my vocabulary, nor the concept used in my academic environment).

Since then, having had in hand many « theater manuscripts », after long wanderings through other fields and objects of research — history of the book, of music, of teaching, notarial and administrative documents, account books — and, not the least, with the help of two young colleagues, Taku Kuroiwa (University of Tohoku) and Xavier Leroux (University of Toulon), we came to present graphically the *circulation/transmission* of medieval dramatic texts in the following manner, as the result of a codicological approach in the more general frame of a *history of practices* (see hereunder). As for a concrete example, I shall detail how the study of the medieval gloss is a key to understand a marginal sign constitutive of performing practices linked to theatre writing in XVth-XVIth-century France.

In the end, summarizing what « medieval theater » manuscripts could say to me, I shall generalize it in the form of a methodological consideration :

To understand the nature of their content and the contexts they belong to, these works/objects have to be studied internally as wholes, respecting *also* their given material limits : *e.g.* if a play is part of a miscellany, the miscellany has to be studied together with the play. Of course, it means abandoning the given categories through which the object was identified at first, exploring fields beyond the limits of one's knowledge, leading to many aporetic conclusions. But, as far as my own work was concerned, it was the only way to let the given object discover some aspects of its particular cultural and historical identity.

See Graphic (next page):

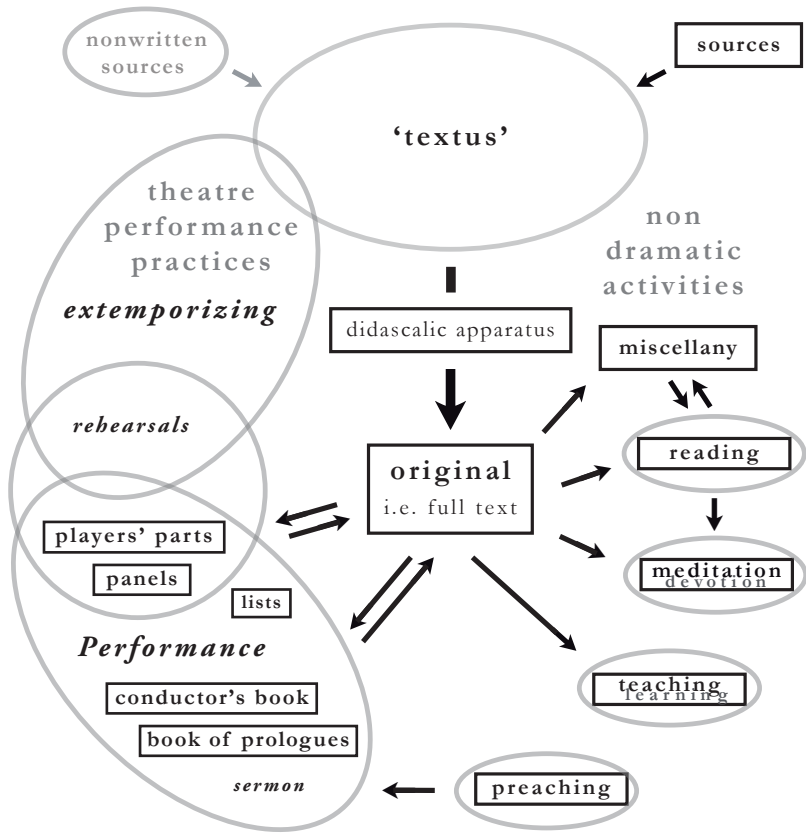
Writing and performing processes of the medieval dramatic text in XIIIth-XVIth-century France

The article commenting this graphic, « About French vernacular tradition : Medieval Roots of Modern Theatre

Practices », Journal of Early Modern Studies 8 (2019), p. 33-67, can be downloaded at this adress :

<https://oajournals.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-jems/article/view/7105>

A French version of this graphic shall be given as handout at the Colloquium.



... mental or performative activity

... written text



Abstract

**“Intermedial Comparison and the Book of Hours”**

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Our primary subject in this colloquium is comparative medieval scholarship—that which crosses national or linguistic borders. And, of course, thinking comparatively is valuable when considering medieval cultural forms that were created before concepts of “nation” or even “language” were solidly fixed. More abstractly, comparative study demonstrates the virtue of breadth as one among many essential scholarly values, a value that (alongside alternative scholarly priorities such as depth, focus, exhaustiveness, and precision) provides the particular wisdom of perspective, or balance. Embracing the virtues of a broad view, then, I’m interested in this paper to push our methods still further into intermedial comparisons—those which cross media forms as well as those of language or nation. Thinking across media calls attention not only to varying forms of linguistic representation, but also to other forms of representation that involve visual and sonic experience. Comparative media study has a long genealogy in thinking about the sister arts (how does poetry relate to painting?), but in the twenty-first century it has grown even more capacious, considering literary and visual arts of all kinds, but also music, dance, theater, film, and all varieties of performance.

My current book project, on the place of books of hours in literary history, has afforded many opportunities to think about the values of comparative study, both linguistic and medial. One of the challenges of studying the book of hours is precisely the ubiquity that makes the study necessary: more books of hours remain from late-medieval Europe than any other kind of reading material. And the commonalities across this vast archive are striking: books of hours are often seen to manifest a Christian culture of devotional reading that spanned the Latin West. Mostly as a matter of practicality, I’ve been focusing on books of hours from England, but some comparative observations can be made across

national boundaries. The English hours might be characterized as more various and experimental in form, as opposed, for example, to the highly systematized French hours that come out of an established culture of accomplished Parisian workmanship. Dutch books of hours more frequently incorporate vernacular texts, perhaps as a result of the *devotio moderna* and its emphasis on prayers in Dutch. Comparisons across nation and language are complicated in this archive, however, by a number of other examples. What to say about the books made in Flanders but intended for the English market? What to say about the many English books with French texts in them? Considered comparatively, books of hours reveal the limitations of imagining a monolithic pan-European culture, but they also suggest that this cultural archive cannot be carved up simply according to nation or language.

Books of hours also reveal that comparison should not be limited to multiple languages or various geographies. The most interesting kinds of comparison rest in the objects themselves: the book made in Flanders that travels to England, the vernacular rubrics added to the Latin prayers, the narrative image that sits next to the lyrical text. Books of hours across Europe are modular and multi-modal artworks that rely on the co-presence of multiple kinds of texts, multiple languages, and, often, a prescribed set of images. They are scripts for performative reading, and their connections to liturgical occasion incorporate the sights, sounds, and smells of performed and communal ritual observance. They offer an opportunity to consider the spaces between media conventionally understood to be separate: poetry, prayer, text, image, music icon, lyric, narrative. The manuscript book itself presents these comparisons, allowing the scholar to think broadly while offering a salutary focus on a single material object. As a case-study in intermedial comparison, I here examine a late thirteenth-century book of hours from England, Walters MS W.102, to think about how it incorporates texts, images, and music—and questions the lines between them. From marginal grotesques to unusually decorative line-fillers to innovative prayer-texts to bas-de-page visual narratives, this book requires attention to comparative media from any reader, medieval or modern.

## The First Word: Inaugural Speeches in Universities and Mendicant Studia

William Duba

Scholastic philosophical theology informs late-medieval visual and written culture; numerous studies have demonstrated this conclusion by showing the overwhelming parallels in form and content across intellectual genres. The mechanisms by which such thought and patterns of thinking infused the culture, however, are less well understood, in part because the bias of the surviving sources leads to a top-down approach, and in part from the way scholars select these sources to adhere to contemporary disciplinary divisions. From its foundation to the Black Death, the University of Paris was the undisputed leader for the study of philosophical theology, with the University of Oxford playing a secondary role, and thus the overwhelming majority of surviving sources, both in terms of texts and in terms of number of manuscript witnesses, come from these two centers. Moreover, the same medieval teachers gave speeches (*sermones*), often, for theologians and friars, preached and taught. Yet the surviving written sermons and lectures reflect vastly different intellectual and rhetorical priorities. Precisely by combining the study of teaching with that of preaching, we can understand not only the way medieval thought was disseminated to the educated public, but also the context of medieval teaching itself. A comparative approach, moreover, can help reveal the inflections in the presentation and teaching of scholastic thought outside of the traditional centers of Paris, Oxford, and Bologna, identifying characteristics unique to each milieu.

A little-studied genre is that of inaugural speech, commonly known as *principia*. At the beginning of each medieval course, the teacher would give an opening speech (*sermo*), which took the form of a thematic sermon. The most well-known of these are the magisterial *principia in theologia*, the speech constituting the first formal act following the promotion of a Master in Theology, and marking the beginning of his magisterial lectures on theology. But similar *principia* exist also for lectures on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, and they often appear at the beginning of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century commentaries on the *Sentences*. Since the *Sentences* were taught both at the universities and at the mendicant *studia*, a comparative study of *principia* on the *Sentences* at Paris and in Florence at the time of Dante reveals the nature of teaching and society in both centers.

This paper bases itself on a study of a dozen *principia* on the *Sentences* given in Florence by the Dominican Remigio de' Girolami and the Franciscans Pietro de Trabibus and Jacopo de Tresantis, most still in manuscript, and a comparison with contemporary Parisian *principia* on the *Sentences* given by Franciscans and Dominicans (including those by Remigio de' Girolami).

The Parisian *principia* of the time have become refined exercises of the *ars sermonandi* aimed primarily at impressing the community of preachers to which they are addressed, and attracting renown for the bachelor's school. The Florentine *principia* share many of the elements of the Parisian ones, but their focus is more didactic, introductory, accessible, and, if the passing references are to be believed, aimed at a broader public than Paris.

***Embodied Cognition, Kinesic Intelligence,  
and Comparative Literary Analysis in Medieval Studies***

Guillemette Bolens (University of Geneva)

Neurophysiological and neurocognitive research has demonstrated in the past decades that there is a foundational correlation between motricity and cognition, and that language pertains in many respects to this correlation. Cognition is to a great extent grounded in sensorimotricity, and so is our processing of language. One key parameter in this perspective is the pervading cognitive phenomenon called perceptual simulation. We pre-reflectively trigger perceptual simulations when we plan and perform an action, when we understand someone's goal-oriented gesture, and when we make sense of movements described verbally (orally or in writing).

Kinesis permeates literature. Even the most abstract works refer in one way or another to gestures and sensorimotor interactions. They may do so literally or figuratively, by narrating a movement or by conveying sensorimotor information by means of kinesic similes. Either way, readers' linguistic processing involves their sensorimotor cognition, triggering perceptual simulations. To study perceptual simulations as an integral part of literary criticism entails a shift of attention, which ought to be seen as complementary to other trends in literary criticism. It provides access to *one* link in the chain, but a link that is key and often overlooked. It is a way of pondering why we think we understand a narrated movement the way we do, and of limiting the risk of anachronistic inferences.

A comparative approach of kinesis in literature and art helps not only address readers' and audiences' cognitive participation, but also account for historical traces of cognitive acts, perceptual simulations, and kinesic intelligence in medieval works. To test this claim, I will consider the text-image relationships in the Utrecht Psalter (AD 820-835), the Harvey Psalter (11<sup>th</sup> c.), the Eadwine Psalter (mid-12<sup>th</sup> c.), and the Great Canterbury Psalter (a.k.a. the Paris Psalter or the Anglo-Catalan Psalter) (ca. 1180–1200). The Utrecht Psalter was made at the Benedictine abbey of Hautvillers in the

diocese of Rheims. Present in Canterbury as of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, it inspired the Harvey, Eadwine, and Great Canterbury Psalters, all produced in the Canterbury scriptorium of Christ Church.

In *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, Koert van der Horst writes, “decorating the psalms was not as easy as it might at first seem. Artists from late Antiquity onwards undoubtedly ran into considerable problems when it came to illustrating the psalms. How were they to depict the cries for help or deliverance from enemies, meditations on the judgment to come, prayers, eulogies and lamentations that form the greatest part of the psalms, without breaking with the centuries-old tradition and the predominant design principles of late classical text illustration? The narrative manner of giving concrete, pictorial form to the succession of often turbulent, dramatic and vivid scenes and episodes in classical texts, as well as in the historical books of the Bible and the Gospels, could not be employed for illustrating most of the psalms, for they have a totally different, non-narrative structure, and reflect the many aspects of, and feelings towards every human condition” (1996: 55).

To meet the challenge highlighted by Koert van der Horst, the artists of the Utrecht Psalter developed complex pictorial strategies, carefully analyzed by experts such as William Noel, Lucy Freeman Sandler, and Janet Backhouse. I will suggest that an attention to the question of perceptual simulations may help our understanding of one strand in the refined pictorial strategies developed by the Carolingian artists of the Utrecht Psalter and the Canterbury artists who responded to their art.

(English Translation, see below)

**„Das Mittelalter“ in neuen europäischen und globalen Herausforderungen. Der Vergleich in der Historiographie**

Michael Borgolte (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft beziehungsweise Mediävistische Komparatistik und Vergleichende Geschichtswissenschaft des Mittelalters sind offenkundig zwei Fachrichtungen, die sich weitgehend getrennt voneinander entfaltet haben. Deshalb soll der Vortrag einem vorwiegend textwissenschaftlich arbeitenden Auditorium den Stand der vergleichenden europäischen und globalen Geschichte des Mittelalters vor Augen führen. Dabei greift der Referent auf eigene Werke und die Arbeiten des Berliner ‚Instituts für Vergleichende Geschichte des Mittelalters‘ (1998–2017) sowie der Reihe ‚Europa im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik‘ (1999–2021: 38 Bände) zurück.

Nachdem Impulse der älteren Forschung (z. B. Marc Bloch, 1927) wenig Wirkung entfaltet hatten, gab die Revolution von 1989 in Deutschland der Vergleichenden Geschichtswissenschaft einen Schub; methodisch war dabei entscheidend, dass Vergleiche nicht mehr auf Nachbargesellschaften beschränkt werden, sondern auch und sogar schwerpunktmäßig räumlich getrennte und zeitlich differente Lebenskreise einbeziehen sollten. Geschichtsforschung und Geschichtsschreibung gingen Hand in Hand, aber unverkennbar ist doch, dass die Arbeit an einem neuen Geschichtsbild in einem Europa und der globalisierten Welt ohne Grenzen eine eigene Dynamik entfaltete. Der innereuropäische Distanzvergleich konnte die kulturelle Vielfalt Europas im Hochmittelalter vergegenwärtigen (2002), während sich die Geschichte Europas zwischen 300 und 1400 aus dem spannungsreichen Verhältnis der drei monotheistischen Religionen entfalten ließ (2006).

Ein Vorhaben des European Research Council (2011–2017) erlaubte einen globalen Vergleich lateinchristlicher, griechisch-orthodoxer, jüdischer, muslimischer, indischer und chinesischer Stiftungen des mittelalterlichen Jahrtausends (Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, 3 Bde., 2014–2017). Alle bekannten Stiftungskulturen von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des ‚Mittelalters‘ wurden in einer ‚Weltgeschichte als Stiftungsgeschichte, 3000 v. u. Z. bis 1500 u. Z.‘ (2017, engl.: 2020) verglichen. Die typologische Ordnung des Materials erlaubte das Urteil, dass Stiftungen in der Weltgeschichte mehrfach unabhängig voneinander erfunden worden sind. Der interkulturelle Vergleich dient also nicht bloß zur Veranschaulichung von Ähnlichkeiten oder unaufhebbarer kultureller Diversität, sondern erlaubt im günstigen Fall auch Entscheidungen über globale historische Zusammenhänge.

## English Translation

Comparative Literature— here Medieval Comparative Studies—and Comparative History of the Middle Ages are clearly two disciplines which have largely developed independently from each other. This paper therefore intends to present the state of comparative European and global History of the Middle Ages to an audience working primarily in literary studies. To do so, I will draw on my own works and those of the Berlin ‘Institute of Comparative History of Europe in the Middle Ages’ (1998-2017), as well as on the book series *Europa im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik* (1999-2021: 38 volumes).

While impulses from older research (e.g. Marc Bloch, 1927) had little effect on the development of comparative history, the 1989 revolution in Germany gave it a boost. A decisive factor was the change in methodology: comparisons were no longer to be limited to neighbouring societies, but should also, and even emphatically, include spatially separated and temporally differentiated circles of life. Historical research and historiography went hand in hand, but the work on shaping a new image of History—undertaken in a borderless Europe and globalised world—unmistakably developed its own dynamic. The synchronous comparison of distant cultures in Europe was able to illustrate the cultural diversity of Europe in the High Middle Ages (2002), while the history of Europe between 300 and 1400 could be deduced from the tense relationship among the three monotheistic religions (2006).

A research project of the European Research Council (2011-2017) enabled a global comparison of Latin Christian, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Indian, and Chinese foundations of the medieval millennium (*Encyclopaedia of Foundations in Medieval Societies*, 3 vols, 2014-2017). All known foundation cultures from the beginnings to the end of the ‘Middle Ages’ have thus been compared in a ‘World History as the History of Foundations, 3000 BCE to 1500 CE’ (2017, Engl.: 2020). The typological ordering of this material showed that foundations were invented several times during history, independently from each other. This type of intercultural comparisons thus not only serves to illustrate similarities or irrevocable cultural diversity, but may also, in the best case, allow insights in global historical contexts.

Abstract

(English Translation, see below)

**Lire, traduire et réécrire les historiens romains entre le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle : *Li Fet des Romains* en France et en Italie**

Johannes Bartuschat - Zürich

Après avoir offert une description synthétique des « Faits des Romains », compilation d'histoire romaine centrée sur la figure de César et rédigée en France autour de 1220, nous présentons une série de traductions, reprises et réécritures de l'ouvrage dans les littératures française et italienne du XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Puisque le terrain a été bien exploré dans des études désormais classiques (Parodi, Flutre) il ne s'agira pas d'identifier ou d'énumérer les textes en questions (au demeurant très nombreux), mais d'en établir une typologie en vue d'une réflexion sur les voies et les modalités de la diffusion du savoir historique d'un côté et sur les caractéristiques de la transmission des textes entre traduction et adaptation de l'autre. Nous concentrons notre analyse sur le domaine italien et nous présenterons

- a) Les traductions italiennes qui se distinguent par une variété extrêmement riche de comportements à l'égard du texte-source qui va de la traduction « fidèle » à la traduction partielle et aux interpolations
- b) Des reprises de parties du texte et son insertion dans d'autres ouvrages
- c) Des réécritures et adaptations
- d) L'influence exercée par l'ouvrage sur les résumés et les mentions concernant l'histoire romaine

Nous poursuivons un double but

- illustrer comment l'ouvrage a façonné à travers ses adaptations la vision de l'histoire romaine à partir d'une ambivalence idéologique puisqu'il pouvait être lu aussi bien comme exaltation du pouvoir monarchique et de la figure de l'Empereur que comme célébration de la liberté républicaine.

- réfléchir sur le rôle de la traduction et sur la relation entre le latin et les langues vernaculaire pour démontrer à travers des exemples que dans notre cas « traduire » veut toujours dire « s'approprier » un texte, c'est-à-dire l'adapter par rapport à un contexte de réception, ce qui nous conduit en conclusion à quelques réflexions plus générales sur la traduction médiévale.



## **English translation**

After giving a synthetic description of the ‘Faits des Romains’ (The Deeds of the Romans)—a compilation of roman history centred on the figure of Cesar and written in France around 1220—I will present a series of translations, reworkings, and rewritings of this work from the French and Italian literature of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century. Since this field has already been explored in now-classic studies (Parodi, Flutre), my aim will not be to identify or list these texts (which are very numerous). I wish instead to establish a typology of the texts in order to reflect, on the one hand, on the ways and modalities of spreading historical knowledge and, on the other, on the characteristics of textual transmission within translations and adaptations. I will focus my analysis on the Italian texts and present

- a) The Italian traditions, which stand out due to the extremely rich variety of their attitude towards the source text. These range from “faithful” translation to partial translation and interpolations
- b) Instances of re-use of parts of the text and their insertion in other literary works
- c) Re-writings and adaptations
- d) The influence exerted by this book on summaries and on mentions of roman history

I will pursue the double aim

-of illustrating how this work has shaped the view of roman history through its adaptations. It did so with a certain ideological ambivalence, since it could be read as an exaltation of monarchical power and of the figure of the emperor as well as a celebration of republican liberty.

-of reflecting on the role of translation and on the relation between Latin and vernacular languages, in order to demonstrate through examples that, in our case, “translating” always means “to appropriate” a text, i.e. to adapt it to a specific context of reception. This section will then lead me towards a conclusion with a few more general reflections on medieval translation.

Abstract

**Entanglements: Vernacular Literary Cultures in the Latin West (c.350-c.1150)**

Professor Elizabeth Tyler, University of York

My paper will present a collaborative project that I am currently developing which looks at the vernacular literary cultures of Latin Europe from late Antiquity to 12c as interconnected elite phenomena rather than as the beginning of national literatures. Its focus is on the processes, events, encounters and experiments through which local languages come to be used not only as written languages but as book languages (that is languages that occupy the main space of a page, rather than margins and flyleaves) – it focuses on literarization (*Verschriftlichung*) rather than literization (*Verschriftung*).

The approach will be literary (connections between forms), historical (connections between people, especially considering producers, patrons and users of written vernaculars) and sociolinguistic (connections between languages and their users).

There will be four distinct features of this project, which set it apart from other scholarship in this wide field:

- 1) It will treat written Old and Middle Irish, Old Welsh, Old English, Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Dutch and Old French (which, north of the Loire, is highly dependent on Germanic – including English – in its early isolated appearances) as a complex of tightly entangled languages (linked by the mobility of elites and manuscripts). It will also consider the place of Church Slavonic and Gothic in this complex.
- 2) It will aim to distinguish the phenomena of early written local languages in the Latin West from the much more extensively used high and late medieval vernaculars. Although early medieval vernaculars are often treated, teleologically, as the first stage of a long and natural process of ‘the emergence of the vernacular(s)’ in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the early and central medieval uses of vernaculars (with slightly different time frames for the different languages) are distinct from this later experience.
- 3) Latin will be explored as providing a very strong framework for, rather than as a contrast to, local languages. Vernaculars in this period stay closely tied to the domains established by Latin (even *Beowulf* can be compared to *Waltharius*). Written vernaculars are limited in use, even in insular contexts, before c. 1100, but so was Latin. Written vernaculars flourish in the high and late Middle Ages in tandem with the expansion of Latin; they are part of a wider growth of the use of the written word, rather than rising in competition with Latin.
- 4) It situates the local languages of Latin Europe within a wider Afro-Eurasian framework, by contextualising and connecting the Latin West within a wider post-Roman Empire world. Comparison will be made to the writing of local languages in central, eastern and Byzantine Europe, and the Near East and North Africa

(Armenian, Coptic, Georgian and Syriac, especially) with particular interest given to the different views of written vernaculars in Latin and Greek areas.

Specific spotlights that will be considered in the paper include: Wulfila's Gospels (and their move west and north), Cyril and Methodius, 9<sup>th</sup>-century insular (Irish, Welsh and English) history-writing, Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, Alfred the Great's court, Valenciennes 150 (*Eulalie* and *Ludwigslied*), presence of Greek speakers and the writing of vernacular at 7<sup>th</sup>-century Canterbury and tenth-century Essen, Dutch at St Bertin (glosses) and Rochester (*Hebban Olla Vogala*) and Gaimar's *Estoire des Engles*.

***The Navigatio Brendani and its vernacular versions:  
the nebulous boundaries between tradition and reworking***

Rossana Guglielmetti

The paper provides some reflections drawn from the study of one of the most widely distributed and translated texts of the Middle Ages, the *Navigatio Brendani*. Written in Ireland in the 8th century, the story of the abbot Brendan spread throughout Latin Europe in dozens of copies. From the 12th century onwards, its fortunes were multiplied by some fifteen transpositions into all the Romance and Germanic languages, some of them more faithful, others turning into substantial rewritings. This is therefore a case suitable to reasoning about the dynamics of translation and recontextualisation of a work: not only because of the number of versions, but also because of the extent of their geographical distribution, which forced several cultural traditions to enter into dialogue.

A promising case, but at the same time insidious: when so many manuscripts are in circulation, the very basis for comparison between the Latin model and the vernacular version becomes slippery. Which text did each adaptor translate exactly? The risk, of course, is to confuse a fact of pure tradition (i.e. the faithful reproduction of a deviant feature of the individual Latin witness) with an innovation of the translator himself (i.e. a deliberate reworking, with its stylistic and cultural implications).

Studies on vernacular versions of the *Navigatio* offer many examples of such misunderstandings, mostly due to the poor quality of the Latin text used as a basis for comparison. Such incidents show how important it is to explore the whole corpus of Latin manuscripts, in order to check every passage in which one sees a possible change made by the translator and to be able to exclude that it is only the inheritance of his model; and how the edition of a Latin text with such a vernacular fortune should provide as complete a critical apparatus as possible, precisely for this purpose.

Isolating the translator's innovations from the legacy of the Latin model is obviously only a preliminary step. In constellations of versions as rich and intertwined as in the case of the *Navigatio*, even the examination of these innovations presents its own pitfalls and challenges. It is necessary to contextualise each rewriting by detecting literary and, more generally, cultural interferences; by assessing the tradition of sources and apparent parallels; by weighing the possible polygenesis of the motifs introduced by the author. If, moreover, as is usually the case, the vernacular version itself is articulated in a varied transmission, where different witnesses represent almost as many sub-versions, the path becomes even more complex.

An example is offered by the vernacular adaptation from the Venetian area, transmitted by five witnesses, four of whom characterised by the addition of several episodes, especially in the final section (where the sober island paradise of the *Navigatio* explodes into an exuberant amplification). Studies have shown that these interventions reflect a taste, on the whole, quite consistent with the Venetian environment of the 14th century. The question that remains open, however, is to which level exactly all these cultural coordinates should be attributed: to the Ur-version or only to a branch of its offspring? We'll try to answer this question by examining an episode of the text, which presents less large but interesting interventions in the manuscripts of the Venetian domain: the chapter in which Brendan loses the third and last of the supernumerary monks, swallowed by a volcano turning out to be the mouth of hell. The close observation of this brief episode allows to add some pieces to the cultural constellation of the translator (for example, within the genre of visions of the afterlife), but above all to take a stand on the alternative just mentioned. Here again, it is crucial to bear in mind the centrality of the source Latin text when comparing the different manuscripts.

Abstract

**The Rise and Reappearance of Greek as an Imperial Language – and as Model for Latin**

Christian Høgel

Centre for Medieval Literature & Retracing Connections, University of Southern Denmark

Taking the Greek language as an example, this presentation will argue for the use of the concept of 'imperial language' in discussions of language status. When discussing literature, translations, literary exchanges, and much more, we commonly speak of high-status languages, of holy languages, cosmopolitan languages; or we distinguish between the relative status of languages by designating which direction is 'up' and which 'down' when going from one language to the other. A concomitant terminology is here that of the vernacular, which is almost always held up against some high-status language, from which it is distinct in being closer to a spoken language or dialect. All these designations come up especially when dealing with interactions between languages, involving translations, cultural exchanges, or (modern) comparison. The perhaps most obvious case where such terms appear is when discussing and evaluating cases of *translatio studii*. In such discussions, even the most detailed aesthetic or linguistic observation becomes part of larger linguistic-historical evaluations, and precision is needed to ensure that these larger evaluations really do include the features that have helped a given language to a high status.

It is in this connection that the concept of 'imperial language' becomes of use. When looking at the history of languages, it seems quite clear that many languages owed (and owe) their position to the fact that a running empire employed them as their primary vehicle of communication. Greek, Latin, Arabic, and other languages are often referred to as holy languages – or by any of the possible designations mentioned above. But at least in the case of these three languages it is hard not *also* to explain their prominence and longevity from the fact that the empires of Alexander, Rome, and the Caliphate employed them almost exclusively in their formal communication. And not only this. Connected to empire was also a schooling system, the creation of linguistic uniformity through grammars and/or a canonized literature, as well as the empire's literary self-representations. In fact, as presented in an article from 2018, an imperial language could be defined as a language that

- a. is or has been the primary language of a running empire
- b. has established rules for its practice through grammars and/or a literary canon
- c. is used in a literature that in various ways represents the empire in words

If defined in this way, we can in many cases much better explain the longevity of high-status languages (through the extensive applicability of the language, its recognizability and collected literary output, its imperial vision which may attract readers even beyond the lifetime of the given empire). Further detailing of all this will involve looking at the history of the Greek language – arguing that it became only truly imperial from the time of Alexander but employing a literary canon largely taken from classical Athens. If evaluating the history of the Greek language accordingly, we are also in a better position to see shifting ways in which Rome viewed the attractions of Greek as model for their own vernacular. And to understand how it – in a late antique/Byzantine context – could quite easily make its reappearance as the imperial language of Rome.

Abstract

(English Translation, see below)

**Der fremde Text.**

Zur kulturgenerierenden Leistung der Rezeption biblischer Texte als Grundlegung mittelalterlicher Kultur

Maximilian Benz / Andreas Kablitz

Die Periodisierung der Geschichte in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit, der das Mittelalter zu beträchtlichen Teilen seine historische Identität verdankt, erweist sich – ungeachtet ihres beträchtlichen Alters – als bemerkenswert stabil. Sie transportiert bis auf den heutigen Tag Wertungen, die allen Bemühungen um die Rehabilitierung einer vermeintlich minderwertigen *media aetas* zum Trotz, nicht verschwunden sind. Sprichwörtliche „Zustände wie im alten Rom“ mögen einen Zustand moralischer Depravation, vor allem sexueller Zügellosigkeit geltend machen, „Zustände wie im Mittelalter“ bezeichnen hingegen nach wie vor kulturelle Rückständigkeit.

Solche Bewertungen treten im Besonderen anhand des noch immer geläufigen Bilds jener Frühphase der Neuzeit zutage, die man seit dem 19. Jahrhundert das Zeitalter der Renaissance zu nennen pflegt. Es tritt als eine hybride Mischung von Antikenrezeption und damit verbundener Selbst(wieder)findung des Menschen in Erscheinung, welche Einschätzung weit mehr von einem (post)aufklärerischen Selbstverständnis kündigt, als daß darin wesentliche epochale Charakteristika einer Kultur zwischen dem 14. und 16. Jahrhundert erfaßt würden. Gerade jüngere Darstellungen der Epoche der Renaissance aber haben, trotz etlicher historischer Forschung, die ein solches Bild nachhaltig in Zweifel zieht, diese historische Deutung in einer fast erstaunlichen Entschiedenheit zu bestätigen versucht.

Der hier angezeigte Vortrag nimmt sich vor, diesen Suggestionen der überkommenen historischen Periodisierung ein alternatives Modell gegenüberzustellen, das vor allem das Verhältnis von Antike und Mittelalter in anderer Weise beschreiben möchte. Statt von einem elementaren kulturellen Gegensatz zwischen ihnen auszugehen, wollen wir etliche Aspekte der mittelalterlichen Kultur als Ergebnis der Veränderungen der antiken Kultur selbst begreifen. Als wesentlich für diese Entwicklung betrachten wir dabei den Umstand betrachtet, daß der Text des *Neuen Testaments* seine weltgeschichtliche Wirksamkeit als ein „fremder Text“, also dort entfaltet hat, wo er nicht entstanden ist.

Diese Fremdheit hat zum einen zur Folge, daß die sich formierende christliche Kultur sehr weitgehend von den Gegebenheiten der Kultur bestimmt wird, in der die Rezeption dieses religiösen Textes stattfindet, wovon nicht zuletzt seine eigene Deutung in hohem Maße betroffen ist. Zum anderen aber ist gegenläufig zu bemerken, daß der aus einer anderen Kultur stammende Text mit seinem universalistischen monotheistischen Geltungsanspruch gerade aufgrund seiner exzentrischen Stellung weit mehr kulturelle Bereiche zu determinieren vermag als nur die Religion. Unser Anliegen wird es deshalb sein, diese Dialektik von Aneignung und Transformation der antiken Kultur wie des biblischen Textes in ihren Konsequenzen anhand zweier mittelalterlicher Beispiele paradigmatisch zu untersuchen.

In einem ersten Schritt werden Verfahren der Aneignung des Fremden mit Blick auf das Leben Buddhas untersucht, das als Legende von Barlaam und Josaphat im Mittelalter sowohl lateinisch als auch volkssprachig breit überliefert wurde – exemplarisch werden die lateinische Vul-

gattung und die Adaptation Rudolfs von Ems herangezogen. Die aus dem christlichen Offenbarungsverständnis stammenden integrativen Sinnfindungspraktiken, die das christliche Abendland als inventorisches Zeitalter erscheinen lassen, werden hier auch produktionsästhetisch wirksam. Sowohl mit Blick auf diese Praktiken, deren Systematisierung vor allem durch die Kirchenväter geleistet wurde (Translation, mehrfacher Schriftsinn, Naturallegorese usf.), als auch hinsichtlich der Stoffgeschichte (manichäische, arabische, georgische, griechische, lateinische usf. Fassungen) erweist sich die Legende als bezeichnendes Beispiel einer okzidental-christlichen Kultur.

In einem zweiten Schritt soll an Dantes *Göttlicher Komödie* verfolgt werden, wie hier Elemente des christlichen Offenbarungstextes mit Traditionsbeständen der antiken Kultur zu einer neuen Synthese amalgamiert werden, um in wechselseitiger Durchdringung Perspektiven für eine Welt zu entwerfen, in der das christliche Erlösungswerk gerade zu scheitern droht und darum der Ergänzung durch ein „drittes Testament“ zu benötigen scheint.

## English Translation

The division of history into periods (such as antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times), which has to a large extent been the source of the Middle Ages' historical identity, proves to be a remarkably enduring concept despite its considerable age. Today still, it conveys certain values attached to these periods. Such values have not disappeared despite substantial efforts to rehabilitate a supposedly inferior *media aetas*. Proverbial statements, such as “Zustände wie im alten Rom”, “things are like in ancient Rome”, may indicate a state of moral depravity, and especially of sexual licentiousness. “Zustände wie im Mittelalter”, “like in the Middle Ages”, on the other hand, still denotes cultural backwardness.

Such value judgements are particularly evident in the enduring image of the early modern era, which, since the 19th century, has been called the Renaissance. This period is presented as a hybrid of interest in the antiquity and the self-(re)discovery of man. Such an approach is far more indicative of a (post)Enlightenment self-understanding than of the essential characteristics of the culture existing between the 14th and 16th centuries. Yet, recent accounts of the Renaissance period have attempted to confirm this historical interpretation with an almost astonishing determination, despite the existence of a great deal of historical research casting a lasting doubt on such a representation.

The paper presented here aims to contrast these suggestions made by the traditional division of historical periods with an alternative model that wishes to define the relationship between Antiquity and the Middle Ages in a different way. Instead of assuming an elementary cultural opposition between these two periods, we want to recognise several aspects of medieval culture as the result of changes in ancient culture itself. The essential factor for this development, we believe, was the fact that the text of the New Testament developed its effect on world history as a ‘foreign text’ ~ in places where it had not originated.

On the one hand, this foreignness resulted in the emerging Christian culture being largely determined by the conditions of the culture in which this religious text was received and which affected the interpretation of the text. On the other hand, it should be noted that a text originating in another culture but having a universalistic monotheistic claim to authority was able to



influence far more cultural areas than just religion, precisely because of its “ex-centric” position. Our aim will therefore be to examine paradigmatically, on the basis of two medieval examples, the consequences of this dialectic of appropriation and transformation of ancient culture and of the biblical text.

In a first part, methods of appropriating the foreign will be examined through an exploration of the Vita of Buddha, which was widely spread in the Middle Ages both in Latin and in the vernacular through the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat. In our paper, we use the Latin Vulgate version and Rudolf von Ems' German adaptation as examples. The integrative practices of finding meaning arising from the Christian understanding of Revelation, which make the Christian West seem to be an inventive age, also have an effect here in terms of the aesthetics of production. The legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, when considered with an understanding of these practices, whose systematisation was achieved mainly by the Church Fathers (translation, multiple meaning of Scriptures, natural allegories, etc.), and of material history (Manichaean, Arabic, Georgian, Greek, Latin, etc. versions), proves to be a significant example of an occidental Christian culture.

In a second part, Dante's *Divina Comedia* will be used to trace how elements of the Christian text of Revelation are amalgamated with traditions of ancient culture to form a new synthesis, in order to create perspectives for a world in which the Christian work of redemption is threatening to fail and which therefore seems to require the addition of a ‘third testament’.

**Paradigms and Perspectives of a Mediaeval Comparative Literature**

Abstract

(English Translation, see below)

**Der fehlende Urtext**

Jan-Dirk Müller

Die genealogische („Lachmansche“) Methode der Textkritik, die die gesamte *Nibelungenlied*-Überlieferung Abschrift für Abschrift auf einen originalnahen Archetyp zurückzuführen sucht, ist nach der Kritik Brackerts (1969) am bis dahin gültigen Handschriftenstemma in eine Sackgasse geraten. Ein Stemma gilt als unerreichbar. Der Beitrag vertritt die These, dass die Rückführung auf einen ›Urtext‹ nicht nur unmöglich ist, sondern der Versuch dazu der frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte unangemessen. Auch andere Literaturen in einer Phase des Übergangs von Mündlichkeit zu Schriftlichkeit, in der die Schrift noch nicht der Regelfall der Übermittlung ist, kennen das Phänomen des ›fehlenden Urtextes‹, der nur in unterschiedlichen Adaptationen überliefert ist, die nicht ›genealogisch‹ voneinander abhängig sind und aufeinander zurückgeführt werden können, die aber gleichwohl im Kern fest sind und Gleiches aussagen. So ist auch das *Nibelungenlied* in bestimmten Hinsichten von Anfang an variant, obwohl seine Handlungsstruktur in allen Überlieferungsträgern dieselbe ist. Der Beitrag untersucht die Gleichzeitigkeit von Festigkeit und Varianz.

**English translation**

The genealogical (‘Lachmanian’) method of textual criticism, which seeks to trace copy by copy the entire transmission of the *Nibelungenlied* back to an archetype close to the original, has arrived at a dead end after Brackert's (1969) criticism of its (until then) valid stemma. A stemma is now considered unattainable. This paper argues not only that tracing back to an ‘original text’ is impossible, but that the attempt to do so is inappropriate to the early history of transmission. The literatures of other cultures, which find themselves in a phase of transition from orality to writing, and in which writing has not yet become the norm of transmission, are also familiar with the phenomenon of the ‘missing original text’ (‘fehlender Urtext’). This type of text is handed down in different adaptations that are not ‘genealogically’ dependent on each other and cannot be traced back to each other, but which are nonetheless stable in essence and make the same statements. Moreover, the

*Nibelungenlied* is in certain ways a variant from the beginning, although its plot structure is identical in all the surviving sources. This paper therefore examines the simultaneity of texts' stability and variance.

## Chrétien de Troyes and Hartmann von Aue A special relation revisited, with a focus on irony in *Yvain/Iwein*

Victor Millet (Santiago de Compostela)

The literary relationship between Chrétien de Troyes and Hartmann von Aue is undoubtedly of a very special kind, even in the context of medieval literature. I can think of no other example of two medieval authors who are so close in time and place, share such a similar audience and whose works are so closely related. Chrétien wrote the first four Arthurian novels in European literature, although two could not be completed, the last, the *Conte du graal*, probably because the poet died while he was still working at it. Hartmann von Aue was commissioned – probably at two different times in his career – to create corresponding German versions based on Chrétien's two completed Arthurian novels.

Yet the specific relationship that could link two poets as close as Hartmann and Chrétien is difficult to grasp. They probably never met, and they also worked in subsequent periods. We have the certainty that Hartmann von Aue had manuscripts of Chrétien's respective novels at hand when he was working on his versions. For the correspondences are so frequent and so precise that the idea they could be based on memory is hardly conceivable. But we do not know the specific manuscripts Hartmann might have used.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Chrétien's and Hartmann's Arthurian romances *Erec* and *Yvain/Iwein* were frequently compared and painstakingly analyzed. But the discussion was very incoherent. Whereas a series of French scholars saw the German authors merely as translators who contributed no real work of their own, blindly fabricating imitations of the French originals and adapting them to the new audience, German scholars (and some French germanists) tried not only to value Hartmann's work, but generally presented it as deeper, profounder, presenting deeply reflective 'didactic pieces'. And at the same time British scholars made relevant efforts to point out Hartmann's irony. None of these positions are still held today. Since the 1980s scholars agreed that the differences between Chrétien and Hartmann could all be explained as a consequence of the applications of rhetoric techniques and a slightly different narrative strategy in the rewriting process.

In my paper, I want to take up again the British discussion on irony in the Arthurian romance and especially in *Iwein*. Because in my view the comedic structure and execution of both the French *Yvain* and the German *Iwein* is a core element to understand this story at all. Both Chrétien and Hartmann propose a model of story in which the radical opposition between the demands of love and those of chivalry is not developed and solved, but simply accepted and mitigated by the humorous tone. They do not pretend to show the way out of this conflict; instead, they put forward an unlikely plot which is made acceptable by the ironic treatment of its implausibility. Because comedy and irony make possible the coexistence of opposed positions, where a solution is not achieved or

not intended. But irony is very difficult to translate. It demands an excellent level of understanding of the original text as well as a high capacity of trasposing it into a new language and with its different cultural background. Thus, Hartmann confronted a very difficult task when he started his *Iwein* – but he mastered it.

Abstract

*Comparative Perspectives on Medieval Arts: Limits and Advantages*

Michele Bacci

There are enough grounds to claim that research on Medieval arts basically relied on a distinctly comparative methodology since its foundational moment in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Benefiting from insufficient information about the material creators of Medieval arts, scholars were forced to lay less emphasis on single artists than on local and regional “schools”, thus paving the way to their reading as manifestations of some alleged space- and culture-bound *genius loci*. Connoisseurship was comparative, inasmuch as it established taxonomic series of artworks deemed to share a likely “style” – a rather ambiguous word used to term both the visual features and technical devices of material objects. A comparative approach also underlay iconology in its emphasis on typological comparison, which aimed to point out what was conventional and what was original in images vis-à-vis both other images and texts, the latter being viewed as the ultimate sources of any form of visual communication.

Even if they were largely perceived as specific and to some extent even mutually excluding methods, both stylistic analysis and iconology shared the same emphasis on the acknowledgment of similarities and the same disregard for visual difference or distinctiveness. In their pursuit of the historical construction of artistic homogeneity, deemed to be evidenced by either the multiple occurrences of an iconographic type or a painter’s and his workshop’s *corpus*, they often served the agendas of nationalist ideologies which described artistic cultures as self-sufficient, internally coherent, and incommensurable phenomena, whose identity was held to be shaped more by geography (the anachronistic space of the nation) than by historical time (the teleological driving force of evolutionary development). The alleged “purity” of each national tradition implied that any moment of encounter between them could but be viewed as an improper departure from the norm. The words usually employed to hint at derivative connections – such as “influence”, “borrowing”, “transfer”, or “hybrid” – conveyed notions of asymmetry, marginality, ephemerality, and passive or unwilling acceptance.

It is hard to deny the long-standing, often even subliminal impact of this interpretive framework on the ways in which art history is practiced as an academic discipline still in our days, despite the many efforts done to foster new approaches that aim to overcome the barriers established by the nationalist reading of arts and their Eurocentric hierarchy of values. In the last years, art historians – in first instance, those dealing with contemporary arts, followed later by their colleagues specializing in pre-modern periods – actively participated in setting the grounds for a “global” or “world” history. In the field of Medieval art history, this largely meant reconsidering old notions of the geohistory of art, such as the centre-periphery and East-West dichotomies, exploring the dynamics of transcultural interaction, and working out a convenient terminology that may enable an unbiased understanding of objects and forms stemming out from both interchanges, circulations, assimilations and adaptations, and disruptions, rivalries, and rejections.

In this frame, the comparative method has been revitalised and invested with new objectives and new expectations, which are often different in nature and scope, and tend to alternate between two poles: on the one side, a “universalist” approach positing that the comparison between artistic civilizations belonging to different, unconnected geographic and historical contexts may be useful inasmuch as it illustrates the multiple ways in which each of them offers solutions to universally shared needs, and, on the opposite one, the position that lays emphasis on the interconnectedness of cultures on a wide, macroregional, and potentially global scale, and finds more fruitful to focus on historically documented contacts, taking place in or mediated by international networks (e.g. diplomacy, missionary activity, trade), mobility (circulations, transfers, imports, booties),

connectivity (ports, sea routes, boundaries), and contact zones (multicultural societies, pilgrimage sites, urban centres invested with political or religious symbolism).

The present paper will explore the limits and advantages of both viewpoints by comparing the dynamics by which arts were exploited and used to convey multi-layered meanings in Famagusta and Toledo, two prominent, basically unrelated Mediterranean towns which stood out, in the Middle Ages, for some distinctive, parallel features: in both cases, they were home to a highly differentiated, multilingual and multi-religious population, were invested with a strong political and religious symbolism, were located in liminal, borderline areas, and were at the centre of wide, entangled networks of international connections. Emphasis will be laid on the various ways in which specific forms originating from different traditions came to be selected, combined, assimilated, transformed, reused, and staged in the arts promoted locally by the political power and the different religious denominations and groups coinhabiting the same urban spaces.

**Paradigms and Perspectives of a Mediaeval Comparative Literature**

Abstract

(English Translation, see below)

**Mediävle Weltliteratur**

Rüdiger Zymner

Der Beitrag stellt zunächst dar, dass die mediävistischen Philologien seit jeher komparatistisch arbeiten und eigentlich so etwas wie eine mediävistische Komparatistik konstituieren. Weiter stellt der Beitrag fest, dass es sich aber um eine methodisch auf die Operation des Vergleichens und in der Gegenstandsorientierung auf die europäischen Literaturen fokussierte Komparatistik handelt. Auffällig ist dabei, dass die mediävistische Komparatistik sich erstens in Distanz zur Allgemeinen Literaturwissenschaft bewegt und zweitens das für die Neukomparatistik zentrale Problem der Weltliteratur in der mediävistischen Komparatistik bislang keine Rolle spielt. Um eine komparatistische Erschließung dieser *terra incognita* der mediävistischen Komparatistik vorzubereiten, werden abschließend Vorschläge dafür gemacht, was die mediävistische Komparatistik unter ‚mediävle Weltliteratur‘ verstehen könnte.

**English translation**

This paper will first show that medieval studies have always worked comparatively and already constitute something close to Medieval Comparative Studies. It will go on to state, however, that this type of Comparative Studies focuses, when it comes to methods, only on the process of comparison and, when it comes to content, exclusively on European literature. It is striking that Medieval Comparative Studies have only had little contact with General Literary Studies and that the issue of World Literature, which is central to Comparative Studies dealing with modern literature, has not yet played a role in Medieval Comparative Studies. In order to prepare for a comparative exploration of the *terra incognita* that is Medieval Comparative Studies, suggestions will be made as to how Medieval Comparative Literature could be understood as ‘medieval world literature’.



Abstract

(English Translation, see below)

**Kanon und Kanonen. Vom Politischen (in) der Komparatistik.  
Oder: Warum die moderne Komparatistik lieber aus- als vergleicht.**

Sabine Haupt (Fribourg)

Seit der unter dem Banner der „Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes“ geführten Fehde über die Gültigkeit ästhetischer Traditionen, autoritativer Werke und kanonisierter Autoren reißen die Kontroversen über das, was in der Literatur maßgeblich, mustergültig, also „kanonisch“, sein soll in gelehrten Debatten und literaturwissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzungen nicht mehr ab. Zwar können sich die Maßstäbe – wie dies beispielsweise in der Genieästhetik der Romantik der Fall war – verschieben, indem klassizistische Regeln durch die Autorität der genialischen Eingebung ersetzt werden, der prinzipielle Impetus eines universell verbindlichen Kanons bleibt jedoch bestehen. Nicht einmal die Postmoderne, die für sich genuin in Anspruch nimmt, Etabliertes zu dekonstruieren, ist frei davon. Im Gegenteil: im Windschatten merkantiler Selektionsmechanismen betreibt sie munter ihre oftmals kaum zu durchschauenden In/Out-Bewertungen von Werken und AutorInnen. Medienhypes um Phänomene wie Denis Schecks „Anti-Kanon“ oder Marcel Reich-Ranickis „Der Kanon“ zeigen, wie selbstverständlich, manchmal bar jeder Selbstironie, solche Klassifizierungen auch heute noch betrieben werden.

Nun ist die Wertung „gut“ / „schlecht“ vermutlich die gängigste, wohl auch die primitivste Form des literarischen Vergleichs. Lange vor Beginn einer an die Methodologie der empirischen Naturwissenschaften, insbesondere der Anatomie, angelehnten komparatistischen Literaturwissenschaft, in der es vor allem um differenz- und konkordanzanalytische Verfahren zur Klassifizierung literarischer Phänomene ging, ergingen einflussreiche Philosophen wie Johann Gottfried Herder oder Wilhelm von Humboldt sich in Spekulationen über einen Zusammenhang von Literatur, Sprache und Kultur. Ästhetische Komparatistik war immer auch ideengeschichtlicher Kulturvergleich. Besonders markant ist dieser Zusammenhang auch in Germaine de Staëls berühmter Schrift *De l'Allemagne* von 1810. Im Kontext einer zunehmend positivistischeren Komparatistik ging es dann ab den 1830er Jahren vermehrt um konkrete Einflüsse, beispielsweise in Jean-Jacques Ampères *De la littérature française dans ses rapports avec les littératures étrangères au Moyen Âge* von 1833.

Bei diesen Untersuchungen handelt es sich jedoch mitnichten um möglichst breite, wertneutrale, womöglich gar quantitativ gestützte Vergleiche. Die zentrale Frage ist meistens die nach der nationalen, kulturellen und literarischen Bedeutung der analysierten Werke. Die frühe Komparatistik untersuchte vor allem, wer sich wann, wo und bei wem durchsetzte. Als implizite Prämisse galt dabei oftmals die tautologische Grundregel: Was gut ist, setzt sich durch, und was sich durchsetzt, ist gut. Und so war der etwa zu selben Zeit populär werdende Begriff der „Weltliteratur“ zunächst ein rein qualitativer. Als Weltliteratur galt das Ensemble der weltweit mustergültigen Meisterwerke, kurz: der um einige wenige Zeitgenossen erweiterte klassische Kanon der westlichen Hochkultur, der „Western Canon“ wie Harold Bloom ihn 1994 benannte.

Polemisch überspitzt könnte man die Frage nach der weltliterarischen Relevanz eines Autors folgendermaßen formulieren: Was war entscheidend für den Einfluss eines Werks, seine kanonische Qualität oder die Stärke der Kanonen, mit denen sein jeweiliger Heimatstaat seinen weltpolitischen Einfluss geltend machte? Der französische Sinologe René Etiemble war dann m.W. der erste Komparatist, der in den frühen 1970er Jahren diesen Kanon unter dem Schlagwort des „Eurozentrismus“ kritisch in Frage stellte. Der rumänische Literaturwissenschaftler Adrian Marino sprach im Zusammenhang mit Etiemble von einem „Comparatisme militant“. Dem klassisch qualitativen Kanon stellt Etiemble – und mit ihm seine zahlreiche NachfolgerInnen im Kontext der Debatten über Postkolonialismus, Globalisierung, Multikulturalität und Hybridisierung – nun einen universalistischen, polyzentrischen und quantitativen Begriff von „Weltliteratur“ gegenüber, sodass David Damrosch bereits 2006 die faktische Irrelevanz des alten, auf hegemonialen Strukturen basierenden eurozentrischen Kanons verkündet, was womöglich theoretisch zutreffend ist, von der Praxis des Buchmarkts jedoch noch immer täglich widerlegt wird.

Seitdem steht die Komparatistik vor der womöglich prinzipiell unlösbaren Aufgabe, die unüberschaubare und fragmentarische Unendlichkeit ihres Textkorpus mit übergeordneten, allgemeinen Fragestellungen und Ansätzen zu vereinbaren. Hinzu kommt, dass die transnationale Zirkulation von Texten zwar quantifiziert und gemessen werden kann, dass ihre kulturelle, historische womöglich gar ästhetische Relevanz jedoch ohne den Bezug auf politische Machtverhältnisse, Distributionswege, ökonomische und mediale Voraussetzungen gar nicht analysiert werden kann.

Ich bezweifle, dass es hier den einen großen theoretischen Wurf geben kann, mit dem sich das Problem lösen ließe. Hingegen scheint mir eine Haltung sinnvoll zu sein, die sich des genannten Problems bewusst ist und versucht, wenigstens ansatzweise ausgleichend statt nur vergleichend

zu wirken, und das heißt: entdecken und wiederentdecken, Maßstäbe und Referenzen hinterfragen, kritisch die eigene Vergleichspraxis betrachten und wenn nötig revidieren.

### **English Translation**

Ever since the feud over the value of aesthetic traditions, of authoritative works, and of canonised authors, which was fought under the banner of the ‘Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes’, controversies over what should be authoritative and exemplary, i.e. ‘canonical’, in literature have not ceased in scholarly debates and literary studies. Although the standards can shift – as was the case, for example, with the aesthetics of genius during the Romantic era when classicist rules were replaced by the authority of genial inspiration—the basic impetus to establish a universally binding canon nevertheless remains. Not even postmodernism, which sincerely claims to deconstruct the established, is free of this attitude. On the contrary, profiting from mercantile mechanisms of selection, it blithely practises often hardly transparent judgments of the value of various works and authors. Media hype surrounding phenomena such as Denis Scheck's *Anti-Canon* or Marcel Reich-Ranicki's *The Canon* show how self-evidently, sometimes without any self-irony, such classifications are still practised today.

The decision as to whether a work is "good" or "bad" is probably the most common, but also the most primitive form of literary comparison. Long before the emergence of Comparative Literary Studies, which base themselves on the methodology of empirical natural sciences—in particular on that of anatomy—and are primarily concerned with analytical methods of similarity and difference for classifying literary phenomena, influential philosophers such as Johann Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt indulged in speculations about connections among literature, language, and culture. Comparative Aesthetics was also always, in the history of ideas, a comparison of cultures. This connection is also particularly striking in Germaine de Staël's famous work *De l'Allemagne* (1810). Then, from the 1830s onwards, in the context of an increasingly positivist comparative literature, the focus was put on determining concrete cases of influence. This was for example the case in Jean-Jacques Ampère's *De la littérature française dans ses rapports avec les littératures étrangères au Moyen Âge* (1833).

However, these studies are by no means truly broad, unbiased, or even quantitative comparisons. Their central question usually relates to the national, cultural and literary significance of the works analysed. Such early Comparative Studies primarily examined who gained recognition when, where, and among whom. Their implicit premise was often the basic

tautological rule: what is good prevails, and what prevails is good. Therefore, the term ‘World Literature’, which became popular around the same time, was initially a purely qualitative one. World Literature was considered to be the ensemble of exemplary worldwide masterpieces. This meant in short the classical canon of Western high culture, expanded by a few contemporaries: the ‘Western Canon’, as Harold Bloom named it in 1994.

If we wanted to be exceedingly polemical, we could formulate the question of an author's global literary relevance as follows: ‘What was decisive for a work to be influential? Was it its canonical quality or rather the strength of the canons with which its respective home state asserted its global political influence?’ The French sinologist René Etiemble was, to my knowledge, the first comparatist critically to question this canon in the early 1970s, under the keyword of ‘Eurocentrism’. When he discussed Etiemble, Romanian literary scholar Adrian Marino spoke of a ‘comparatisme militant’. Etiemble – and with him his numerous successors who debated the subjects of post-colonialism, globalisation, multiculturalism and hybridisation – contrasted the classically qualitative canon with a universalist, polycentric, and quantitative concept of ‘world literature’. His influence led David Damrosch to proclaim, in 2006, the factual irrelevance of the old Eurocentric canon based on hegemonic structures. This irrelevance may be theoretically true but is still being refuted daily by the practices of the book market.

Since then, Comparative Studies have been faced with the perhaps unsolvable task of reconciling the unmanageable and fragmentary infinity of their textual corpus with the overarching, general questions and approaches that they favour. Additionally, while the transnational circulation of texts can be quantified and measured, their cultural, historical, or even aesthetic relevance cannot be analysed without reference to political power struggles, to distribution channels, and to economic and media conditions.

I doubt that there can be one great theoretical masterstroke which would solve this problem. Yet, it seems to me sensible to adopt an approach where one is aware of the problem and tries, at least to some extent, to act with balance instead of only comparatively. This means discovering and rediscovering, questioning standards and references, critically looking at one's own comparative practice, and revising it if necessary.