

The Influence of *Le chevalier délibéré* on Late Medieval Dutch Literature

Bas Jongenelen

Abstract. *Le chevalier délibéré* by Olivier de la Marche is now largely forgotten. Immediately after its publication in 1483, however, it enjoyed great success. The text was disseminated throughout Europe and was held in particularly high esteem in the French-speaking parts of the Netherlands. Such was its popularity in this region that it came to have a profound effect on Dutch literature. The text was translated twice into Dutch, by Pieter Willemsz in 1492, as *Vanden ridder welghemoet*, and by Jan Pertcheval a year later as *Den camp vander doot*. Two very early editions of the original French text were also published in the Netherlands. Moreover, wood cuts from the book were used in other volumes, and the first Spanish translations of *Le chevalier délibéré* were printed in Antwerp. Several Dutch authors were also directly inspired by this French poem, using it as the basis of their own work. Jan van den Dale and Jan Baptist Houwaert are particularly indebted to de la Marche. These writers were in turn highly successful, even if they have now lapsed into obscurity: Jan van den Dale was held in especially high regard, as his *Wre vander doot* was reprinted at least five times.¹

In 1489 the first Dutch edition of Olivier de la Marche's *Le chevalier délibéré* was published by the *collatiebroeders*, a community of lay preachers stationed at Gouda, otherwise known as the Brethren of the Common Life.² This cannot be the *editio princeps*, since an earlier version had already been published in Paris.³ Furthermore, various manuscript-versions of the poem are known to have circulated since the work was completed in 1483.⁴ It is not known why the *collatiebroeders* felt it necessary to bring this text to the presses.⁵ It can only be assumed that they believed there to be a wider need for such a work. The book was not produced in a vacuum,⁶ and *Le chevalier délibéré* has much in common with earlier compositions. Two texts by Pierre Michault which treat a similar theme – *Van den drie blinde danssen*⁷ written in 1482 and *Doctrinael des tijts*⁸ written in 1486 – predate this edition of *Le chevalier délibéré*, along with various

other pieces extant in manuscript. However, the present article is not concerned with the climate in which the poem was published: its chief purpose is to assess the impact of *Le chevalier délibéré* on late medieval Dutch literature. I will begin by offering some account of *Le chevalier délibéré* and its author, before outlining the six ways in which the work affected literature in the Netherlands. Three of these points of contact concern book-production in the Low Lands; three deal with the composition of poetry in Dutch.

Le chevalier délibéré by Olivier de la Marche

Throughout his life Olivier de la Marche (ca. 1425–1502) was in the service of the Burgundian Court. He began as a page, and at length scaled the hierarchy to become, among other things maitre d'hotel, ambassador and poet laureate. He was as loyal a follower of the Burgundian Dukes as circumstance would allow. Most importantly, he was present on the battlefield when Charles the Bold was killed in 1477. He was taken prisoner and ransomed for a large amount of money. His literary output is vast and diverse. His works include handbooks on court-management, a complex allegory on dress, and various autobiographical writings.⁹

In 1483 Olivier de la Marche completed his most significant literary work: *Le chevalier délibéré*. This book was not entirely original. In stanza 5 the author confesses quite frankly that he was inspired by the *Pas de la Mort* of Ame de Montgesoie:

Dois tu oublier ou que soye
Ce traictié qui tant point et mort
Que fist Amé de Montjesoye
Plus riche que d'or ne de soye
Du merveilleux Pas de la Mort?
Savoir fault qui est le plus fort
De toy, Accident ou Debile:
Chascun d'eulx en a tué mille.¹⁰

Le chevalier is narrated by its main protagonist Acteur, who describes undertaking a journey in the autumn of his life. He has frittered away his youth on foolish pursuits, and now sets off to battle Accident and Debile. He heads out on horseback and in full battledress. After two days he encounters Hutin, fights him, and is defeated. Maid Reliques intervenes and ends the combat. Acteur continues on his way and meets a hermit, Entendement, who shows him all sorts of objects. All of these items have one thing in common: they are designed to make the beholder reflect on his mortality. Once Acteur has left the hermit, he encounters a knight.

Battle ensues, and the knight overpowers him. This knight is Eaige, and by way of a punishment Acteur's beard grows long and turns grey. This is a token of the sexual abstinence he must now endure.

The journey continues and Acteur arrives at a beautiful palace, the Palais d'Amours. He is sorely tempted to enter this building, but remembers his punishment and leaves. He then happens upon Bonne Aventure, a place where people are committed to study and learning. The host Fresche Memoire receives him in a kindly manner, and shows him various tombs. These are the graves of rich and powerful men whose downfall, Acteur is told, proves that death comes to all regardless of rank. After this, Acteur is taken to a tournament at which Accident and Debile will joust against various opponents. This is the ultimate goal of his journey.

Atropos serves as the umpire, seated on her throne as the goddess of Death. She determines the course of the tournament. Acteur watches three fights, in which two Dukes and one Duchess of Burgundy take on the champions. The first contestant is Philip the Good. He fights Debile. The fight is a foregone conclusion, and Philip bites the dust. Charles the Bold is next to ride out. Accident is his adversary, and quickly smashes him to the ground. Charles' daughter Maria then enters the fray, and fights a typically one-sided battle against Accident. The scene rouses Acteur's anger. He demands the opportunity to avenge the fallen Burgundians. However, he is not permitted to do so; his time has not yet come. He is given another assignment instead: he must write a book about his adventures which will make people contemplate their lives, and their inevitable deaths.

The two Dutch editions of *Le chevalier délibéré*

The first way in which *Le chevalier délibéré* influenced Dutch literature involves the printing trade rather than the composition of fresh work. Two editions of the poem in the original French were produced in the Netherlands. This is not unusual for the period: the Low Lands often contributed to the circulation of French literature, while French literature played a central role in the manufacture of Dutch books. Dutch printers had already been active for several years by this date. In 1473 the first Dutch book was published, but even before this publishers had experimented with block books and other prototypes.¹¹

The earliest edition of *Le chevalier délibéré* is the volume printed at Gouda. The *collatiebroeders* produced this in 1489. This group is known to have been responsible for several devotional texts. Influenced by Geert Groote and the *devotio moderna*, they aimed to provide popular access to religiously instructive works.

In particular, they strove to bring God to the people by means of sermon-cycles, primers and catechisms, which discussed matters affecting laymen, and gave simple accounts of theological ideas.¹² On the one hand *Le chevalier délibéré* fits neatly into this mission: after all, its conclusion unequivocally urges the reader to reflect on their mortality. Yet on the other hand it deviates widely from the other work of the collatiebroeders. The text itself is far from plain, containing numerous lavish illustrations. De la Marche's text is also quite long, making the book itself a sizeable volume. Owing to these factors, anyone wishing to purchase a copy would need to reach far into their pocket. This is obviously not a book for the ordinary man. If anything, it seems deliberately tailored for an upper-class readership. But then again, why should the rich not be served with religious literature? Does God only exist for the poor? Indeed, it is the well-educated and wealthy who are in most danger, since a camel may pass through the eye of the needle more easily than a rich man may enter the Kingdom of Heaven.¹³ This may well have been the underlying purpose of this version of *Le chevalier délibéré*.

The second edition is from Schiedam.¹⁴ The date of publication has not been precisely determined, but 1498–1503 seems a fair estimate. Its printer Otgier Nachtegaele was a staunch devotee of the Holy Lidwina of Schiedam, whose *vita* he published in both Latin and Dutch. His aim was to generate revenue, which could be used to accelerate Lidwina's canonisation.¹⁵ Nachtegaele probably hoped to make a tidy sum of money with the publication of *Le chevalier délibéré*. He may also have wished to gain the support of the Habsburgian-Burgundian government. Publishing a text of direct interest to the sovereign and the court would obviously curry favour with the authorities, and winning powerful supporters for Lidwina would assist her on the path to sainthood.

Whatever the wider objectives underlying these books, they were both beautifully produced. The appearance of both volumes is greatly enhanced by the fine woodcuts, which are evidently the work of a skilled craftsman.

The woodcuts of *Le chevalier délibéré* being used elsewhere

The woodcuts of *Le chevalier délibéré* were widely admired for their exquisite quality. The quality of De la Marche's verse is disputable, but it is obvious that the woodcuts were universally valued. The blocks were reused several times in the production of other works. They appear in the two Dutch translations of *Le chevalier délibéré*, but also find their way into several other texts. One example is Jan Seversz' edition of the *Vitaspatrum of Vaderboeck* of Saint Jerome (1511).¹⁶ The *Vaderboeck* deals with the Desert Fathers of the fourth century, who practiced an

extreme eremiticism in the wildernesses of North Africa. It collates the various 'histories' of such figures into a single text, forming one of the earliest collections of exempla: almost all of the later exemplum books mention the *Vaderboeck* as their source. The work is intended to promote an absolute ascetism, to show how the world should be abandoned to pursue divine contemplation. It begins and ends with woodcuts from *Le chevalier délibéré*. Both depict Acteur with the hermit: in the first they share a meal; in the second Acteur is shown relics in the anchorite's chapel.

Spanish translations of *Le chevalier délibéré* printed in the Netherlands

So far the emphasis of this article has been on the country of Holland. Now our attention shifts to the duchy of Brabant. In Antwerp various printers were at work, producing work for sale in foreign markets. Antwerp plays a fundamental part in the history of the international book-trade. Hence it should not come as a surprise to learn that the first Spanish translation of *Le cheval délibéré* came from the presses of the city. The full title of this work is *El cavallero determinado – traducido de lengua Francesca en Castellana por Don Hermando de Acuna, y dirigido al Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo Rey de Espana nuestro senor*. This was printed in 1553, by Iuan Steelsio, who issued a second edition two years later.

Moreto also sought to profit from a Spanish translation of De la Marche: in 1561, his Oficina Plantiniana published a further version of *El cavallero determinado*. Many Spanish printers followed suit, in both Barcelona (1565) and Salamanca (1573). In 1591 the Oficina Plantiniana published the book for a second time. Via the Dutch book-trade, Olivier de la Marche made a contribution to the development of Spanish literature.¹⁷

Dutch translations of *Le chevalier délibéré*

As well as influencing the printing trade in the Netherlands, *Le chevalier délibéré* has also had an impact on Dutch literature. There are two Dutch translations of the work: *Den camp vander doot* by Jan Pertcheval,¹⁸ and *Vanden ridder Welghemoet* by Pieter Willemsz.¹⁹ Pertcheval's translation dates from 1493, but was not printed until 1503, by Otgier Nagtegael in Schiedam. Nagtegael has already been mentioned in connection with the French text of the poem.

Pertcheval's *Den camp vander doot* is a very faithful rendering.²⁰ It makes no substantial departures from the original text. The translation reproduces De la

Marche's eight-line stanza throughout, and has exactly the same number of stanzas as the original. Pertcheval did not translate line by line, but stanza by stanza. On occasion he takes material from one stanza and adds it to the other, but this is a rare occurrence. However, what makes this text particularly remarkable is the implication that Pertcheval produced it for a particular reading public. Whereas Olivier de la Marche wrote for the French nobility, Pertcheval seems to have written for the Dutch bourgeoisie. It stands to reason that his audience was Dutch: after all, why else translate a French text into Dutch? But his method of translation reveals exactly which class of Dutchman he was writing for. The frequent clarification of De la Marche's terminology is a case in point. One example of this practice occurs in stanza 92. Here, Olivier de la Marche mentions a 'gantelet dextre'. For a nobleman, the meaning of this is quite clear: a gauntlet is something he would frequently encounter. For the ordinary people, who were less familiar with the vocabulary of warfare, this term requires explanation. Thus in Pertcheval's version it becomes a 'gewapende hantscoen', an armoured glove. Such details as this suggest that Jan Pertcheval had a bourgeoisie readership in mind for *Den camp vander doot*.²¹

Until recently, the other translation of *Le chevalier délibéré* – Pieter Willemsz' *Vanden ridder welghemoet* – was only known from two fragments held at the library of Douai. These were lost in 1944 when the town was bombed, preserved in photographs taken by M. E. Kronenburg. However, in 1987 a full text of Willemsz' translation was discovered in the National Library in Vienna by Herman Pleij.²² This version was completed in 1492, and printed in 1508 by Jan Seversz in Leiden. The translator's methodology has not yet been subject to academic study, but one striking fact is readily apparent: the translation is far longer than the original text. Olivier de la Marche needed 338 stanzas to tell his story, whereas Pieter Willemsz needed 365 stanzas. Some of this is due to Willemsz' habit of using two stanzas to translate one stanza of French – he must have been a man of many words. However, the bulk of his additions occur during Acteur's tour of the graveyard at Bonne Aventure. Here the roll-call of illustrious dead is greatly expanded. This interpolation has rather a Dutch flavour: almost all of the names Willemsz adds were major players in Dutch politics under the Burgundian dukes. His list includes: Wolf VI van Borsele, Joost van Lalaing, Adolf van Kleef, Lodewijk van Brugge, Philips van Crèvecoeur, Arnold Horn, Jan van Wassenaar, Jan II van Glymes, Antoon the Great Bastard, his son Philip of Burgundy, and Bishop David of Burgundy. This would infer that the translation was meant for the Dutch market. However, the author may have added these figures for another purpose. He could have wished to lend extra force to the *memento mori* moral of the text: whether one is Burgundian (such as the French kings Louis XI and Charles VIII), or impartial (such as the popes Felix V, Nicholas V, Calixtus III or Innocent VIII),

everyone must die in the end, and be placed in the same charnel house of memory. Furthermore, the author also gives the impression that he wants to raise the matter of the wheel of fortune. Looking closely at the figures added to the narrative, all appear to have suffered grave misfortune. Wolf van Borsele is a key example: born of good stock, he grew rich during his lifetime; and yet he fell into disgrace at length, and died in exile. It is only through his daughter's marriage that his reputation was restored.

Besides this, the characters are interconnected in numerous complex ways: a web of conflict and cooperation links them together. In any case these stanzas do not appear to be purely Burgundian propaganda. The inclusion of the controversial figure Philip of Crèvecoeur is enough to disprove this. The fact is that *Vanden ridder welghemoet* needs to be studied more closely.

Earlier work by Burgundian authors is published

It appears that the French *Le chevalier délibéré* was immensely successful: a large number of copies were published in both the Low Lands and France. Across Europe the book was held in high repute. The Spanish translation was likewise favourably received: the number of surviving copies would indicate that the printer profited handsomely from his investment. The Dutch translations, however, do not seem to have enjoyed much popularity. Neither of the two translations were reprinted, and only one copy of each book is now extant. Perhaps the Dutch market was not quite ready for this work; perhaps the intended readership was able to read the original French, making the translations redundant. Nevertheless, some printers did feel sufficiently confident to publish similar works. Had they been impressed by some aspect of the translations? Had Nachtegaele and Severtsz been able to sell their stock, in spite of their lack of success in selling the translations? Neither question can be answered adequately. Yet the fact remains that, after the publication of *Vanden ridder welghemoet* and *Den camp vander doot*, two more Dutch printers published Dutch translations of older Burgundian texts.²³ It is not known if these publishers had been inspired by the translations of *Le chevalier délibéré*: the evidence to support this view is at best circumstantial.

The first case is Thomas van der Noot. A native of Brussels, he published a translation of another work by De la Marche in 1514, *Le parement et triumphe des dames*.²⁴ He named his translation *Den triumphe ende 't palleersel van den vrouwen*.²⁵ This book is an allegory dealing with female costume. Every part of women's dress is given a symbolic value: from this conceit, De la Marche develops a set of virtues in which women ought to 'clothe' themselves. There are quite a few

points at which the translation bursts the seams of the original, as Van der Noot takes numerous liberties to meet the needs of a Dutch audience. But in spite of these modifications, the setting remains irrevocably Burgundian. I think it is quite safe to say that Thomas van der Noot hoped that his work would absorb some of the attention given to *Le chevalier délibéré* and its Dutch translations.

A similar pattern is followed by Jan van Doesborch.²⁶ In 1528 he published *Tdal sonder wederkeeren oft t pas der doot* by Colijn Caillieu. Caillieu based his work on *Le pas de la mort* by Amé de Montgesoie, and completed his translation in around 1465. Amé's work was the major source of inspiration for *Le chevalier délibéré*. Jan Pertcheval also makes reference to it in his own translation:

Soudi dan vergeten hoe gij zijt gestaect
Den voerscreven tractaet zo eyselic inder noot
De welc Colijn Caellui heeft gemaect
Te Brusel wonachtich die so bijt en react
Genaempt zijnde den Pas vander doot.

Caillieu's translation does not exactly go hand in hand with the French text. The most striking difference between the two is the number of lines in each stanza: eight in *Le pas de la mort*, and nine in *Tdal sonder wederkeeren*. It could well be that Van Doesborch published this text because Pertcheval's translation was still being circulated in 1528. At any rate, in the first half of the sixteenth century Burgundian literature was still very much alive: Van Doesborch obviously believed that publication of this relatively old text would be lucrative.

***Le chevalier délibéré* as a source of inspiration for other authors**

In this section, I will discuss two authors who drew on the subject-matter of *Le chevalier délibéré* in their own compositions: Jan van den Dale and Jan-Baptist Houwaert. It is not easy to pinpoint how and where they emulated Olivier de la Marche: in any case, I do not have the time or space here to discuss analogous passages in any detail. Van den Dale and Houwaert also used far more sources than *Le chevalier délibéré*. Van den Dale relied on *Van den drie blinde danssen*, while Houwaert borrowed freely from the work of Jan van den Dale. When reading these works a sense of *deja vu* is unavoidable, since both are heavily indebted to several late-mediaeval traditions.

Jan van den Dale is an author who is quite at home with Burgundian literature. He uses all the standard motifs and topoi: death, allegory, spiritual knighthood, a

moralizing tendency. *Wre vander doot* illustrates this very clearly.²⁷ The fact that five different imprints have survived suggests that this must have been a very successful book. The first edition is that of Thomas van der Noot from around 1516; the last one was produced by Merton Huyssens in Antwerp in 1601. In *Wre vander doot* the author has a vision of death. He learns that all shall die, himself included. Understandably, this frightens him. He begs for a reprieve. At first his requests are refused, but after the intervention of a maid with a child he is granted one more hour. During this hour he laments his existence; he wants to make out his will, but soon the hour has passed. On waking, the author decides to write his vision down as a warning to all. Beside the influences of *Le chevalier délibéré* the author is also indebted to Pierre Michault. Jan van den Dale has 'filched' anything useful from Burgundian literature. Apparently he did this extremely proficiently, for various publishers marketed this story.

We know of six editions of Jean Baptist Houwaert's *De vier wterste*.²⁸ The oldest is from 1583, and was printed by Plantijn at Antwerp; the most recent dates from 1616, and was the work of Jan Marcusz of Amsterdam. It is a vast work, consisting of 8710 lines. It describes the four last things: death, judgement, hell and heaven. The author has a vision of death, religion, the devil, the world and our flesh. It goes without saying that Houwaert did not invent much of this himself, but derived his material from far older works. Much of his work has been lifted almost line-for-line from Van den Dale's *Wre vander doot*.²⁹ A notable difference is that Houwaert was a Protestant, so he could not accept the intervention of a Madonna-figure. Death comes, despite Houwaert's use of allegory, straight from God.

This image also emerges in another work by Houwaert, known as *Den generaelen loop der werrelt in ses vermaeckelycke boeken bescreuen* (1612).³⁰ Death has been brought about by Accident, Cranckheyt and Execution, who make use of the two heralds Force and Bedwanck. Man can not compete with this, as it is God's will. The most unmistakable parallel with *Le chevalier délibéré* occurs in the third book: riding his horse Good Will the narrator arrives at an encampment, where he witnesses the battle between Accident and an allegorical *figura*. Allegorical or not, this warrior still wears precisely the same weaponry wielded by Charles the Bold in *Le chevalier délibéré*. Other points of similarity include a Palace of Love and a churchyard. In short, Houwaert knew and used De la Marche's *Le chevalier délibéré* with total licence. Not just the overall design or a few allegorical characters but several common passages proclaim his dependence on this source. Today we would speak of plagiarism, copying without stating the source. This book has never been very successful: the first edition was also the last. In 1616 people were no longer greatly interested in late-mediaeval allegories with a French design: the tastes of the Renaissance now dominated.

Conclusion

We may consider the influence of *Le chevalier délibéré* as quite substantial: it is difficult, even impossible, to say how substantial, for common themes and motifs are not enough to prove that one author inspired another. Sometimes particular subject matter is part of the general cultural climate and may appear in the work of various authors; it then becomes fashionable, or fits the spirit of the age, and it is transmitted into even more texts. One can only distinguish direct and apparent influences in translations: all other influences can only be tentatively asserted. And yet I venture to claim that the influence of *Le chevalier délibéré* is more extensive than the Dutch translations alone.

The influence on the production of books can be firmly established. The exquisite Dutch editions of the Brethren of the Common Life and Otgier Nagtegaal prove that the Dutch printers had the international market in mind, as well as a polyglottal readership. It stands to reason that the woodcuts subsequently ended up in other books: if these blocks were at hand in a printer's workshop, it would be a waste not to reuse them. The internationalism we see in the Dutch production of the French text is reasserted by the Spanish translations: no less than four editions of *El cavellero determinado* saw the light of day in Antwerp.

Le chevalier délibéré also had a palpable influence on Dutch literature through its two translations: *Den camp vander doot* by Jan Pertcheval and *Vanden ridder Welgemoet* by Pieter Willemsz. Two different works used the same text as their source. Pertcheval adheres to the original, while Willemsz creates a text that is at times radically different. He adds stanzas at will, and makes other changes. The two translators obviously had different reading publics in mind.

It is very difficult to substantiate my assertion that the success of *Le chevalier délibéré* and its translations convinced printers to publish similar work. There is no direct proof of this. But it is worth noting that Thomas van der Noot and Jan Doesborch produced texts that are markedly similar to *Le chevalier délibéré*: *Den triumphe ende 't palleersel van den vrouwen* by Oliver de la Marche, and *Tdal sonder wederkeeren oft t'pas der doot* by Colijn Caillieu. It is at least possible that their choice of text was inspired by Olivier de la Marche's principal work.

The later transmission of *Le chevaker délibéré* into Dutch literature primarily concerns Jan van den Dale and Jan Baptist Houwaert. Both authors found their inspiration in Olivier de la Marche, among other sources. Here I must stipulate 'among other sources' because De la Marche is by no means the only author detectible in these works. In Jan van den Dale's *Wre vander doot*, Pierre Michault is

also a conspicuous presence. Houwaert applies standard late-medieval motifs in two works, *De vier wterste* and *De generaelen loop der werrelt*. In *De vier Wterste* we also find *Wre vander doot*, but in *De generaelen loop* it is clearly *Le chevalier délibéré* that informs the text. Unfortunately for Houwaert this comes far too late: by 1616 people had become interested in classicism and medieval subject-matter seemed hopelessly outdated. At this date the story of Olivier de la Marche ends, only to be resumed in the 19th century: not before a large, pan-European readership, but to a smaller group of literary historians.

Fontys University of Professional Education, Tilburg

NOTES

1. This paper was partly presented in 2004 and partly in 2005 at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds.
2. I would like to thank Molly van Diepenbrugge for translating my paper, and Ben Parsons for revising the completed text.
3. Olivier de la Marche, *Le chevalier délibéré*, Washington, 1946.
4. Olivier de la Marche, *Le chevalier delibéré (The Resolute Knight)*, ed. Carleton W. Carroll, Tempe (Arizona), 1999.
5. Susie Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda-editie van *Le Chevalier Délibéré*', in: Herman Pleij, Joris Reynaert e.a., *Geschreven en gedrukt - Boekproductie van handschrift naar druk in de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Moderne Tijd*, Gent, 2004, pp. 137-155.
6. Jacques Paviot, 'Le chevalier délibéré d'Olivier de la Marche dans la littérature morale (XVe-XVIe S.)', in *Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes*, # 43, 2003, pp. 161-170.
7. Pierre Michault, *Van den drie Blinde Danssen*, ed. W.J. Schuijt, Amsterdam / Antwerpen, 1955.
8. Pierre Michault, *Doctrinael des tijts*, ed. W.J. Schuijt, Wageningen, 1946 (diss.).
9. Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche and the Rheroric of 15th-Century Historiography*, Woordbridge, 2004.
10. Marche, ed. Carroll, p. 56-58.
11. *De Vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden* (tentoonstellingscatalogus), Brussel, 1977, about the oldest book: pp. 107-112.
12. Koen Goudriaan, 'Holland in de tijd van Leeu', in: Koen Goudriaan (ed.), *Een drukker zoekt publiek - Gheraert Leeu te Gouda 1477-1484*, Delft, 1993, pp. 31-60.
13. Matteüs 19 : 24.
14. Olivier de la Marche, *Le chevalier délibéré*, ed. F. Lippmann, Londen, 1897 / 1898.
15. *Het leven van Liedewij, de maagd van Schiedam*, ed. L. Jongen & C. Schotel, Hilversum, 1994.
16. S. Hieronymus, *Vitaspatrum ende is ghenoeemt dat vader boeck*, Jan Seversz., Leiden, 8

- jan. 1511, (Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag 226 A 2).
17. Carlos Claveria, *Le chevalier délibéré* de Olivier de la Marche y sus versiones españolas del siglo XVI, Zaragoza, 1950; *El cavallero determinado* (reproducción facsímil), Toledo, 2000.
 18. Jan Pertcheval, *Den camp vander doot*, ed. Gilbert Degroote, Antwerpen, 1948.
 19. There is no modern edition of this text. Fragments: M.E. Kronenberg, 'Een onbekende Nederlandsche vertaling van *Le chevalier délibéré*, door Pieter Willemsz gemaakt', in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, # 51, 1932, pp. 178–196; M.E. Kronenberg, Fragmenten der Nederlandse vertaling *Le chevalier délibéré* door Pieter Willemsz', in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, # 69, 1952, pp. 169–179.
 20. Susie Speakman Sutch, 'Jan Pertcheval and the Brussels Leliebroeders (1490–1500). The model of a conformist rhetoricians chamber?', in: Bart Ramakers (red.), *Conformisten en rebellen – Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden (1400–1650)*, pp. 95–106.
 21. Bas Jongenelen, 'Jan Pertcheval's translation of *Le chevalier délibéré*: *Den camp vander doot*. Source, translation and public', in *Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes*, # 43, 2003, pp. 199–212.
 22. Herman Pleij, 'Ridder welghemoet in Wenen', in *Literatuur*, # 2, 1987, pp. 97–98.
 23. Bas Jongenelen, 'Vanden 'X', esels, Mechelen and Burgundian literature', in *Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes*, # 44, 2004, pp. 169–179; Georges Doutrepoint, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, Genève, 1970 (réimpression de l'édition de Paris, 1909), pp. V–VI; Susie Speakman Sutch, 'Dichters van de stad – De Brusselse rederijkers en hun verhouding tot de Franstalige hofliteratuur en het geleerde humanisme (1475–1522)', in: Jozef Janssens en Remco Sleiderink (red.), *De macht van het schone woord – Literatuur in Brussel van de 14de tot de 18de eeuw*, Leuven 2003, pp. 141–159.
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