PETER G. CHRISTENSEN
CARDINAL STRITCH UNIVERSITY, MILWAUKEE

Hella Haasse's View of Charles D'Orléans in *Het Woud der Verwachting* As Compared to Huizinga's in *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*

Johan Huizinga's *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen* is the kind of sweeping work that convinces the reader of the merit of its views by its accumulation of details. Consequently, one chief means of attempting a reassessment of such a large historical canvas as Huizinga's is to take a careful look at some of those details. Although we seek responses to historical works in other historical works, there are times when a critique can usefully be made across genres. For this reason we may look at Hella Haasse's (1918-) first historical novel *Het woud der verwachting* (1949), which presents the life of the poet Charles d'Orléans, and thus inevitably leads the reader to think about Huizinga's attack on late medieval allegorical poetry as an artistically barren genre and his view of the fifteenth century in the Burgundian lands and France as a period of decline and despair.[1]

The present article continues the project, which began in the 1990s, of recontextualizing Huizinga, particularly in relation to 19th and 20th century literature. The question of the influence on him of Symbolism has moved to the foreground.[2] For example, in *Het Eeuwige verbeeld in een afgehaald bed: Huizinga en de Nederlandse beschaving*, Anton van der Lem remarks that French *fin-de-siècle* Symbolist writers were fascinated by Burgundian chroniclers such as Froissart, Chastellain, Deschamps, and Molinet, and that Huizinga was inspired by this literary movement as well as by the chroniclers (1997: 339). A further connection between Huizinga and Symbolism is made by James C. Kennedy. In his article "The Autumns of Johan Huizinga," he points out that Huizinga's "portrait of the Middle Ages as a unique epoch of extremes" owed much to Joris-Karl Huysmans's novels *À rebours* (1884) and *Là-bas* (1891) (1999: 210). In *Huizinga en de troost van de geschiedenis: Verbeelding en rede*, Léon Hanssen also notes the importance of Symbolism to Huizinga and argues that that movement's view of the Middle Ages strongly influenced Huizinga's (1996: 338). One may ask if Huizinga's sympathy for Symbolism bolstered his antagonism toward medieval allegorical poems in *Herfsttij*, since the evocative mode of poets such as Verlaine created an aesthetic that looked down on the "this means that" aspect of allegory.

The idea of "expectation," be it for a lover, a better life, or an end to earthly existence, appears very different in allegorical and Symbolist contexts. In his chapter "The

Craving for a More Beautiful Life," Huizinga writes : "Their world-weariness certainly echoes the expectation of the approaching end of the world that was poured into minds everywhere by the popular preaching of the revived mendicant orders, with renewed threats and intensified imaginative power." (34) For Huizinga, expectation is generally connected to apocalyptic feelings of doom, whereas Haasse allows it to be associated with the fulfillment of an individual life's natural course. In *Het Woud der Verwachting* Haasse foregrounds the idea of expectation in her novelized portrayal of Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465). Not surprisingly, as an epigraph Haasse uses Charles's ballade about expectation, "En la forest de Longue Actente," which is Ballade no. 79 in Jean-Claude Mühlthaler's 1992 edition of the *Ballades et Rondeaux*.[3] In this period of the later Middle Ages, Haasse does not concentrate on the extremes of piety and cruelty analyzed and denounced by Huizinga. Rather she shows how one important figure, Charles d'Orléans, spent his life rationally trying to figure out a balance between political activity, personal happiness and artistic vocation. He becomes a heroic figure who bravely endures his quarter century of exile to find happiness in old age despite the world of *Realpolitik* around him.

At the end of her novel Haasse presents the sources that she used, and *Herfsttij* is one of them (795-96). So is Pierre Champion's *La Vie de Charles d'Orléans* (1911), the first outstanding book on the life and work of this poet, a study that includes at the back a calendar of where Charles was on what date, a resource that Haasse must have found invaluable. Almost all of Haasse's sources appeared before 1919, and thus were also available to Huizinga for his masterwork. Thus the two Dutch authors may have reached different conclusions on Charles on the basis of the same material.[4]

In his famous 1905 inaugural lecture at the University of Groningen, "The Aesthetic Element in Historical Thought," Huizinga stressed the fact that we have to understand history through individuals. In writing a historical novel of such magnitude, Haasse has applied his precept. She would also agree with his idea that the aesthetic approach to history can help us conjure up living pictures and images in the private theatre of the mind (1969: 237). Thus through the image of Charles d'Orléans evoked by Huizinga and Haasse we can see the 15th century, an era that Huizinga condemns but Haasse accepts. When we look at the use that Haasse makes of Charles's poetry in comparison with Huizinga's, we find her more sympathetic to Charles. She shows us a man trying to understand his own life in terms of the allegories that he has inherited, acquiring greater and greater awareness of both the limitations of this worldly existence and the need to enjoy what we are given. At the same time she provides the reader with a framework to enjoy these poems, which on their own seem almost devoid of a contextual anchor.

In the first edition of *Woud* Haasse quotes nine poems by Charles, in full or in long extracts, while Huizinga quotes six. As they have only one poem in common, it is not surprising that each author has a different image of the poet. Huizinga quotes from Charles's early allegorical poem *La Retenue d'Amours*, Rondeau 4, and four ballades: 19, 27, 69 and 120. He does not identify the numbers or the titles of the poems, and the reader has to look for them in the 1874 edition by Charles d'Héricault, the same

edition cited by Haasse, or else, as I did, use D. Poirion's lexical index of the ballades (1967).[5] Both Haasse and Huizinga are most interested in the ballades, but Huizinga is drawn to the earlier ones and Haasse to the later.

Haasse includes the first of the five *complaintes* (they are not in Mühlthaler's edition, which does not include Charles's works in that genre), Rondeau 101, and seven ballades: 69, 72, 79, 98, 99, 103 and 105. She has chosen some of Charles's greatest French poems, and uses them where she feels they fit chronologically in Charles's life.[6] Her book is divided into a Prologue at the time of Charles's birth on November 23, 1394, then there are five long sections treating his life in periods: 1394-1407, up to his father's assassination; 1407-1408, up to his mother's death; 1409-1415, up to his being taken prisoner at Agincourt; 1415-1440, up to his release from prison; and 1440-1465, up to his release from life. All nine of Charles's poems are included in the last two sections. Haasse closely follows Champion's detailed chronology, but she inserts the poems where she finds them suitable (it is notoriously difficult to date all but a handful of poems to a specific year).

Whereas Haasse selects poems to fit the biography and to show the sadness of exile, the joy of return, and the road to *Nonchaloir* (philosophical resignation), Huizinga uses fragments from Charles's poetry[7] to show the dichotomies of his time: erotic/religious, devout/worldly, and serious/mocking. He discusses Charles briefly half a dozen times. In the first discussion, when Huizinga cites *La Retenue d'Amours* and Ballades 27 and 69, he introduces his quotations as follows:

> The poetic circle around Charles d'Orléans veils the lamentations of love in the forms of monastic asceticism, liturgy, and martyrdom. Echoing the recently successful reform of the Franciscan monastic life around 1400, these poets call themselves *Les amoureux de l'observance.* This is like an ironic byplay to the sacred seriousness of the *dolce stil nuovo.* The desecrating tendency is halfway atoned for by the intensity of the amorous sentiments. (131)

Huizinga goes on to criticize Charles for profaning the Ten Commandments and for taking a lover's oath on the New Testament. In the *Retenue* the poet is led by Youth to Love. He is shot by Pleasing Beauty while Love urges him to protect himself. Youth fails to help him, and so Pleasing Beauty, out of sympathy, places his head on her lap and urges him to yield to Love. He swears to the Ten Commandments of Love, and a letter showing this vow is drawn up by Love's secretary, Good Faith. A copy of the "lettre de retenue" is affixed to the poem. However, when we consider the age of the poet, no more than twenty-five if the date of composition is 1419, then Huizinga seems to be taking far too seriously a rather light poem by a young man who seems unlikely at this time to have had a whole coterie of poets around him.

Huizinga claims categorically that Ballade 27 is about a dead lover, but I wonder if this is the case. The poem seems to be a *jeu d'esprit.* The poet says that a burning desire to see his beloved has recently attacked the dwelling place of his heart, and he begs his

friends to put out the fire before his heart dies. If they do not, and he dies because of their negligence, then he hopes that he will attain the paradise of lovers because he has suffered such great pain for love. Although it could be true that the real-life Beloved is dead, it hardly seems certain that she is. Again, the poem seems too light for all the censure that Huizinga places on it.

When he cites Ballade 69, "I'ay fait l'obseque de ma dame," he is probably right to claim that it is a poem about Charles's deceased Beloved, but surely he is wrong to consider this poem as another example of profanity. In the last three stanzas and envoi the poet says that God made her beautifully with His two hands. She was blameless, so the poet hopes that God will take her to Heaven to decorate paradise. Instead of trying to contextualize Charles's poem to back up his reading, Huizinga moves without any further comment to a poem he finds fascinating, "L'Amant rendu Cordelier de l'observance d'amour," which he discusses in fuller detail later (370) and attributes to Martial d'Auvergne. This poem is about a despairing lover who enters the Monastery of the Martyrs of Love. For Huizinga, this "ecclesiastical parody" leads him to ask rhetorically whether "the erotic, time and again, and no matter how perversely, is drawn towards reestablishing that contact with the holy that it lost a long time ago" (132).

Later Huizinga returns to Charles, just after dismissing Alain Chartier as a "slick court poet" and King René as a writer of an endless poem, the *Cuer d'amours espris* (367-68). In this passage he offers grudging praise for Charles, who "blurs seriousness and mockery and exaggerates personification without at the same time losing subtle feeling." Huizinga notes how the Heart and the Mind become aspects of the poet apart from himself, with which he can converse (368-69). Nowhere does he say anything about Charles's life, except for the fact that he was taken to England and held to ransom (316).

Louis d'Orléans, Charles's father, is described in much more detail. Huizinga dislikes him, and one wonders if some of this hostility rubs off on Charles. Huizinga's debauched Louis is very different from Haasse's sympathetically drawn, well-meaning but tormented man. Huizinga writes that in Louis we see a puzzling mix of extremes. He was a passionate man who took up witchcraft and refused to recant. However, he also had a cell in the house of the Celestine order, where he would listen to mass as many as five or six times a day. (206). Haasse avoids the formal accusation of witchcraft against Louis. She does, however, show Ettore Salvia of Milan, the sinister astrologer, in Louis's employ. In the novel, Salvia comes to Louis's wife Valentine Visconti on the recommendation of her dangerous father Gian Galeazzo, and later Louis wants nothing to do with him. Haasse presents two adulterous love affairs of Louis, the one which produced Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, and the one with the Queen of France, Isabeau of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI, which perhaps resulted in the birth of Charles VII. Haasse also has Louis go to the Celestines for a long talk with Philippe de Maizières (66-72).[8] As Huizinga does not give any overall view of the possible development of Charles's understanding of his life, he is able to write dismissively that among the examples of "devout worldliness" one finds the "barbaric Gaston Phébus, Count of Foix; the frivolous King René; the refined Charles d'Orléans" (206).

Huizinga, despite his harsh critique of Charles, finds him to be one of the two 15th century poets who can still move us. He insists that those who strike us as most modern are those who steered clear of classicizing, i.e, retarding, influences, and he includes Charles and, of course, François Villon in this category (389). Huizinga writes that we cannot just say that there was a shortage of poetic talent except for Villon and Charles. He speculates on why he himself, and presumably everyone else, is so much more moved by the painting than the poetry of this era. In a suggestive but unverifiable comment he claims:

> If the painter limits himself to the simple reproduction in line and color of an external reality, there is always found behind all that purely formal imitation an ultimate remainder that is left unsaid and that cannot be spoken of. However, if the poet aspires to nothing higher than a mere linguistic expression of a visible or already comprehended reality, he exhausts with his words the treasure of the unspoken. (330-31)

Huizinga presents painting as capable of expressing an idea beyond line and color (form), but he does not think that painting can express an idea without being caught up in words (form). Although in the fifteenth century new poetic forms are beginning to blossom, most poetry sticks to the dead forms of the past. Huizinga concludes that even if Van Eyck had been the greatest poet of his time, his words could not have revealed what his painting did (331).

In his Preface (xx), Huizinga tells us which authors and artists he has used most: Eustache Deschamps among the poets, the chroniclers Froissart and Chastellain, the theologians Gerson and Denis the Carthusian, and the painter Jan Van Eyck. Thus it is the poet Deschamps, more than Charles d'Orléans, King René of Anjou, Alain Chartier, Christine de Pisan or François Villon, who leads Huizinga to make some of his more chilling statements about the 14th and 15th centuries in France and the Netherlands. He presents this age in very bleak terms.

> It is an evil world. The fires of hatred and violence burn fiercely. Evil is powerful, the devil covers a darkened earth with his black wings. And soon the end of the world is expected. But mankind does not repent, the church struggles, and the preachers and poets warn and lament in vain. (29)

For Huizinga the fifteenth century was the age of European history in which the population was most forcefully weighed down by the prevailing view of death (156).

Perhaps Huizinga sensed that Charles, in spite of his troubled life, was not a morbid poet and thus did not typify *Herftsttij*'s main theme of morbidity. He relates his main themes to Charles's poems in only two chapters, "The Forms of Love" and "Word and Image." In contrast, he uses Deschamps in several more chapters to make his generalizations. For example, he claims that Deschamps is foremost among those who state that all good things have departed from the world in such poems as "Temps de doleur et de temptacion / Aages de plour, d'envie et de tourmont" (32). Huizinga says that it seems reasonable to believe that melancholy must

have characterized the members of the higher social estates, or else it seems unlikely that they would have let their "favorite poet" continue with such frequency in this vein. He sees Deschamps as blending the theme of the *danse macabré* with the notion of the equality of all men in death in such poems as "Enfins, enfins de moy, Adam, venuz, / Qui après Dieu suis peres premerain" (68). Huizinga notes that in Gaston Reynaud's opinion, Deschamps' sentiments became bleaker in his later poetry because he had been removed from office and disappointed, and in so doing had gained insight into the vanity of court life. Huizinga answers this possible claim by seeing it as an expression of the age's general fatigue (124). Thus Deschamps would seem to have more to answer for to Huizinga than Charles, who is accused primarily of blending the erotic with the religious (131-32) and of using excessive personification to blur the line between sacred seriousness and mockery (368).

In contrast with Deschamps, Charles is not so strongly linked with allegory. He composed only two allegorical poems, the early *La Retenue d'amours*, probably before 1415, and the later *Songe en complainte*, from 1437. In the original manuscript (now lost) which he brought back from England after his captivity, he had these poems plus 83 songs, 4 carols (one in Latin), and 96 ballades, including three authored by friends of his (Fein 18). As John Fox points out, Charles outgrew the courtly love creed. He seemed to put it behind him rather than rail against it (14), and when he returned to France he shed pretense and gave voice to the trivialities that were actually part of daily life (37). Fox may be accused of making Charles sound too much of an innovator like François Villon, but he is still able to show that Charles in his French ballades and rondeaux not only moved away from allegory but also wrote less and less about death in his poetry composed after his return to France in 1440 (148). The first full-length study of Charles's lyric poems since Fox's, A.E.B. Coldiron's *Canon, Period, and the Poetry of Charles d'Orléans* (2000) goes even further than Fox in presenting Charles as a writer with a strong personal voice presenting not the usual love story "but a series of brief, expressive snapshots of the lover's varying experiences" (3).

This personal voice that reaches out beyond the boundaries of morbidity, desacralization, excessive personification, and the allegorical leftovers of *Le Roman de la rose* is presented to us by Haasse, obviously not in the analytical voice of Fox and Coldiron, but in speculative biographical contextualization. Confronted with the gaps of history, she has to create a reasonable framework into which she can place Charles's work as a type of confessional poet, and she succeeds. She does so in two ways. She creates an awareness of the other writers from whom Charles differed, and shows that the theme of the Forest of Long Awaiting was a deeply felt personal theme in Charles's life.

Haasse only gives us poems that were written by Charles after the battle of Agincourt. We do not see his work before his exile, such as *La Retenue d'amours*. She places the first of the nine poems included in the first edition of her novel, Ballade 103 ("Ie fu en fleur ou temps passé d'enfance") at the point where Chancellor Cousinot leaves Charles in Pontefract Castle sometime in 1419. Charles has asked him to speak to his beloved wife, Bonne of Armagnac, with news

of his safety in confinement. He looks back on the desires of youth and now recognizes that he is "set to ripen in the straw of prison" ("Mis pour meuir ou feurre de prison"; 407). Haasse associates Ballade 79 ("En la forest de Longue Actente") with Charles's stay with another keeper in the same year, Sir Thomas Burton (421-22). The "hostelry of Thought," a prominent image of this poem, is used repeatedly by Haasse to credit Charles with the desire to write down a book that actually records his thoughts. This is the manuscript of the poems that is later in his life translated into Latin by Antonio Artisano, who appears in the novel as Charles's secretary (536).

The third poem Haasse uses, the *complainte* "France, jadis on te souiloit nommer", is a response to news that the Duke of Burgundy, Jean Sans Peur, has recently (1419) been murdered (424-25). Ballade 105, "Nouvelles ont couru en France," is placed after the conversation in 1429 in which Dunois tells Charles that he is going to help Joan of Arc free the Dauphin (446-47). In 1432, after the failure of the ransom negotiations that brought him to Dover, Charles writes (as is commonly assumed) Ballade 98, "En regardant vers le païs de France" to register his disappointment at having to turn back from the coastal view (451-52).

Haasse places the death of Bonne of Armagnac in the year 1434 (the actual date is not known), and she has Charles write Ballade 69, "I'ay fait l'obseque de ma Dame," on hearing the news (463-64). In 1435, when Charles learns that the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, has been released from feudal service to the King of France,[9] he writes Ballade 99, "Priés pour paix, Doulce Vierge Marie." The references to war in the poem make the reader feel that Charles sees this as another horrible blow to French unity, and perhaps the poem is a prediction of further civil war (465-67).

The last two of the nine poems included in Haasse's novel come from the years after the return to France. Rondeau 101, "Les fourriers d'Esté sont venus," recreates a beautiful spring morning in 1444 when his young bride Marie of Cleves has gone out to celebrate May Day. Haasse uses what seems to be poetic license to make this poem Charles's resumption of poetry, which he had all but given up after the death of his second wife ten years earlier (514). The last poem, Ballade 72, "Ballades, chançons, et complaintes," from the summer of 1434, is written by Charles after he promises King René, in the garden with the peacocks, that he will no longer deny himself the pleasures of life and poetry (520-22).

The novel deals most fully with one of his greatest poems, Ballade 79, "En la forest de Longue Actente," a poem of thirty-one lines. Its motifs recur throughout the novel (71, 147, 255, 364, 421, 532, 545, 550-51, 571-75). (A complete English translation of the poem is given by Sally Purcell, 89.) Haasse places its actual composition early in 1420 (421), but she shows how the thoughts behind it formed in the poet and how he thought about it still for years after composing it. By providing a range of different contexts, Haasse shows that the poem is evocative enough to escape from simple allegory and take on a more symbolic cast. Because of Huizinga's interest in Symbolism, her approach is significant, and she shows that in order to account for Charles's poetry, we need to rethink the relative force of various cul-

tural influences on his age, as Coldiron has very recently done (Coldiron 172-81).

When we are first introduced to the motif of the "dark wood" (71), it is associated with a wall painting in the Couvent des Carmes, which was brought there to celebrate a miracle performed by the Virgin Mary. The painting, which makes a strong impression on Louis, depicts frightened horses and howling wolves, and the scene is pitch dark. Louis says to Philippe de Maizières:

> Doesn't it seem to you that we have, all of us—the King and I and our good friends—wandered off into a forest of the night, filled with wolves and sly foxes? The darkness holds endless danger: we are stranded with no torch to protect us. But even if the King were to offer now all the gold of France, I am afraid that no Lady would save us from darkness and disaster. There is no Good Hope for us, Maizières. We are lost in the Forest of Long Awaiting, a wilderness without prospect. (72)

Louis tells Philippe the background of the event that prompted the painting. It related to an experience Louis had when he was eleven years old. He had been out hunting with his brother Charles VI, and the King fell from his horse in the darkness. Because no one was hurt, the monks of another Couvent des Carmes, near Toulouse, made a tapestry to commemorate the event. Louis fears that he is recalling the incident because he is now morally in a state that reminds him of the dark forest and his fear of wolves. He adds that there is also a third meaning to the image, for poets are using it in allegories about frustrated men waiting for beloved women. Louis feels that there is no way out of the dark forest, even though Philippe tries to calm him down. For Philippe, Louis is one of the rare noblemen concerned about the well being of the country and not just his own.

In 1400, the six-year-old Charles learns that his father writes poetry and has used the Forest in one of his poems. A minstrel named Herbelin then sings to Charles about a Forest of Long Awaiting and Charles tries to imagine what the Forest includes, and he imagines as part of the picture a clearing in the forest where a tree stands laden with golden apples. A knight snatches one of the apples, although it is forbidden to him (147).

In 1407 Charles loses his father to an assassin, and in 1409 his young wife Isabelle dies. A year later he is thinking of life as a long journey without a resting place save of those of mourning and catastrophe, when he remembers Herbelin's words and finds some verses among his late father's papers. The narrator says that as a child Charles had not understood the imagery but had been struck by it (255). Five years later, Charles thinks of Herbelin's song again, and it is connected to his waiting to avenge his dead father and his new fear that he has had a rosy view of his father which can no longer be maintained (364).

When the poem is composed in 1420 we see the first of the three stanzas plus the envoi. In the second stanza the evocative lines move beyond allegory to symbolism. The horses in the painting mentioned early in *Woud* are by this point transformed by Charles's imagination into part of the poet's retinue:

> Je mayne des chevaulx quarente
> Et autant pour les officiers,
> Voire, par Dieu, plus de soixante,
> Sans les bagaiges et sommiers.
> Loger nous fauldra par quartiers,
> Se les hostelz sont trop petis ;
> Toutesfoiz, pour une vespree,
> En gré prendray, soit mieulx ou pis,
> L'ostellerie de Pensee. (422)[10]

The poem is open to retrospective interpretation. In 1444, Charles discusses it with his third wife Marie of Cleves and says that the two of them are seeking a path through the wilderness and perhaps wandering inaccessible to each other (532). Some years later, Marie says to Charles:

> But when I was ready to join you in that forest of which you had once spoken to me, I could not find you any more. Often it seemed to me that you had consciously fled from me, that you preferred loneliness to my company. And I thought that this was so because you had found in solitude what you had always sought: the spring which can slake your thirst, the path which leads out into the open fields. (551)

Charles apologizes to Marie for pursuing too intently an individual quest which keeps her apart from him.

The final image of the Forest comes in Charles's delirium when he dies on January 4, 1465. The old man feels he is a child again and sees his mother's beautiful face. He cries for help in the forest and then plunges forward to meet the light, which is Death itself (574). He enters the forest, now cool and no longer threatening, as he dies. He has come to an epiphany in his final confrontation with the scheming Louis XI, and he loses his health trying to tell the King that the reward of a political will to power is an illusion that must be rejected. This rejection of the will to power can be related to the motif of acceptance in the poem's envoi of "l'ostellerie de Pensee." As Haasse does not tell us if death is that hostelry toward which the poet has striven in each stanza, readers must decide for themselves. The poem is sufficiently open to allow the journey of desire to be a personal spiritual quest or simply the journey of life.

In her presentation of the main motif of her novel Haasse has used biographical detail to enrich poems such as Ballades 69 and 98, and furthermore she has asked us to explore the question of symbolism in Charles's poetry. Huizinga writes:

> Through symbolism it becomes possible both to honor and enjoy the world, which, by itself, is damnable, and to ennoble the earthly enterprise, since every profession has its relationship with the highest and holiest ... The ethical value of symbolic thought is inseparable from its formative value. (240)

As we reread Huizinga, we see that we need to account for those authors such as Charles who have escaped petrification.

I think our comparison of the work of Haasse and Huizinga has let us see one of the weaknesses of *Herfsttij*: the book does not come close enough to the latter's 1905 ideal of keeping the images of historical persons before us. Readings of Charles's poems as allegorical and not symbolic leads him to take

them as more decadent and blasphemous than they actually are. After *Herfsttij* Huizinga turned to biography: Erasmus was his next great project (1924), and he continued in the 1920s and 1930s to do character studies of people such as Joan of Arc, Abelard, John of Salisbury, Philip the Good, and Alanus de Insulis, so perhaps he also felt that the type of cultural synthesis he attempted in *Herftsttij* had conceptual pitfalls.

NOTES

[1] Johan Huizinga: *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen* (1919). English translation: *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. References in this paper will be to the 1996 ed. of the English version.

Hella Haasse: *Het woud der verwachting* (1949). English translation: *In a Dark Wood Wandering* (1989). References in this paper will be to the English version.

There is little detailed criticism of Haasse's novel. Johan Diepstraten notes that Haasse read the poetry of Charles d'Orléans while in high school, about which time she said, "In mijn middelbare school periode was ik begonnen met allerlei dingen te verzamelen over de Franse Middeleeuwen" (69). Ed Poepelier states that she carried the story of Charles d'Orléans within her from 1935 to 1945 as an "innerlijke wereld" (26). Aleid Truijens suggests that since the novel was written during World War II, when Haasse was cut off from her family in the Indies, we should think of a similarity between her condition and Charles d'Orléans's exile (41-42). Marita Mathijsen points out the changes in the covers of successive editions of the novel over the years (104-05).

[2] One trait of the Symbolist writers is their concern with decadence, with past glories that fell into ruin. In his *Johan Huizinga: Leven en werk in beelden & documenten*, Anton van der Lem quotes from archive material a letter to Henri Pirenne, in which Huizinga admits that Jacob Burckhardt's *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* was more important for his work on the Middle Ages than the more famous *Kultur der Renaissance*, since it gave him a link to the "pathos der innigheid" (1993: 145). (See also Guggisberg 172). Wessel Krug, in his article "In the Mirror of van Eyck: Johan Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages*," looks at Huizinga's engagement with Burckhardt's work in the context of decadence and symbolism, for Huizinga came to see the Renaissance as an ending with the greatness of despair, a type of plunge into the abyss (1997: 362).

[3] Readers familiar with Haasse's novel only through the 1989 English translation need to remember that the title of the translation, *In a Dark Wood Wandering*, with its evocation of Dante rather than Huizinga (the English version has the opening lines of the *Inferno* as an epigraph), departs markedly from the original title. The translator, Anita Miller, states that the new title was approved by Haasse herself (vi). Miller worked in conjunction with Haasse after 1982 to finish the translation by Lewis C. Kaplan, who was working from the first edition when he died in 1958. The English edition is thus made from the longer first edition of 1949, although passages were subsequently cut, says Miller, in later Dutch editions (vi). In subsequent editions also Haasse changed her choice of Charles's poems (Haasse 795-96).

[4] Haasse does include four post-1919 works by Champion, along with books by Otto Cartellieri, L. Cerf, Hillaire Belloc, Ch. V.

Langlois and W. T. Waugh. The date given for the eighth volume of the *Histoire du moyen âge* by Huizinga's former teacher Henri Pirenne is 1934, and 1945 is given for Philippe Erlanger's *Charles VII et son mystère.* The primary sources we find are the *Chronique des religieux de Saint Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422* and the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles VI et VII.* Haasse did not update her bibliography from one edition to the next. The English edition does not include the bibliography, nor does it bear the subtitle: *Het leven van Charles van Orléans.*

[5] In 1949 the great scholarly interest in Charles was still to come, in the biographies by Norma L. Goodrich (1963), Jacques Choffel (1968), Enid McLeod (1969), and Emmanuel Bourassin (1999). Two new studies of Charles appeared in 2000, one by Anne E.B. Coldiron, and a collection of essays edited by Mary-Jo Arn, *Charles d'Orléans in England (1415-1440).*

[6] This is the list of the poems that Haasse associates with specific years in Charles's life:

Ballade 103 1419 p.406
Ie fu en fleur ou temps passé d'enfance
Ballade 79 1419 p.421
En la forest de Longue Actente
Complainte 1 1419 p.424
France, jadis on te souiloit nommer
Ballade 105 1429 p.446
Nouvelles ont couru en France
Ballade 98 1432 p.451
En regardant vers le païs de France
Ballade 69 1434 p.463
I'ay fait l'obseque de ma Dame
Ballade 99 1439 p.465
Priés pour paix, doulce Vierge Marie
Rondeau 101 1441 p.514
Les fourriers d'Esté sont venus
Ballade 72 1444 p.520
Balades, chançons et complaintes

[7] The following is Huizinga's choice:

La Retenue d'Amours l.378-79, 381-84, p.131
Ou temps passé, quant Nature me fist
Ballade 27 l.22-24, p.131
Ardant desir de veoir ma maistresse
Ballade 69 l.1-8, p.132
I'ay fait l'obseque de ma dame
Ballade 19 l.25, p.368
Douleur, Courroux, Desplaisir et Tristesse
Ballade 120 l.1-16, p.368-9
Ung jour a mon cuer devisoye
Rondeau 4 l.1-8, p. 369
Ne hurtez plus à l'uis de ma pensee

[8] Philippe de Maizières, governor of the Dauphin Charles VI and Councillor of State. He withdrew to the Couvent des Carmes in Paris, named after a religious order who had lived in it, but occupied in his time by the Célestins, an order also very close to the royal family. This is where Haasse has Louis come to talk to him.

[9] In 1435, in the settlement of the civil war that had continued since Louis d'Orléans was murdered in 1407, Philippe was granted absolute possession of Flanders, no longer holding it as a fief from the King of France. This wealthy province made him the most powerful monarch in Europe.

[10] I bring with me forty horse
And as many for the officers of my household,
Indeed, by God, more than sixty,
Without the baggage animals and beasts of burden.

We shall have to be billeted about the town,
If the lodging houses are too small;
Yet for one evening
I shall accept gladly, for better or worse,
The hostelry of Thought.
(Tr. Sally Purcell, p.89).

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